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FAMOUS NATIONS

THE STORIES OF PEOPLES WHICH HAVE
ATTAINED PROMINENCE IN
HISTORY

VOLUME XX., PART 1

THE STORY OF THE CRUSADES

BY T. A. ARCHER AND C. L. KINGSFORD

VOLUME XX., PART 2

THE CHRISTIAN RECOVERY OF SPAIN

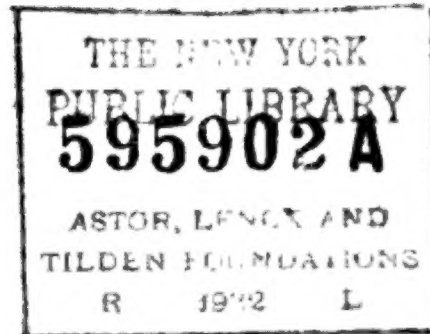
FROM THE MOORISH CONQUEST TO THE
FALL OF GRANADA

(711-1492 A.D.)

BY HENRY EDWARD WATTS

NEW YORK & LONDON
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
The Knickerbocker Press

1895



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PART I.
THE STORY OF THE CRUSADES

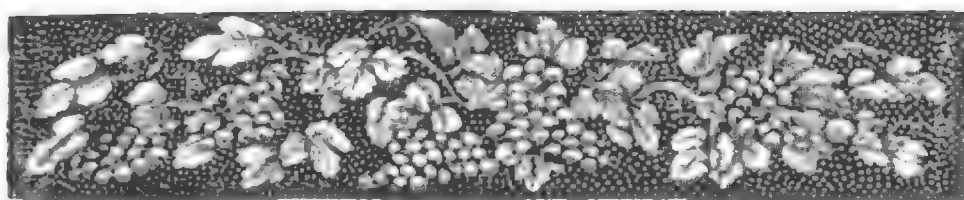
BY
T. A. ARCHER
AND
C. L. KINGSFORD

32730

✓ 1. Russia

✓ 2. Jerusalem (Latin Kingdom, 1099-1200)

2 17



THE STORY OF THE CRUSADES.

PREFACE.

THE present volume bears the sub-title, "The Story of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in order to make it clear at the outset that we are here concerned only with the Crusades which are Crusades in the proper sense of the word. With the Fourth Crusade, the Latin Empire of Constantinople, and still more with those developments, or perversions of the Crusading idea, which led to the so-called Crusades against the Albigensians and the Emperor Frederick, we have nothing to do. In making the story of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem the main thread of the narrative, stress has intentionally been laid on an important if comparatively unfamiliar side of Crusading history. The romance and glamour of Crusading expeditions has often caused the practical achievements of Crusaders in the East to be overlooked, or underrated. Yet it is through the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, that the true character and importance of the Crusades can alone be discerned.

A brief explanation of the circumstances under which this volume has been written appears to be

required. When ill-health made it impossible for Mr. Archer to contemplate the completion of his own work, his material was placed in Mr. Kingsford's hands. The preparation of this material for the press involved not only much condensation and re-arrangement of the manuscript, but also the filling up of some considerable gaps. It would be almost impossible to satisfactorily divide the responsibility for a work produced under such circumstances, and in point of fact there is no single chapter to which both authors have not in some degree contributed. The book therefore appears, without further comment, under their joint names.

The circumstances of the present series forbid that constant citation of authorities in notes, which might otherwise be desirable ; but the fact that the narrative has in the main been compiled from the writings of contemporary historians, will, it is hoped, have given it some merit of freshness, even though the conclusions arrived at may often not differ materially from those of other writers. Whatever claim of originality is thus put forward for the present volume, is made in no spirit of detraction from the advantage, which has in places been derived from freely consulting previous workers in the same field.

In the matter of chronology the conclusions propounded by Mr. T. A. Archer in an article in the *English Historical Review* for January, 1889, have now been adopted without further argument. In the spelling of proper names, those forms which common use has made familiar have been preserved, whilst in the case of persons and places which would be

novel to most readers, the endeavour has been to give the simplest form consistent with accuracy. It may, perhaps, be well to observe that the *j* in names like Kilij, Javalj, Sinjar is to be pronounced like *j* in judge.





THE STORY OF THE CRUSADES.

CONTENTS.

<u>PREFACE</u>	<u>PAGE</u> <u>vii</u>
<u>TABLE OF CONTENTS</u>	<u>xi</u>
<u>DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS</u>	<u>xix</u>

I.

<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	<u>1-25</u>
-------------------------------	-------------

§ 1. THE AGE OF THE PILGRIMS.

Constantine and Helena, 3—Chosroes and Heraclius, 4—
Rise of Mohammedanism, 5—Arculf and Willibald, 9—
Charles the Great, 11—Bernard of St. Michael's Mount,
12.

§ 2. THE EVE OF THE CRUSADES.

The year 1000, 13—Revival of piety, 15—Eleventh Cen-
tury Pilgrims, 17—Rise of the Seljuks, 19—Constantinople
in danger, 21—The Normans, 23—Gregory VII. and
Robert Guiscard, 25.

II.

<u>PETER THE HERMIT AND URBAN THE POPE</u>	<u>26-40</u>
--	--------------

Peter at Jerusalem, 27—The Council of Clermont, 29—
Urban preaches the Crusade, 31—Signs and Wonders, 33—
The preaching of Peter, 35—Walter the Penniless, 37—
Fate of the pilgrims, 39.

III.

PAGE

THE FIRST CRUSADE—THE MUSTER AND THE
MARCH TO ANTIOCH 41-58

Godfrey de Bouillon, 43—Bohemond, 45—Raymond of
Toulouse, 47—Robert of Normandy, 49—The Crusaders at
Constantinople, 51—Schemes of Alexius, 53—Siege of
Nicæa, 55—Battle of Dorylæum, 57.

IV.

THE FIRST CRUSADE—THE FIRSTFRUITS OF CON-
QUEST : EDESSA AND ANTIOCH 59-76

§ 1. THE CONQUEST OF EDESSA.

Baldwin at Edessa, 61—A precarious lordship, 63.

§ 2. THE SIEGE OF ANTIOCH.

The City of Antioch, 65—Troubles of the Crusaders, 67—
Bohemond captures Antioch, 69—Approach of Corbogha,
71—Invention of the Holy Lance, 73—Defeat of Cor-
bogha, 75.

V.

THE FIRST CRUSADE—THE CAPTURE OF THE
HOLY CITY 77-92

Raymond and Bohemond, 79—The Crusaders at Marra, 81
—Peter Bartholomew, 83—The Siege of Jerusalem, 85—
Quarrels and visions, 87—Procession round Jerusalem, 89—
Capture of Jerusalem, 91.

VI.

GODFREY DE BOUILLON 93-107

Choosing a king, 93—Quarrel with Raymond, 95—Battle of
Ascalon, 97—The Christmas Feast, 99—A hero of Romance,
101—The fates of the Chiefs, 103—The Aquitanian Crusade,
105—A disastrous expedition, 107.

VII.

	PAGE
<u>THE LAND AND ITS ORGANISATION . . .</u>	<u>109-129</u>

Physical characteristics, 111—Edessa and Antioch, 113—
The County of Tripoli, 115—The lordships of the Kingdom,
117—The City of Jerusalem, 121—The Assize of Jerusalem,
123—Officers and Courts, 125—Finance, 127—The Eccle-
siastical Hierarchy, 129.

VIII.

<u>THE CONQUEST OF THE LAND—BALDWIN I. .</u>	<u>130-142</u>
--	----------------

Lack of money and men, 133—Dangers of the kingdom, 135
—Jaffa and Ramleh, 137—Tiberias and Montreal, 139—
Character of Baldwin I., 141.

IX.

<u>THE CONQUEST OF THE LAND—THE FRANKS IN NORTHERN SYRIA</u>	<u>143-158</u>
--	----------------

Turkish feuds, 145—Successes of Tancred, 147—Maudud
of Mosul, 149—Borsoki and Borsac, 151—Roger's victory
at Rugia, 153—Death of Roger, 155—Tripoli, 157.

X.

<u>THE CONQUEST OF THE LAND—BALDWIN II. .</u>	<u>159-168</u>
---	----------------

Baldwin II. and Il-Ghazi, 161—Captivity at Khartpert, 163
—Baldwin II. and Antioch, 165—The taking of Tyre, 167.

XL

<u>THE MILITARY ORDERS</u>	<u>169-187</u>
--------------------------------------	----------------

Gerard the Hospitaller, 171—The Rule of the Temple, 173
—Bernard and the Knights, 174—The Hospitallers, 175—
The Knights in the East, 177—Wealth and its abuses, 179—
The Knights in the West, 181—The Lesser Orders, 183—
Later fortunes, 185—Elements of strength and weakness,
187.

XII.

PAGE

THE KINGDOM AT ITS ZENITH—FULK OF ANJOU 188-196

Character of Fulk, 189—Antioch and Tripoli, 191—John Comnenus and Raymond of Antioch, 193—Hugh II. of Jaffa, 195—Capture of Banias, 196.

XIII.

ZANGI AND THE FALL OF EDESSA 197-206

Despair of the Mohammedans, 199—Rise of Zangi, 201—Mohammedan Conquests, 203—Fate of Joscelin II., 205.

XIV.

THE SECOND CRUSADE 207-221

Bernard of Clairvaux, 209—Louis and Conrad, 211—Manuel and the Crusaders, 215—Disasters in Asia Minor, 217—Siege of Damascus, 219—Miserable termination, 221.

XV.

LOSS AND GAIN 222-237§ 1. BALDWIN III. AND ASCALON.

Expedition to Bostra, 223—Baldwin III. and Melisend, 224—The Capture of Ascalon, 227—Theodoric of Flanders, 228—Manuel at Antioch, 229—Character of Baldwin III., 231.

§ 2. THE STRUGGLE FOR EGYPT.

Anarchy in Egypt, 233—Shawir, Shirkuh, and Amalric, 235—Saladin lord of Egypt, 237.

XVI.

THE RIVAL KINGS—NUR-ED-DIN AND AMALRIC 238-248

Character of Nur-ed-din, 239—The defender of Islam, 241—Death of Nur-ed-din, 243—Projects of Amalric, 244—The Templars and the Assassins, 245—Character of Amalric, 247.

XVII.

PAGE

THE RISE OF SALADIN 249-264

A leper king, 250—Raymond II. of Tripoli, 251—Philip of Flanders, 253—Saracen invasions, 255—A two years' truce, 257—Siege of Beyrout, 259—Conquest of Aleppo, 261—Saladin lord supreme, 263.

XVIII.

THE FALL OF JERUSALEM 265-281

Frankish dissensions, 267—The two parties, 269—The marriage of Botron, 271—Coronation of Guy, 273—Battle of Nazareth, 275—Battle of Hattin, 277—Capture of the Holy City, 279—Joy in Islam, 281.

XIX.

THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE 282-304

Knightly training, 283—Knightly accomplishments, 285—Knightly amusements, 287—Intercourse with the Saracens, 291—Luxury of the nobles, 291—The country-folk, 292—The Italian traders and the towns, 295—The Pullani or Syrian Franks, 297—Pilgrims and Merchants, 299—Commerce with the Far East, 301—Weakness of the kingdom, 303.

XX.

THE THIRD CRUSADE—THE GATHERING OF
THE HOST 305-315

Princes and preachers, 307—Frederick Barbarossa, 309—March of Frederick, 311—Richard I. and Philip Augustus, 313—Sicily and Cyprus, 315.

XXI.

THE THIRD CRUSADE—THE SIEGE OF ACRE . 316-326

Guy de Lusignan, 317—Siege of Acre, 319—Christian successes, 321—Famine in the camp, 323—Arrival of Richard, 325.

XXII.

PAGE

THE THIRD CRUSADE — THE CAMPAIGNS OFRICHARD 327-348

French and English, 329—Departure of Philip, 331—The coast march, 333—Jaffa and Ascalon, 337—Negotiations with Saladin, 339—Conrad of Montferrat, 341—The capture of the caravan, 343—Rescue of Jaffa, 345—Truce with Saladin, 347.

XXIII.

ARMS, ARMOUR, AND ARMAMENTS 349-366

Siege operations, 351—Siege castles, 353—Defensive armour, 354—Offensive weapons, 357—The hawk, the hound. and the horse, 359—Castles and fortresses, 361—Military organisation, 363—Fleets and ships, 365.

XXIV.

THE KINGDOM OF ACRE—THE STRUGGLE FORRECOVERY 367-389

The death of Saladin, 368—The German Crusade, 369—The Fourth Crusade, 371—John de Brienne, 373—The Fifth Crusade, 375—The Siege of Damietta, 377—Frederick II., 379—Frederick in Palestine, 381—John of Ibelin and Richard Filangier, 383—Quarrels of the Ayubites, 385—Richard of Cornwall, 387—The Charismian Invasion, 389.

XXV.

THE CRUSADES OF ST. LOUIS AND EDWARD I. 390-407

Flagging enthusiasm, 391—A saintly king, 393—The expedition to Egypt, 395—Ruin of the French army, 399—Louis in Palestine, 401—Death of St. Louis, 403—Edward in Palestine, 405—Attempted assassination, 407.

XXVI.

PAGE

THE KINGDOM OF ACRE—ITS DECAY AND
DESTRUCTION 408-418

A kingless realm, 409—Christian jealousies, 411—The Tar-
tars and Mamluks, 413—Conquests of Bibars, 414—The Fall
of Acre, 417

XXVII.

THE CLOSE OF THE CRUSADES 419-424

Fruitless projects, 420—The Ottoman Turks, 421—Rhodes
and Cyprus, 423—The pilgrim record, 424.

XXVIII.

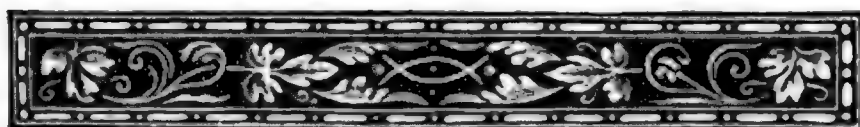
CONCLUSION 425-451

Results of the Crusades, 427—Influence on Politics, 429—
The Crusades and the Papacy, 431—The Crusades and the
Reformation, 433—Social influence, 435—The Crusades and
Commerce, 437—Influence on Historical Literature, 441—
Influence on Geography and Science, 443—The Crusades
and Romance, 445—True Character of the Crusades, 447—
Objects of the Crusades, 449—The Crusades not fruitless,
451.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES 452-456

INDEX 457





THE STORY OF THE CRUSADES.

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| 1. THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE. (See page 121 in Chapter VII.) | Frontispiece |
| 2. MOSQUE OF OMAR | PAGE 7 |
| This building, more properly known as the "Kubbet-es-Sakhrah" or "Dome of the Rock," almost certainly stands on the site of the Ancient Temple. It was commenced by Omar and completed by the Caliph Abd-el-Melek about 686. The Crusaders converted it into a church and called it the Templum Domini; much of their work still remains in the interior—especially a beautiful iron <i>grille</i> between the pillars of the drum. The Templars may have owed their name to the Templum Domini, but their home was at the Aksa Mosque or Templum Salomonis. | |
| 3. EFFIGY OF ROBERT OF NORMANDY | 48 |
| This oak-wood effigy is in Gloucester Cathedral. The coat-of-arms or surcoat, and perhaps the incomplete nature of the great hauberk, fix its date at the close of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. | |
| 4. COPPER COINS OF ALEXIUS | 53 |
| On the obverse of (1) is Alexius with a cross in his right hand and cross-bearing orb in his left; on the obverse of (2) Alexius has the sacred labarum or sceptre spear in his right hand. The reverse of both coins is the same, Christ's head surrounded with a nimbus. Legend: Obverse, 1. 'ΑΛΕ[ξιός]. 2. 'ΑΛΕ[ξιός] ΔΕΣΠΟ[της]; reverse, Ι[ησού]Σ Χ[ριστο]Σ. | |

	PAGE
5. KNIGHTS AT THE TIME OF THE FIRST CRUSADE	56
From the seals of Guy de Laval (<i>floruit</i> , 1095) and Raoul, Count of Vermandois (1116). These seals illustrate the <i>brunea</i> or <i>broigne</i> as worn at the time of the First Crusade (<i>see</i> page 353).	
6. COIN OF BALDWIN I. AS COUNT OF EDESSA	62
A copper coin; weight about 131 grains. The inscription is BAAΔVINO[Σ] [KO]MH[Σ], Baldwin Count. Other coins of Baldwin I. have a figure on the reverse very much like the figure on Baldwin II.' coin, only much ruder.	
7. ANTIOCH	64
This view of modern Antioch is taken from the north, and shows the ancient walls on the hills in the distance.	
8. THE WALLS OF ANTIOCH	70
This shows the line of walls on the southern hills; the towers, of which there were four hundred and fifty, were eighty feet high and thirty feet square. The walls are fifty to sixty feet high and eight feet wide at the top.	
9. MOSAIC IN THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM	87
The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem is perhaps the oldest Christian church in the world. It was built by Constantine or his mother Helena over the traditional cave in which Christ was born. The rich mosaics, which adorn the interior, were put up by Manuel Comnenus in 1169, as the Emperor's own inscription tells us. His artist was a certain Ephraim, and the mosaics were already complete, when the Greek, John Phocas, visited Bethlehem in 1185. The Church at Bethlehem was the place where Baldwin I., and possibly the later kings of Jerusalem, were crowned. It became a custom for the Latin kings of Jerusalem to spend Christmas Eve in this place waiting for the Christmas morning. The scene here represented is Christ's entry into Jerusalem.	
10. A SIEGE-TOWER (<i>see</i> the description on pages 352-3)	89
The tower here represented is moved on rollers, and has a ram in the lowest story.	
11. TOWER OF DAVID	94
Also called the Castle of the Pisans. The existing tower dates from the early part of the twelfth century.	

	PAGE
12. THE TOMB OF GODFREY DE BOUILLON	101

Chateaubriand saw this tomb in 1805-6; but the Greeks out of national jealousy ruined it in 1808, by breaking up the stones and scattering the fragments broadcast. The tomb of Baldwin I., which stood close by, seems to have been destroyed at the same time.

13. THE CASTLE OF TRIPOLI	114
-------------------------------------	-----

Somewhere in the recesses of this castle there is said to exist the tomb of the great Crusader, Raymond of S. Gilles, who died here in 1106. The castle is now turned into barracks for Turkish soldiers. Though a good deal altered, it still preserves much of the aspect of a twelfth or thirteenth-century castle both within and without. In the early years of the present century the traveller could still see the escutcheons of the old Frankish counts on the stones. "Tripoli itself," writes a modern traveller, "is the town of the Crusades *par excellence*; it is still what the knights left it in 1289. Nothing has been destroyed. Houses, arcades, windows, armorial blazons cut in stone—all bear witness to the two hundred years of Frankish rule."

14. FRIEZE IN THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE	121
--	-----

This carving was evidently the work of Western masons. It was probably brought from France and not executed in Palestine. It is twelfth-century work, representing (1) the raising of Lazarus, (2) Christ sends His disciples to procure the ass; Jesus Himself is seen within the house. Below are two shepherds. (3) The disciples bring the ass to Christ. (4) Christ's entry into Jerusalem. (5) The Last Supper.

15. BEYROUT WITH LEBANON IN THE DISTANCE	131
--	-----

16. TOWER OF RAMLEH	137
-------------------------------	-----

The so-called White Mosque, or Tower of the Forty Martyrs. This tower is said to have been built by Arabic workmen from the plans of a European architect, and is considered to date from about the year 1270. Tradition says it was the belfry of the old Christian church; in this case it may well have been restored in 1318, and not as sometimes stated, erected by Malek-en-Nasr, son of Kalāun.

- PAGE
17. COIN OF TANCRED 146
 Tancred wears the Mohammedan turban and dress, which shows how early the Frankish settlers began to feel the influence of Eastern luxury. On another coin Tancred even uses the title μέγας ἀμνηρᾶς, "great emir." The legend is Κ[ύρι]E BO[ηθεῖ] ΤΑΓΚΡ[ηδψ] Ι[ησδν]Σ Χ[ριστο]Σ ΝΙΚΑ- [ρωρ], "O Lord help Tancred: Jesus Christ the Conqueror."
18. COIN OF ROGER OF ANTIOCH 154
 A copper coin representing St. George and the dragon. Legend ὁ ἅγιος (o a in monogram), ΓΕΩΡ[γιος]: ΡΟΤΖΕΡ[ου] ΠΡΙΓΚ[ι]ΠΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΚ[εας]. S. George: Roger, prince of Antioch.
19. COIN OF BALDWIN II. 160
 Copper coin of Baldwin as Count of Edessa, weighing about 69 grains. Legend: ΒΑΛΔΟΙΝΟΣ ΔΟΥΛΟ[Σ] ΣΤΑΥ, "Baldwin slave of the cross." The *ra* of *stav* is written as a monogram.
20. SEAL OF THE HOSPITALLERS 175
 1. SEAL OF THE TEMPLARS 176
 This shows the two knights on one horse. The reverse probably represents the Mosque of Omar or Templum Domini, from which the order perhaps drew its name.
22. RUINS OF THE CASTLE AT TORTOSA 179
 Built by the Templars about 1183. It has been suggested that the huge stones, of which the castle is composed, were drawn from the sepulchral monuments of Phœnician or pre-historic days, and the ruins of the ancient Aradus on the site of which Tortosa stands. Tortosa was captured by the Crusaders in 1099. The Templars abandoned it in 1291; they seized it once more in 1300, but only to lose it again in 1302 or 1303.
23. SEAL OF PONS, COUNT OF TRIPOLI, FROM ABOUT 1112 TO 1137 190
24. SEAL OF HUGH OF JAFFA 194
 This may be the seal of Hugh II., who was banished by Fulk, or of his father, Hugh de Puiset, who was of the noble family of Puiset, near Chartres. The elder Hugh was

a rebel against Louis VI. in 1112, and afterwards sought his fortunes in the East, and was made Count of Jaffa by Baldwin I.

25. CRUSADERS FIGHTING SARACENS 200

This is one of ten pictures in a window formerly behind the great altar of the church of St. Denys, near Paris; the window was destroyed in the Revolution. The character of the armour and the execution of the work point to the date as being early in the twelfth century, probably before 1140, when Suger dedicated the church. The pictures illustrate the First Crusade: the one given in the text represents a fight between Kilij Arslan and the Crusaders. They form a valuable representation of early twelfth-century armour. The Christians are distinguished by a cross on their conical helmets which have no nasals. The Saracens have round helmets, and their armour is more often composed of scales than of rings or plates; only the Saracens have bows.

26. SEAL OF LOUIS VII. 209

This represents Louis as Duke of Aquitaine, and shows the armour in use at the time of the Second Crusade. The great hauberk is already on its way to completeness, and, as is sometimes the case in the Bayeux Tapestry, has a coif to protect the neck and head. The helmet is conical with a nose piece; these characteristics appear occasionally till the very end of the century. Compare, however, the development as shown in plates 42, 53, and 56.

27. STATUE OF CONRAD III. IN THE CATHEDRAL AT BAMBERG 213

This is a thirteenth-century work, which may possibly represent not Conrad but Stephen of Hungary. In any case, it is a good example of civil dress about the year 1250.

28. COVER OF QUEEN MELISEND'S PSALTER 225

This twelfth-century psalter, which was probably written for Melisend, wife of Fulk, is now in the British Museum, and may be seen in the show cases. The book is beautifully written, and illuminated with full-page scenes from the life of Our Lord, &c. The covers, which may be much earlier than the manuscript, are carved in ivory, and

jewelled with small rubies and turquoises. The artist was probably a Byzantine, and seems to have been called Herodius. The cover here given represents the six acts of mercy; the king may be Fulk himself. The other cover represents scenes from the life of David.

29. COIN OF MANUEL COMNENUS 229
A besant, the obverse represents S. Theodore, with the Emperor on his right hand; the reverse Jesus Christ. Legend ΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ Ι[ησου]Σ Χ[ριστου]Σ.
30. SEAL OF HUGH OF CÆSAREA 234
Hugh Grener was Lord of Cæsarea as early as 1154, and as late as 1168; he probably died in or before 1174.
31. SEAL OF REGINALD DE CHÂTILLON AS PRINCE OF ANTIOCH 242
Reginald came to Palestine about the time of the Second Crusade, and was Prince of Antioch from his marriage to Constance in 1153 to his captivity in 1161.
32. SEAL OF RAYMOND OF TRIPOLI 251
This is probably the seal of Raymond II., Count of Tripoli, 1152-1187, and protector of the kingdom; or it may be that of his father, Raymond I., 1137-1152.
33. SEAL OF PHILIP OF FLANDERS 253
This is by no means the most curious of the seals engraved for Philip. An earlier seal (A.D. 1161), figured in Vrede's "Sigilla comitum Flandrensium," is remarkable as showing the lion of Flanders emblazoned on the count's helmet, shield, and banner, and is perhaps the very first instance of so lavish a display of the armorial blazonry that was then coming into fashion. No true armorial bearings can be shown to have existed before the middle of the twelfth century (1134-1166), and the true art of heraldry did not take shape till well into the next century.
34. RUINED TOWER OF KERAK (THE CASTLE OF REGINALD OF CHÂTILLON) 263
This tower was built by Payn, the king's butler, about 1140.

For the history of Kerak see p. 117. Its importance was so great that when, in 1218 El-Kamil offered to surrender the whole kingdom of Jerusalem in exchange for Damietta, he expressly excepted Kerak and Montreal from the exchange; this exception caused the failure of the negotiations. In the thirteenth century Kerak was the stronghold of Dawud, see p. 387.

35. SEAL OF BALIAN OF IBELIN 278

This may be the seal of Balian the Old, founder of the house of Ibelin, who died in or before 1155. More probably it is that of his son Balian II., the hero of the siege of Jerusalem, who, through his marriage with Maria Comnena, widow of Amalric I., acquired the lordship of Nablus. Balian II. was a child in 1155, and could not sign his own name; he died in or before 1205. His son, John "the Old," was the doughty antagonist of Frederick II.; see pp. 383-4.

36. CEREMONY OF KNIGHTHOOD 283

From a thirteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum.

37. KNIGHT: CHESSMAN 286

This is one of the pieces found in the island of Lewis. The pieces are large; the pawns being $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and the kings $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; they are made of walrus ivory, and were originally coloured dark red. From the great number of pieces discovered, it seems probable that the find consisted of a merchant's stock, not of the property of a player. The costume of the pieces belongs to the Twelfth Century.

38. FREDERICK II. AND HIS FALCONER AND HAWKS . . . 289

From a thirteenth-century manuscript of Frederick's treatise, "*De arte venandi cum avibus*," now in the Vatican Library. It is full of the most beautiful illustrations of hunting and hawking. The illustration here given represents the Emperor clad in a blue mantle with an under robe of a warm brown; the falconer kneeling before him has a loose yellow-coloured robe. Frederick was assisted in the compilation of the book by his son Manfred.

	PAGE
39. HAYMAKING AND HARVESTING	293

These scenes are from a series contained in a manuscript in the British Museum (Cotton Julius A vi.), which was written about 1050, and is therefore a good authority for agricultural operations about the time of the First Crusade. The twelve months are represented. In January the peasants are ploughing with oxen; in February pruning trees; in March digging and sowing; in April feasting on the ale-bench; in May tending sheep; in June cutting timber; in July and August haymaking and harvesting; September shows a boar hunt; October a hawking scene; November a bon-fire; December corn-threshing.

40. STATUE OF FREDERICK I.	311
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This represents the contemporary (1170-1190) statue of the Emperor in the cloisters at the church of S. Zeno, near Reichenhall, in Bavaria.

41. COIN OF GUY DE LUSIGNAN AS KING OF CYPRUS	317
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This is a denier. Legend REX GUIDO DE CIPRO.

42. SEAL OF RICHARD I.	325
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The date of this seal is 1195. It shows the grand hauberk complete; but as yet there is no "barding" for the horse and no surcoat or coat-of-arms flowing over the armour. The "bliaud," worn underneath the mail, may be seen flowing behind the left leg. Notice the extreme length of the sword as compared with that of Louis VII., plate 26.

43 and 44. KNIGHTS FIGHTING	332 and 335
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These illustrations are taken from a late thirteenth-century manuscript, "*Histoire de la commencement du monde jusques a la naissance de Jesu Crist.*" They show the full development of surcoat, barding and closed helmet; notice also the large crests. The manuscript (Reg. 16. G. vi.) from which these illustrations are taken is now lettered on the back, "*Les Chroniques de S. Denys*"; it is most lavishly adorned with beautifully coloured illustrations of scenes from military and domestic life. These illustrations

are to be found at the foot of most pages, and in many cases are crowded with figures. Unfortunately bad colours were used, and in many places the paint has now peeled off or worn away. They may have been in better condition when Shaw made his drawings; otherwise he has certainly given his copies a finish which the original barely justifies. On many pages towards the end of the volume only the outline of the picture has been sketched; in other places their outlines are only partly filled in with colours.

45 and 46. MILITARY MACHINES 350, 351

These are modern reconstructions of mangonels or stone casters, but will show to some extent what the character of the machines must have been.

47. KING AND KNIGHT 354

From a manuscript "Manual of Devotion," written in the early part of the thirteenth, or late in the twelfth, century, and now in the British Museum (MS., Reg. 2 A. xx.). The figure of the knight shows clearly the laces which fastened the armoured hood—or perhaps the movable *ventaille*—down to the grand hauberk or tunic. It also seems to show thigh pieces, distinct both from the hauberk and the greaves, which cover the fore part of the leg below the knee. The surcoat, or coat-of-arms, shows that this drawing can hardly be earlier than 1200 A.D.—soon after which date this adjunct begins to appear on seals. The coat-of-arms is said to have been introduced from the East, where perhaps it served originally to keep the iron *broigne* from being heated by the sun's rays. Saladin's Mamluks seem to have worn yellow tunics over their armour as early as 1177—years before we have any trace of this habit in the West.

48. KERAK DES CHEVALIERS 362

Now called Kalaat-el-Hosn, was a castle of the knights of S. John and commanded the roads from Emesa and Hamah to Tripoli and Tortosa. Kalaat-el-Hosn was taken by the Franks about 1125, and given to the Hospitallers by Count Raymond I. in 1145. The original castle suffered much from earthquakes in 1157, 1169, and 1202; after the last date it

was probably reconstructed as we now see it. The castle is still much as it was when the Franks left it in 1271 A.D.

49. SEAL OF JAMES DE VITRY 374
 He was a Cardinal, and Bishop of Acre from about 1217 to 1229. James de Vitry was the historian of the Fifth Crusade, and indeed of the whole kingdom from 1099 to his own day.
50. BESANT OF HUGH I. OF CYPRUS 375
 This fine gold coin has the king in his royal robes on the obverse, and Christ seated on the reverse, with the legend, "HUGO REX CYPRI": Ι[ησους]Χ[ριστος]. The besants struck in Cyprus contained only one-sixth part of gold, the remainder being chiefly silver; hence from their colour they were called "white besants." The average weight of a white besant was 88 grains.
51. SEAL OF FREDERICK II., AS KING OF JERUSALEM . . . 382
52. SEAL OF LOUIS IX. OF FRANCE 393
53. THE TWO WILLIAM LONGSWORDS FROM THEIR TOMBS IN SALISBURY CATHEDRAL 397
 William Longsword I., Earl of Salisbury (*d.* 1226), was son of Henry II., and perhaps of Fair Rosamond, and was possibly present at the siege of Damietta; his tomb affords a beautiful example of early thirteenth-century armour. The other effigy is traditionally that of his son, the William Longsword mentioned in the text. The two effigies are much alike, except that the latter has the legs crossed, has no blazonry on the shield, and has small *plates* of armour to protect the elbows and knees. If this is really the tomb of William Longsword II., it perhaps affords the earliest known instance of such plates—the beginnings of plate armour.
54. FORTIFICATIONS OF SIDON 402
 This represents the work of Louis IX. in 1250, which was almost perfect till the English bombardment in 1840.
55. SEAL OF PHILIP III. OF FRANCE 403
 He accompanied his father to Tunis in 1270, but left Sicily

for France the same year, and never fulfilled his promise to return to the East. This is a splendid example of the luxurious blazonry now so fully in vogue, with coat-of-arms, horse barding and vizored helmet all complete.

56. SEAL OF EDWARD I. 405

This shows well chain armour and grand hauberk at their fullest development. Notice the vizored helmet completely hiding the face, the coat-of-arms worn over the hauberk and the horse barding. Compare the seal of Richard I. in plate 42.

57. SEAL OF JOHN DE MONTFORT, LORD OF TYRE AND TORON 411

He was son of Philip de Montfort, a cousin of the famous Earl Simon of Leicester, who married the heiress of Toron, and acquired Tyre after the expulsion of Richard Filangier, in which he took a prominent part ; he died November 27th, 1283.

58. ACRE AS IT WAS ABOUT 1291 A.D. 415

From the manuscript of Marino Sanuto's treatise, "*Secreta Fidelium Crucis*," written in 1307 and presented to Pope John XXII. in September, 1321. The work was intended to urge upon the Church and princes of Western Europe the duty of a new Crusade. It was by the *Turris Maledicta*—name of ill-omen—that Khalil forced his entry.

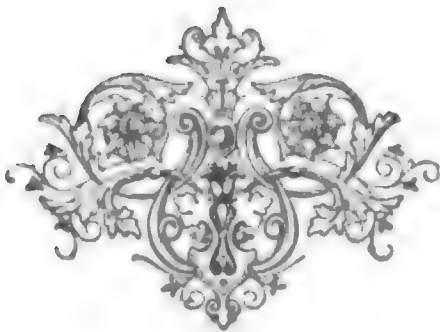
Of the above illustrations numbers 1, 2, 11, 13, 16, and 54 are reproduced from Lortet's "*La Syrie d'Aujourd'hui*"; numbers 8, 10, 12, 20, 22, 25, 42, 45, 46, 48, and 58 from Kugler's "*Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*"; numbers 3, 27, 36, 40, 51, and 56 from Prutz's "*Staatengeschichte des abenlandes im Mittelalter*" in Oncken's *Allgemeine Geschichte*; numbers 21, 23, 24, 30-32, 35, 49, and 57 from Sebastian Paoli's "*Codice Diplomatico del sacro militare ordine Gerosolamitano*"; numbers 6, 17-19, 41, and 50 from Schlumberger's "*Numismatique de l'orient Latin*"; numbers 4 and 29 from Sabatier's "*Monnaies Byzantines*"; numbers 5, 26, and 55 from Demay's "*Le Costume au Moyen age d'après les Sceaux*"; and number 33 from Demay's "*Inventaire des Sceaux*"; numbers 39, 43, 44, and 47 from Shaw's "*Dresses and Decorations of the*

PAGE

Middle Ages"; numbers 7 and 15 from Taylor's "La Syrie, &c."; numbers 9 and 14 from Vogüe's "Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte"; 28 is from Bayet's "L'Art Byzantin"; 34 from the Duc de Luynes' "Voyage d'exploration à la Mer Morte"; 37 from "Archæologia," vol. xxiv.; 38 from Seroux d'Agincourt's "Histoire d'Art," iii. pl. lxxiii.; and 53 from Dodsworth's "Historical Account of Salisbury Cathedral." The plan of Jerusalem in 1187, on page 119, is reproduced by permission of the Palestine Exploration Society, from the "Survey of Western Palestine," vi. 283.

MAPS.

THE EAST ILLUSTRATING THE ROUTES OF THE FIRST THREE CRUSADES	To face page 1
THE LATIN PRINCIPALITIES OF SYRIA IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY	108
JERUSALEM IN 1187	119



PART II.
THE STORY OF THE CHRISTIAN
RECOVERY OF SPAIN

BY
H. E. WATTS



THE CHRISTIAN RECOVERY OF SPAIN.

PREFACE.

IF only on the score of its novelty, seeing that I attempt what to my knowledge has never been done before, I may claim some indulgence for the present work. The object is to give the general student a sketch of the process by which the Spanish nation was formed. The story of early Spain, from its loss to Christendom to its recovery, is really the story of some four or five nations, which, though springing from the same root, followed each its separate law of development, blending finally into one nation rather through the accidents of war and policy than by deliberate choice or any natural process of concretion. Their unity, when finally achieved, was thus rather an agglutination than an association—which, indeed, remains true of the Spain, or Spains, of the present day. Leon has become merged in Castile—Catalonia in Aragon ; but each of the great provinces composing the Spanish nationality has had its independent history, and each retains its individual character, formed by its own struggle for existence and developed by its peculiar natural conditions.

To follow the course of that struggle as a whole, and to weave into one connected story the tangled threads of that diverse and confused life, is a task which needs some hardihood to undertake, in which I do not know that I have any predecessor. The only history of Spain in English is the general one, embracing the whole Peninsula, from the earliest times to the close of the Eighteenth century, by Dr. Dunham, which was published sixty years ago, in five volumes of Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia. Of this learned and laborious historian I would desire to speak with all respect; but his work is certainly too much flattered by Buckle when he declares it to be "the best history in the English language of a foreign modern country." Writing without the light which recent Arabic scholars have turned upon the early annals of Spain, with no authority better than the frail one of Conde, and Conde only in the faithless French version of Marlès—Dunham is now entirely out of date. Nor was Dunham gifted with the instinct of history to guide him through the mists and mazes of the early Spanish chronicles. He is obstinate and credulous—over-fond of parading his authorities, which are like a stage army, formidable rather by repetition than by weight or multitude—strangely partial in some of his judgments, especially of the kings of the Bourbon dynasty—with prejudices and passions, which blind him to some of the ugliest features of the political condition—tedious and obscure in his narrative, feeble and platitudinous in his too frequent moralisations. The best part of Dunham—the part which doubtless captured the judgment of

Buckle—is his account of the civil and social institutions of the early Spaniards. The worst feature of Dunham is the unfortunate scheme of arrangement, according to which the history of one nation is taken separately for a chapter or two, and then left suspended for the history of another. With all his faults, however, it would be ungrateful in me not to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Dunham for much of the knowledge which I have endeavoured to use in this simpler and more condensed narrative, where the growth of all the Christian kingdoms is told as one story.

The sources of Spanish history are twofold—Christian and Arabic. The bald, scanty chronicles of the early Christian writers, who were all ecclesiastics, are supplemented by the fuller and more ornate narratives of the Moorish historians, of which latter by far the most valuable are those in the collection translated and published by Don Pascual de Gayangos in his “Mahommedan Dynasties,” which may be said to be the beginning of all our real knowledge of early Spanish history from the Moorish side. The work of comparing the two and gleaning the truth from the rival utterances has never been thoroughly done. The late Professor Dozy of Leyden, in his “*Récherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne*” and other works, displayed an excellent acumen and a true historical sense. Dozy is discursive and pugnacious, who will stop in the middle of an important research to fight with some rival Arabist, and in the ardour of battle is apt to forget his reader. But for what the Leyden professor has

done in interpreting the old monkish legends by the light of learning and common sense he is entitled to the gratitude of all students of Spanish history.

The authorities from the Christian side are the monkish chroniclers, who wrote in Latin, of whom Isidorus Pacensis, wrongly termed Bishop of Beja, who dates from 754, is the first. Next to him, who does not seem to have been acquainted with his predecessor's work, was Sebastian, a monk of Salamanca, who composed his chronicles in the reign of Alfonso III. (866-910). The Monks of Silos and Albelda wrote about 881-3. The works of these, with other fragments of contemporary and later chroniclers, are preserved in some of the many volumes of Florez, his "*España Sagrada*"—a monumental work, entitling the learned author to be called the Muratori and the Montfaucon of Spain, in which is enshrined all that remains of old Spanish history. The "*España Sagrada*" has been brought down from 1754 to 1850 by successive continuations, and now extends to forty-seven volumes, containing a mine of history which has hardly yet been thoroughly explored. For the dark period of the Tenth and Eleventh centuries the record is imperfect, the chief light being furnished by the Arabic historians, Ibn Haiyân, who wrote in the Eleventh, and Ibn Khaldoun in the Thirteenth, centuries. For the special history of the Cid the documents, from the Christian side, are, first, a fragment of a Latin Chronicle written in 1141, together with the contract of the hero's marriage with Ximena, originally published in 1601; secondly, some brief notices in the Latin annals of Toledo and Compostella of the

Thirteenth century ; thirdly, the "*Gesta Roderici Campidocti*," discovered by Risco in the convent of S. Isidore at Leon, bearing internal evidence of having been written before 1233 ; fourthly, the "*Poema del Cid*," which is as much history as poetry, to which Dozy assigns the date of 1207 ; fifthly, the "*Crónica Rimada*," a fragment in rude verse, in which certain of the deeds of the Campeador are recited, obviously from living tradition and popular song ; lastly, the so-called "*Crónica del Cid*," to which an exaggerated historical value has been attributed by Southey and others, which is clearly proved to be only the fourth chapter of the General Chronicle of Alfonso X., retouched and with the Christian character of the hero revised and corrected by some ignorant monk of the Fourteenth century. To all these authorities, insufficient up to the time of Dr. Dunham to prove to all men the real existence of the Cid, there has now been added, by a happy discovery made by Professor Dozy in the archives of Gotha, a very curious and valuable document which settles for ever the question of the Cid's identity. This is a letter written by a contemporary and eye-witness, a Moor of rank who was the Cid's prisoner at the taking of Valencia, giving a detailed account of the calamities which had overtaken the city by that accursed "dog of Galicia," with a brief account of his career. This letter is preserved in a volume of Arabic manuscripts, being the third of a treatise on the men of letters who flourished in Spain during the fifth century of the Hegira, and is dated 505—corresponding to A.D. 1109, or ten years after the Cid's death.

The leading Christian chronicler of the Thirteenth century is Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo, that same fiery prelate who bore his red cross before him at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. Archbishop Rodrigo, who has incorporated in his work the labours of all his predecessors, supplementing and enlarging them out of the resources of his own fruitful and daring imagination, is as intrepid in history as he was in battle, and cannot be trusted to tell the truth when it bears against the Faith and his nation—a characteristic which he shares with nearly all the chroniclers of his race.

The first to gather up all the traditions and stories of Christian Spain into one history was the learned King Alfonso X., who caused to be compiled, and partly wrote, the "*Crónica General*." This, which is the earliest book of any importance written in the Romance or Castilian tongue, has a value as literature far transcending its historical worth. It is one of the monuments of the Spanish language, to which, seeing that it has not been reprinted since 1604, and was never properly edited, scarcely sufficient justice has been done by the modern scholars of the two Royal Academies who have charge of Letters and of History in Spain. Alfonso, who is said to have been assisted in his labours by learned men of the Moorish nation, begins his history with the creation of the world, and ends it with the death of King Fernando, his father, in 1252. It is divided into four parts, of which the third and fourth only treat of the affairs of Spain. The value of the General Chronicle as history may be said to be mainly of a subjective character.

It is as a series of pictures of national life and manners, rather than as a storehouse of facts, that his book is most precious. History in the Thirteenth century, in Spain as elsewhere, was an art rather than a science. To tell the story as the people had it, this was the chronicler's function. To sift the truth of the accepted belief was no part of his duty. We may be grateful to King Alfonso for that, in spite of his learning, he was not in this respect superior to his age. He has included in his Chronicle everything that his people believed and sung, about the things that had happened in the world. For this service, at least, let his memory be respected. An enormous number of ballads—the earliest of all historical documents—of popular legends, of familiar traditions, of vulgar stories and sayings of the common people are here preserved, which but for this book would have perished—of an intrinsic value far transcending any facts, or theories about facts, which Alfonso was likely to have possessed. Whether the material from which Alfonso and his scribes worked was mainly the ballads of the country, or whether, as others have maintained, it was the ballads which were made out of the rich imaginative stuff here contained, is one of those questions which scholars will never cease to debate. Probably the truth lies midway between the two theories. Doubtless many of the ancient ballads are to be found embedded almost whole in the narrative, often with rhyme and metre intact. Certainly, also, the narrative itself has furnished the ballad. Out of the rich mine of ore, almost pure metal in its bed, it was not difficult in that easy

melodious Castilian, with its double resource of consonant and assonant rhyme, to carve out verses almost ready made; and thus, doubtless, sprung most of the profuse ballading of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries.

The example of Alfonso X. in compiling the annals of his country was followed by his successors. From that time forward every monarch had his chronicler, and it is to these individual chronicles, unequal as they are in merit, that the historian of Spain is chiefly indebted for his knowledge of the later reigns, down to that of Isabel and Ferdinand, who crowned the edifice of Spanish nationality, and were the first, as they were the last, of the pure Spanish sovereigns. Henceforth we are on firmer ground and work with solid material. Some of these individual chronicles of the kings, beginning with that of the chivalrous Alfonso XI., were reprinted during the last century under the care of the Spanish Academy; but the series is by no means complete. In this, as in other points of the especial duty pertaining to it, as in the neglect of the grand old chronicle of Alfonso X., which is extant only in the two rare and corrupt editions of Zamora (1541), and Valladolid (1604), the Spanish Academy of History has done little to earn its name.

Emerging from the region of contemporary chronicle and tradition the student of early Spanish life receives but small aid from the recognised professors of history. The national historian is Mariana, the Jesuit, who wrote his great history, first in Latin, then in Spanish, in the first decade of the Seventeenth

century. Mariana, a true soldier of the order he professed, first brought himself into notice as the author of a work in which the lawfulness of regicide, in the cause of the Faith, was maintained and justified. His history of Spain has become a classic for its style, which is of the purest and most elevated Castilian—simple, dignified, rich, and picturesque. He is the Spanish Livy; equal to his model in liveliness of narrative and in imagination. He is one of the first of the historians who cultivated the art of telling a story, who offered the charm of style as a substitute for truth. Unlike some later professors of the art rhetorical, Mariana made no pretence at truth telling. He is perfectly frank about his scheme of writing. "I never undertook," he says, "to make a history of Spain in which I should verify every particular fact; for if I had I should never have finished. I undertook only to arrange in a becoming style what others had collected as materials for the fabric I desired to raise." In this more modest design Mariana has been completely successful. Except that he is not to be trusted for any single fact or date, Mariana is one of the best of historians. His style is admirable, though in parts careless and diffuse. He has caught the trick of narrative. His speeches—who cares whether they were delivered by the very persons in whose mouths they are put?—are full of eloquence. He has the art of story-telling in perfection, with all the prolixity and impressive dwelling on details which belong to the highest professors of the fiction which would be accepted for truth. He will continue to be read, for his style, among the masters of the Castilian

tongue. As to the rest, which to him was the smaller part, the retailing of facts, he is not to be trusted. It is not that he distorts the truth, but that he has no idea that it is his duty to separate the true from the false. Enough for him that the story is to be found in some old writer ; that it is picturesque, and tending to the honour of his Church and his nation—the Church being always preferred to the king or to the people. He records, with admirable gravity and precision, the most fantastic stories ; and believes everything he records—miracles, apparitions, heavenly interpositions in battle, improbable feats of war, and the strangest tales of slaughter. For all that Mariana is a delightful writer, who is justly reckoned an honour to his country.

Of his rivals and contemporaries, nay, of most of those who came after him, it cannot be said that they were any better in truthfulness, while they were vastly inferior in art. Morales is even more credulous, thoroughly dull, and intolerably tedious. His contemporary, Zurita the Aragonese, who wrote the *Annals of his country* in 1562, must be placed higher than any of them in all that constitutes the true and sober historian. He is the first of those who wrote of events in Spain who cared to trouble himself about the truth, and though he leans to the side of his country throughout, he is commendably free from the usual vices of the Spanish annalist, and can be trusted to speak honestly even of the king and of the Faith.

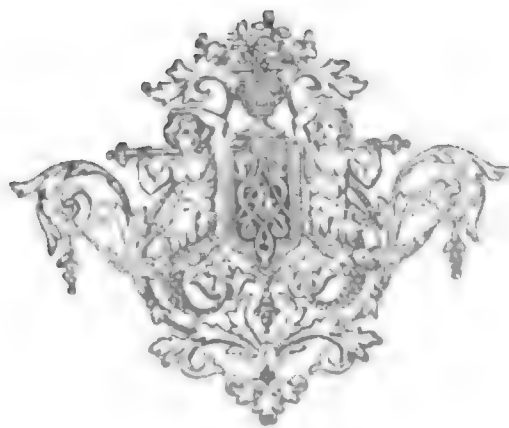
The modern native historians who deal with the early life of Spain are numerous, but not distinguished

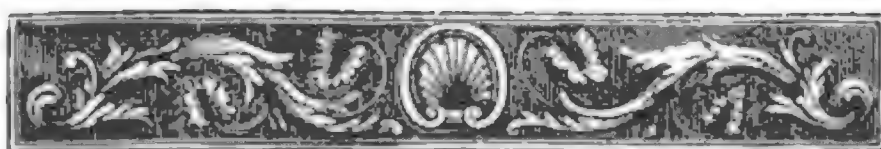
for critical insight or philosophical impartiality. Their prevailing faults are tediousness and an incurable propensity to give to the ancient story a practical and political application. In credulity and in defect of the sense of proportion and perspective they are not much better than the older writers, while they are far less picturesque and lively. One of the most recent, who is also the most ambitious, of the modern Spanish historians, who claims to deal with the past from the superior point of modern enlightenment, is Lafuente, whose twenty-ninth volume comes down to Isabella the Second. It is a work more conspicuous for largeness of margin than for greatness of soul, and is on a scale too grand for its spirit of candour. While ashamed of the absurdities to be found in the old chronicles, Lafuente is too timid or too patriotic to correct them all, himself repeating many of the mediæval legends, with a fond relish, as pertaining to the glory of Spain. Of Lafuente's quality of enlightenment we may judge by the fact that, while mildly condemning the decree for the expulsion of the Moriscoes, he claims the result as conducive to the integrity and greatness of the country.

This is the besetting sin of all the Spanish historians, who, more, I think, than those of any other nation, are prone to believe it to be a point of patriotism to make out such a story as shall best redound to the honour and glory of Spain.

A vast mass of material for the history of Spain, which still needs sifting and sorting, lies buried in the multitude of volumes published by the Royal

Academy of History under the title of "Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de España"—a publication which has passed its ninetieth volume, and is still proceeding.





THE CHRISTIAN RECOVERY OF SPAIN.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	<u>1-15</u>

L

<u>THE RALLY IN THE ASTURIAS, AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHRISTIAN KINGDOM. 711-866</u>	<u>16-41</u>
--	--------------

The landing of Tarik—The Berbers and the Goths—The Battle of Guadalete—Advance of the Moors—The Christians under Theodomir—The Retreat to the Asturias—Pelayo chosen Leader—Covadonga—The rally in Asturias—The Christians take heart—Recovery of lost territory—The romantic Episode of Charlemagne—Charlemagne's invasion—The dolorous Rout of Roncesvalles—The Spanish side of the Story—The Version in the Spanish Ballads—Bernardo del Carpio—A doubtful Hero—The reign of Alfonso II.—Apocryphal Victory of Clavijo—Saints in Battle—Ordoño I.

II.

<u>THE KINGDOM OF LEON—RISE OF CASTILE—THEIR TEMPORARY UNION. 866-1109</u>	<u>42-70</u>
--	--------------

The second Founder of the State—The policy of disruption—Leon made Capital—Period of confusion—Rise of the Counts of Castile—Leon and Castile—Rise of Almanzor—Legendary

Battle of Calatañazor—Partition of his States—Siege of Zamora—The Cid and the King—Rise of the Almoravides—Almoravides usurp Moorish Dominions.

III.

THE STORY OF CID. 1026-1099 71-91

The ideal hero—His character—Alfonso's Standard-bearer—The Cid's marriage with Ximena—The Cid starts on his adventure—The Cid in battle—At war with Raymond Berenger—A dinner with the Cid—The Cid in death—Death of the Cid.

IV.

THE PERIOD OF DISSEVERANCE—RISE OF THE SMALLER STATES—CASTILE AND LEON DIVIDED AND UNITED 92-120

Anarchy in Mahomedan Spain—Growth of Navarre—Battle of Alcoraz—Early Counts of Barcelona—War between Castile and Aragon—Discord under Queen Urraca—Alfonso the Battler—Separation of Aragon and Navarre—Rise of the Almohades—Another separation—Great defeat of the Christians—Las Navas de Tolosa—A crowning Victory—Queen Berengaria.

V.

UNITED CASTILE AND LEON—RISE OF ARAGON. 1217-1254 121-144

Campaign in Andalusia—Defeat of Pedro of Aragon—Jayme meditates conquest of Valencia—Mahammed-ibn-Alhamar—Aragon aids Castile—Character of King Jayme—Conquest of Seville—Death of San Fernando—Alfonso the Sage—Character of Alfonso.

VI.

PAGE

LAWS AND GOVERNMENT OF CASTILE AND ARAGON
—THE CORTES AND THE FUEROS—PROGRESS
OF ARTS AND LETTERS 145-171

The *Fuero Juzgo*—The *Siete Partidas*—The Cortes—Laws of
Aragon—Aragonese Barons—The Mozarabic Ritual—Religion
influences National Character—The Ballad—Poetry and
Science—Handicraft—Romanesque Churches—Architec-
ture.

VII.

THE REIGNS OF SANCHE IV., FERNANDO IV.,
AND ALFONSO XI. IN CASTILE—VICTORIES
OVER THE MOORS—AFFAIRS OF ARAGON.
1284-1387 173-194

Alonso the Good—Troubles of the realm—Civil War—War
 between Castile and Granada—Battle of Salado—Siege of
 Algeciras—Death of Alfonso—Aragon's entry into Italian
 affairs—War in Sicily—Pedro IV. of Aragon.

VIII.

REIGN OF PEDRO THE CRUEL—THE GREAT CIVIL
WAR—ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN SPAIN. 1350-
1369 195-215

Queen Blanche of Bourbon—Butcheries of the King--Charac-
ter of Pedro—Pedro's wanton murders—Murder of Queen
Blanche—The Black Prince to the rescue—Battle of Najera—
An Episode of Chivalry—Pedro falls into a trap—The end of
the tyrant.

IX.

THE DYNASTY OF TRASTAMARA—ENRIQUE II.—	
JUAN I.—ENRIQUE III.—AFFAIRS OF ARAGON.	
1369-1412	216-231

John of Gaunt a claimant to the throne—Portugal sides with the English—The Portuguese defeat the Castilians—John of Gaunt marries his daughters—The adventure of Alcántara—Issue of the religious raid—Aragon in Sardinia—A Prince of Castile reigns in Aragon.

X.

THE REIGN OF JUAN II.—THE AGE OF CHIVALRY.	
1407-1454	232-255

The beginning of Art and Letters—The King's favourite—The Constable in his glory—The Constable meets the King—Dignities and revenues of Don Alvaro—The Pact of Tordesillas—Execution of Don Alvaro—The Spanish Raleigh—Growth of Chivalry—Jousts and Tournaments—An Honourable Passage of Arms.

XI.

REIGN OF ENRIQUE IV.—CIVIL WAR AND DIS-	
ORDER—MARRIAGE OF FERNANDO AND ISABEL	
—UNION OF CASTILE AND ARAGON. 1454-	
1474	257-276

A burlesque Crusade—Revolt of the Nobles—Two Kings of Castile—Death of Prince Alfonso—Isabel's wooers—Isabel betrothed to Fernando—Demoralisation of the country—The King of Aragon in Naples—Aragon mistress of South Italy.

XII.

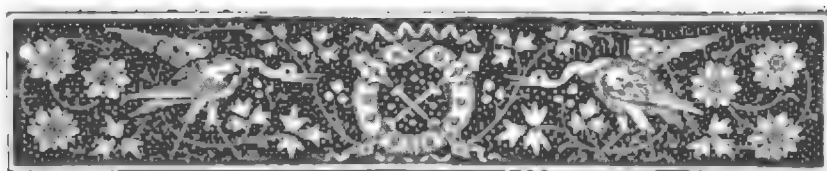
<u>REIGN OF ISABEL AND FERNANDO—UNION OF</u> <u>CASTILE AND ARAGON—PEACE AND ORDER IN</u> <u>SPAIN—THE INQUISITION—WAR WITH THE</u> <u>MOORS AND CAPTURE OF GRANADA—THE END.</u>	
1474-1492	277-301

Queen Isabel as Bride—Early troubles of the Queen—Union of the Two Crowns—The Holy Brotherhood—Civil Reforms—The Holy Inquisition—The relations with Granada—Capture and Defence of Alhama—The two Abdallahs—The Siege of Baeza—The Siege of Granada begun—The final Victory.

<u>APPENDIX</u>	<u>303</u>
---------------------------	------------

<u>INDEX</u>	<u>311</u>
------------------------	------------





THE CHRISTIAN RECOVERY OF SPAIN.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ISABEL THE CATHOLIC, FROM THE PICTURE IN THE MUSEO AT MADRID . <i>Frontispiece</i>	
MAP OF THE SPANISH PENINSULA TO ILLUSTRATE THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS <i>Facing</i>	I
CROSS OF PELAYO	24
TOMB OF ORDOÑO II. IN LEON CATHEDRAL . .	46
BURGOS CATHEDRAL	48
CATHEDRAL OF ZAMORA, ELEVENTH CENTURY . .	55
BAS-RELIEF FROM MONASTERY OF S. DOMINGO AT BURGOS	57
PORTICO OF ZAMORA CATHEDRAL	60
VIEW OF TOLEDO	65
PORTRAIT OF THE CID RODRIGO DE BIVER . .	72
CHURCH OF S. PEDRO AT CARDEÑA	90
CRYPT OF MONASTERY OF S. SALVADOR DE LEIRE, NAVARRRE	94
EFFIGY OF QUEEN URRACA IN THE CHURCH OF S. VICENTE AT AVILA	102
TOMB OF ALFONSO EL BATALLADOR AT MONTE ARAGON	104

	PAGE
ELEANOR OF ENGLAND	110
EFFIGY OF QUEEN BERENGARIA IN TOLEDO CATHE- DRAL	118
EFFIGY OF S. FERNANDO FROM THE CLOISTER OF BURGOS CATHEDRAL	122
HELMET AND STIRRUPS OF KING JAYME EL CON- QUISTADOR	132
COSTUMES OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, KINGS AND NOBLES	135
MAP OF THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF SPAIN AT THE DEATH OF S. FERNANDO III, 1252	138
ARCH IN CHURCH OF S. MIGUEL DE LINO	146
COSTUMES OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, COMMON PEOPLE	151
ROMANESQUE CAPITALS	168
PORCH OF CATHEDRAL AT LERIDA, THIRTEENTH CENTURY	170
INTERIOR OF S. ISIDORO AT LEON, WITH TOMBS OF THE ANCIENT KINGS	172
RUINS OF MONASTERY OF S. JUAN DE DUERO AT SORIA	178
TOMBS OF THE KINGS OF ARAGON IN THE MONASTERY OF POBLET	188
A KNIGHT ON HORSEBACK, GALA ATTIRE	233
EFFIGY OF DON ALVARO DE LUNA FROM HIS TOMB IN TOLEDO CATHEDRAL	248
TOMB OF JUAN II. AND HIS QUEEN IN THE CARTUJA DE MIRAFLORES	250

	PAGE
ARMOUR OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY	252
ARMOUR AND HELMETS FIFTEENTH CENTURY	254
ARMOUR OF ISABEL THE CATHOLIC	256
ALCAZAR OF SEGOVIA, REBUILT BY ENRIQUE IV.	264
CROWN OF ISABEL THE CATHOLIC	278
PORTRAIT OF KING FERNANDO THE CATHOLIC	280

[The illustrations of architecture and old buildings are taken from "*España, sus Monumentos y Artes*," the most recent work on Spanish topography, published at Barcelona during 1886-90. The ancient arms and armour are from the Royal Armoury at Madrid, as figured in Jubinal's "*Armeria Real*." The portraits and effigies are reproduced from Carderera y Solano, their "*Iconografia Española*." The costumes are copied from "*Los Estudios de Indumentaria Española*," Barcelona, 1890. The head of the Cid (probably a work of imagination) is that which is prefixed to Father Risco's "*La Castilla y El Mas Famoso Castellano*," 1792.]



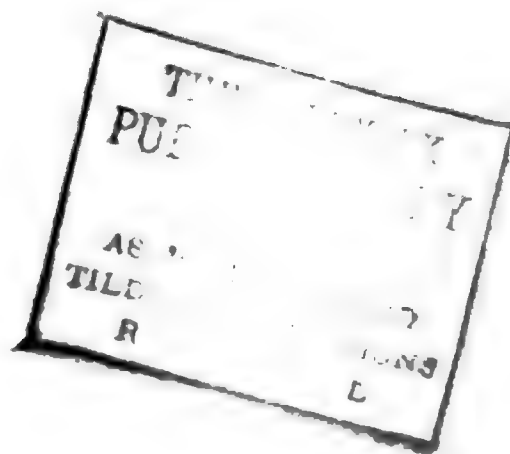
PART I.
THE STORY OF THE CRUSADES

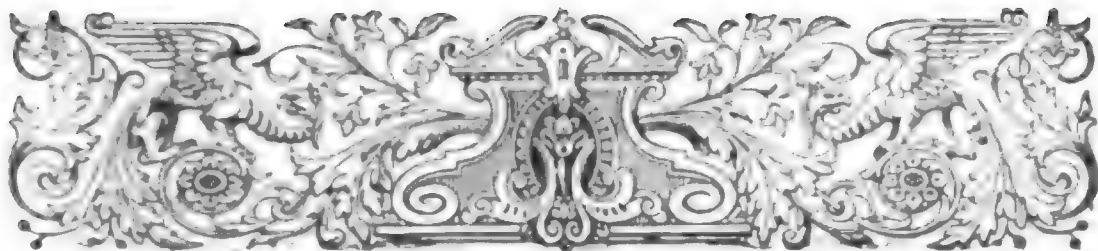
BY

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AND

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THE CRUSADES.

I.

INTRODUCTION.

“ Reft of thy sons ; amid thy foes forlorn,
Mourn widowed Queen, forsaken Zion, mourn.”
HEBER, *Palestine.*

§ 1. *The Age of the Pilgrims.*

THE history of Syria is, to some extent at least, a synopsis of the history of the world ; and the land itself is a palimpsest, from which the records of later civilisations have failed to obliterate entirely those of earlier times. Syria, indeed, is marked out by nature as a meeting-place of the nations. Westward it looks towards Europe, the adopted, if not the original, home of the Aryan race ; to the east, across the desert, lies the great river on whose banks grew up that ancient Akkadian culture, which has bequeathed us much of our most familiar knowledge. In the south its inhabitants were brought into contact with the immemorial civilisation of the Nile ; and in the

north with still more mysterious races, of whom even modern research has as yet but little to tell.

No wonder that Syria has been the battlefield of the dominant powers of the world. Babylonians, Hittites, Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, each in their turn were lords of part, if not of the whole, of Syria. Yet later this land beheld the struggle of Herac'ius with Chosroes, of Mohammedan with Byzantine, of Turk with Saracen, and Crusader with Turk—all phases in the immemorial conflict of East and West.

But Syria has been something more to the world than this. Through the enterprise of the Semitic inhabitants of her coast, the germs of Babylonian culture were carried to the Aryan races of the West. Then, when her commercial mission was over, she fell beneath, first the Greek, and afterwards the Roman, and through their double agency imparted to the world that spiritual life which had found its cradle in the uplands of Palestine. So beneath the shadow of the "Pax Romana" this land became the centre towards which all nations of the Western world turned in pious aspiration.

There is no decisive evidence as to the exact date when the custom of pilgrimages to the Holy Land first obtained in the Christian Church. To the early Christians Jerusalem may well have seemed the city of the wrath rather than of the love of God. To them it was rather the scene of the death than of the resurrection of Christ, and its sacred associations were perhaps obliterated in horror at its profanation

with heathen worship under the Roman name of Aelia Capitolina.

But when Christianity found a champion in Constantine the Great, Jerusalem began to raise its head among the cities of the world. The piety of this Emperor or his mother, Helena, built churches on the traditional scenes of Our Lord's birth and burial ; traditional only, since the almost coeval legend of the Invention of the Cross shows clearly that all exact knowledge had been lost. Constantine himself is credited with the intention of a visit to the Holy Land, and from this time we can trace the history of the sacred pilgrimages from century to century. That emperor was yet alive when a pilgrim from Bordeaux made the journey by land to Jerusalem, and left a record which still survives. In the Holy City he saw the pool of Solomon, the pinnacle whence Satan tempted Christ to throw Himself, and the little hill of Golgotha, which was the scene of the Crucifixion. At other places, too, he notes with care whatever events in Scripture history had made them famous. Clearly men were already seeking to identify the chief scenes of the sacred narrative, although in their credulity they were ready to accept whatever absurdities invention might offer ; such, for instance, as the sycamore tree into which Zacchæus had climbed.

By the end of the fourth century the practice of pilgrimages had so much increased as to give rise to the custom of collecting alms for the relief of the poor at Jerusalem. It was well, contended St. Jerome, that men should reverence holy shrines and

relics. That saint himself, when forced to leave Rome, made his home in the Holy Land, and there his noble patroness, Paula, came to see him, and visit in his company Elijah's tower at Sarepta, the house of Cornelius at Cæsarea, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron. Paula herself wrote afterwards to her friend Marcella : " We do not doubt that there are holy men elsewhere than here, but it is here that the foremost of the whole world are gathered together. Here are Gauls and Britons, Persians and Armenians, Indians and Æthiopians, all dwelling in love and harmony." In Jerome's time Jerusalem already possessed so many sacred places that the stranger could not visit them in a single day. A hundred and fifty years later, after the city had been adorned by the splendid buildings of Justinian, they cannot have been less in number.¹

Early in the seventh century Jerusalem was plundered by Chosroes the Persian, and the Holy Cross carried off to a strange land, whence it was rescued a few years later by the victorious armies of the Emperor Heraclius. But already a power was rising which was to overthrow Persian and Roman alike. Even before Heraclius attained the zenith of his fortunes the flight of Mohammed from Mecca had marked for the world of Islam the beginning of a new era. No language can give an adequate idea of the fervour of the adherents of the new creed. Mohammed was hardly

¹ Amongst those who described the Holy Land during the fifth and sixth centuries we have the famous Eucherius of Lyons (A.D. 450), an anonymous "*Breviarius de Hierosolyma*" (A.D. 530), the monk Theodosius (A.D. 530), and last, Antoninus Martyr (A.D. 570).

dead before his followers had conquered Syria and Egypt, overthrown the Persian monarchy, and founded an Arab empire. A century later, despite countless schisms, the new religion had made its influence felt from the banks of the Indus to those of the Loire. For a moment in 717 it had even seemed that both the Roman civilisation and Christian faith must perish from the shores of the Bosphorus. But a deliverer appeared in the person of Leo the Isaurian, who with his successors, if unable to prevent, could at least take vengeance for, the inroads of the Mohammedans.

But the early enthusiasm of the new faith soon began to wax cold, and by the middle of the tenth century the Mohammedan world was in its turn tending to dissolution. The provincial governors rendered a merely nominal allegiance to the Caliph, whilst the schism of the Sunnites and Shiites had put on ever new forms, and from a rivalry of faith had produced a rivalry of temporal power. The vast body of Sunnites revered the orthodox Abbaside Caliph at Bagdad ; though in Spain a rival dynasty of Omayyad princes established the Saracen Caliphate of Cordova. Yet a third Caliphate of Shiites has a more important bearing on Crusading history. Towards the end of the ninth century one Abdallah, the son of Maimún, established a new sect of Mohammedanism, which absorbed the Ismailians (a division of the Shiites). His doctrines spread rapidly, and above all in Northern Africa, where, in 973, his descendant, Moizz-li-dinillah, conquered Egypt, and became the first of that line of Fatimite Caliphs who

ruled in the valley of the Nile for over two hundred years. Moizz became master of Syria also, and both he and his successor, El-Aziz, showed themselves very friendly to the Christians. Indeed the Ismailians, by the very nature of their creed, which taught that absolute truth could only be attained by slow degrees, and lay concealed under many forms of faith, were bound to display a tolerance strange to the ages wherein they flourished.

During all these centuries Palestine had lain subject to the Mohammedan power. It was one of the first of all the Saracen conquests, achieved in the time of Omar, the second Caliph, whilst the new faith was yet in the first flush of its vigour. Yet none the less, there seems to have been little or no cessation in the stream of pilgrims from the West. The site of the Temple was, it is true, covered by a splendid mosque, but the Holy Sepulchre had been preserved to the Christians through the forbearance of Omar, who refused to enter its precincts lest, after his departure, his infatuated followers should claim possession of a spot whereon their Caliph's foot had rested.

Among the first of the pilgrims to the Holy Land during the time of the Mohammedan domination was a certain French bishop, Arculf. Arculf told the story of his travels to Adamnan, Columba's successor at Iona, and by this means it came to the knowledge of our own historian, Bede. Arculf spent nine months at Jerusalem ; there he saw not a few novelties that had escaped previous travellers ; the lamps that, flashing from the glass windows of the Church



of the Ascension on Mount Olivet, shone out through the night over the hill slopes to the eastern walls of the city; the linen cloth which had wrapped the Saviour in His tomb; and the lofty column erected on the spot where the newly-discovered Cross restored the dead youth to life. Arculf likewise visited Jericho, and bathed in the milk-white waters of Jordan. Then he journeyed north, and on his way saw the locusts on which John the Baptist had fed, and the three Tabernacles that now crowned the mountain of the Transfiguration. Afterwards he visited in turn Damascus and Tyre, Alexandria and Constantinople, whence he returned by sea to Rome, and so to his native France.

There are few or no traces of the pilgrimage of our English ancestors to the Holy Land during the first centuries after their conversion. For them it would seem that the nearer splendour of Rome had more attraction than the remote squalor of Jerusalem. In one instance, however, the Roman pilgrimage was but the first stage in the journey of an Englishman to Jerusalem. St. Willibald was a kinsman of Boniface, the Apostle of Germany. Educated in the monastery of Bishop's Waltham, in Hampshire, Willibald as he grew to manhood was seized with the desire to visit the Holy Land. Accompanied by his father and brother, Wanebald, he travelled across France and into Italy. There his father died at Lucca, and at Rome Wanebald fell ill of a fever. Willibald then continued his journey with two comrades, and reached Palestine by way of Sicily, Ephesus, and Cyprus. They landed at Tortosa, and so journeyed

to Emesa, where they were thrown into prison as spies. At length a Spaniard, whose brother was chamberlain to the Omayyad Caliph, Yazid II., took pity on them. The master of the ship in which they had come from Cyprus was brought before Yazid, who asked whence the strangers came. "From the land of the sunset," was the reply, "beyond which we know not of earth but only waters." "If this be so," burst out the Caliph, "why punish them? They have done us no wrong; set them free." Thus Willibald and his comrades were released, and so went on to Damascus, and thence to Cana, Mount Tabor, and Tiberias. Willibald spent a considerable time in Palestine, and made four separate visits to Jerusalem. In the Holy City he purchased some of the costly balm for which Jericho was famous. This balm was so precious that its export was forbidden; but Willibald hid his treasure in a vessel partly filled with petroleum, so that when he embarked at Tyre the strong-smelling oil threw the custom officers off the scent. From Tyre Willibald went to Constantinople, and thence, after two years, to Rome. He had been absent ten years, and now retired for a like period to Monte Casino, which he only left to join Boniface in Germany. By Boniface he was consecrated Bishop of Eichstadt, and after holding that see forty-four years, died in 786.

Less than half a century later the monk Fidelis related in the presence of Dicuil the Irishman how he had sailed up the Nile and visited the pyramids, standing afar off like mountains, and longed to search for the wheels of Pharaoh's chariots in the

Red Sea. Whether or how Fidelis reached Palestine Dicuil does not tell.

At the end of the century the great Emperor Charles, whom legends long after represented as a Crusader before the Crusades, opened up fresh communications between the East and West. When his political ambitions bade fair to involve him in conflict with the Emperor of the East, he found a useful ally in the great Abbaside Caliph Hárún-el-Rashid. Hárún received the Frank ambassadors with kindness, and sent their master many presents, including his only elephant, Abulabaz, which Charles had desired to possess. Beyond all else he is said, by a contemporary writer, to have granted the great Emperor the Holy Places at Jerusalem. It is certain that, in the latter years of Charles's reign, a colony of French monks was established on Mount Sion. To this community, Charles himself gave a copy of the Rule of St. Benedict, and a letter is still preserved, wherein the monks complain to Charles that they had been ejected on Christmas Day from the church at Bethlehem.

The almsgiving of the great Emperor, which extended to Carthage and Alexandria, did not neglect Jerusalem. More than fifty years later Bernard of St. Michael's Mount, was lodged in the Holy City, "at the hospital of the most glorious Emperor Charles, wherein are received all Roman-speaking pilgrims, who come to that place out of religion." In Bernard's days parts of Southern Italy were subject to the Caliph of Bagdad, and at Tarentum he found six Saracen ships crowded with Christian captives, in-

tended for the slave markets of the East. Thirty days' sail in one of these ships brought Bernard and his companions to Alexandria. There they found their letter of recommendation from the Saracen governor of Bari useless, and they had to pay thirteen-pence each for fresh passports. These latter only carried them to Babylon of Egypt, where a like payment had to be made before they could proceed in safety to Jerusalem. In the Holy City Bernard saw the noble library, which Charles had founded in the Virgin's Church, hard by the hospital. For a description of the Holy Sepulchre, he refers his readers to Bede; but he saw or heard of a wonder concerning which Bede is silent. "We must note that 'Kyrie Eleeson' is sung until an angel comes and lights the lamps above the Sepulchre. From the flame thus kindled, the patriarch gives a light to the bishops and the rest of the people, so that each may have a light to himself in his own home." This is often but perhaps wrongly said to be the first allusion to the "Miracle of the Sacred Fire," which fraud or superstition from that day to this, with hardly a break, has continued to perpetuate at our Lord's Tomb on every Resurrection Eve.¹ After visiting Bethlehem and other places in the neighbourhood, Bernard went back by way of Rome to his monastery of St. Michael in Brittany (*circa* A.D. 870).

From the above narratives it is plain that during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries no insuperable obstacles barred the way of pilgrims from the

¹ Eusebius mentions one form of this miracle, and there is a possible allusion by Gregory of Tours in the sixth century.

West. The old path to the Holy City along the great roads of the Empire, through Constantinople and across Asia Minor to Antioch was, it is true, now closed; closed it may be from the very days when the Huns made themselves masters of the Danube valley. Probably, however, the pilgrims made their journeys as before; there was no breach of custom, but merely a change of route. The strange concessions which Mohammed made in favour of the "Peoples of the Book," ensured Christian pilgrims from any violent persecution. Willibald, apart from his imprisonment, was not ill-treated at Emesa, and no doubt in the days of Charles the Great, the pilgrim's condition would be improved. Indeed, Bernard found a market-place attached to the Emperor's hospital at Jerusalem, apparently for the special use of pilgrims.

But Bernard pays a higher tribute to the good order and religious moderation which characterised the Eastern Caliphate in his days. At Beneventum the Christian folk had murdered their own prince, and destroyed all Christian law, till Louis, grandson of Charles the Great, introduced some kind of discipline. Worse than this, the roads leading to Rome were so thronged with banditti, that no one could reach St. Peter's in safety, unless he belonged to a large and well-armed party. This state of misrule Bernard contrasts with the peace prevailing in the Mohammedan lands through which he travelled. "I will tell you how Christians hold the law of God in Jerusalem, and in Egypt. Now the Christians and the pagans have peace one with another, in such

wise that, if on my journey the camel or ass that bore my little property were to die, and I were to leave all my chattels there with none to guard them, while I went to another city, on my return I should find everything untouched. But if in any city, or on any bridge or road they find a man journeying, whether by day or by night, without some charter and seal from the king or ruler of the district, he is straightway thrust into prison till he can give an account of himself whether he be a spy or not."

This happy state of affairs continued with some intervals of disturbance till the early years of the eleventh century.

§ 2. *The Eve of the Crusades.*

At the end of the tenth century the great kingdoms of mediæval Europe were assuming a definite shape. The sceptre of the Western Franks had passed from the hands of the degenerate descendants of Charles to those of Hugh Capet; from Hugh's accession the modern kingdom of France may be said to date, despite the limitations which the great vassal counts and dukes imposed on their nominal suzerain. In Spain the Christian kingdoms were growing daily at the expense of the decaying Caliphate of Cordova. In other lands the crown of Lombardy already was, and that of Burgundy soon was to be, annexed to the German realm. For the kingdom of the Eastern Franks had now, through the vigour of the three Ottos, entered on its more distinctively German phase. Yet further, the German kings had made good

their claim to the imperial title also, and from the days of Otto I., it was the chief ambition of almost every German king to be crowned Emperor of the Romans; that ambition was destined to be fatal to German kingship, but in the tenth century it yet seemed that the union of the imperial and royal offices would bring strength to both. The papacy, that power whose enmity was to be the ruin of German king and Roman emperor alike, was at this period sunk in the lowest depths of insignificance and vice. From those depths first the Ottos and then the Henrys made a brave effort to raise it. But it was not till the days of Gregory VII. that the Popes learned the secret of their own strength, or the German kings the secret of their own weakness.

As the fateful year 1000 drew near, men's hearts began to fail them for fear. To their excited imagination, the Second Coming of the Lord seemed close at hand, and their forebodings were strengthened by the years of misery and famine which brought the tenth century to a close. This dread is marked in every aspect of life, and the very charters bear witness to its reality by their solemn opening "*appropinquante termino mundi.*" The terror passed, but only to revive thirty years later as the thousandth anniversary of the Crucifixion approached.

When at length the cloud was lifted a spirit of piety seems to have seized upon all classes. The Peace of God was already formulated in Southern France; but of all the characteristics of the new era the most remarkable was the zeal for pilgrimages. No class and no sex was free from this passion.

The same enthusiasm seized upon the mean and the mighty alike. "At this time," says a contemporary writer,¹ "there began to flow towards the Holy Sepulchre so great a multitude as, ere this, no man could have hoped for. First of all went the meaner folk, then men of middle rank, and, lastly, very many kings and counts, marquises and bishops; aye, and a thing that had never happened before, many women bent their steps in the same direction." Happy circumstances opened up a long-closed pathway to the ardent pilgrims. For ages the land route to Jerusalem had been practically barred, and would-be travellers like Willibald or Bernard forced to sail across the Mediterranean to Ephesus or Alexandria. But about the year 1000 the old route was opened up once more. The Huns had been converted to Christianity, and so Ralph Glaber a little later could write that pilgrims were forsaking the sea route and passing through Stephen's realm of Hungary because this seemed the safest road.

Of noble eleventh-century pilgrims a few call for special notice. Of all the counts of Anjou none bore a worse name than Fulk the Black. At length, after a life of bloodshed and battle, he was moved by the fear of hell to go as a pilgrim to Jerusalem. He returned somewhat softened, but once more his con-

¹ Ralph Glaber. It is pathetic to read in the mediæval martyrologies the records of the less distinguished wayfarers: May 24, Leger, the deacon of Auxerre, who died on the way from Jerusalem and had the sea for his grave; June 30th, Andrew the knight, and was buried at Jerusalem; November 24th, Hictarius of blessed memory, he set out for Jerusalem, and through God's mercy died on the way. Migne, "Patrologia," cxxxviii. 1229, 1232, 1252.

science sent him forth. At Jerusalem, so runs the story, he had to purchase an entrance for himself and his comrades ; and to the Holy Sepulchre he was only admitted on promise of an insult to the cross of Christ, a hard necessity from which he escaped by a subterfuge. However he contrived to bite off a bit of the stone, which he brought home as a precious relic for his abbey of Beaulieu. Later on Fulk made a third pilgrimage, and died on his way back at Metz in 1040. In 1035 Robert the Magnificent left his duchy of Normandy and his young son the future conqueror of England, and went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which he accomplished in safety. But on his way home he too fell ill and died at Nicæa, where he was buried in the Virgin's church.

Those princes who could not themselves go on the pilgrimage displayed their religious feelings by their habitual piety. Robert I. of France was more of a priest than a king. Richard II. of Normandy supplied to his namesake, the abbot of Grace Dieu, the funds which enabled him to go to Jerusalem, and between this prince and the monks of Mount Sinai a friendly exchange of gifts was maintained. William III. of Aquitaine (*ob.* 1029) won for himself the titles of "Father of the monks, builder of churches, and lover of the Roman Church." Every year he made a pilgrimage to Rome, or if circumstances prevented this then at least to St. James at Compostella. Duke William himself never went as far as Jerusalem, but his trusty councillor William of Angoulême went there with many nobles and bishops passing through Hungary in the days of King Stephen. He left home on

October 1st, reached Jerusalem in the first week of March, and by the third week of June was back in his own city of Angoulême. Other pilgrims of distinction were Earl Godwin's eldest son Swegen, whose uneasy conscience sent him to Jerusalem. Ealdred, Archbishop of York, went to Jerusalem in 1058, in such state as no other before him, and offered at our Lord's tomb a golden chalice of wondrous workmanship and price. Six years later Siegfried of Mayence and three other bishops led a motley crowd of seven thousand pilgrims to the Holy Land. Their gorgeous apparel excited the cupidity of the Saracens, and they fled for refuge to a fort, where they defended themselves during three days, but at last offered all their money in return for their lives, and admitted seventeen of the Arabs within the walls. The Arab leader unrolled his turban, and flinging it round Bishop Herman of Bamberg's neck exclaimed, "Thou and all thou hast are mine." This was more than the bishop could bear, and with a sudden blow he laid his captor prostrate. At this act of episcopal valour the Christians regained their courage, bound the Saracens who had entered the fort, and renewed the contest with those outside. At last the Saracen lord of Ramleh came to the rescue, and under his guidance the pilgrims visited Jerusalem in safety. But only two thousand lived to return to Europe.

We must now return to the course of events in the internal history of the East itself, and more particularly of Syria during the first three-quarters of the eleventh century. At the beginning of that era Jerusalem was subject to the Fatimite Caliph of

Cairo. El-Hakim, the then Caliph, had succeeded as a boy of eleven in 996 A.D. ; as he grew to manhood he seems to have developed a strain of madness, though it is difficult to trace the exact course of his actions, as told in the narratives of contemporary Christian and later Mohammedan writers. Like the other Fatimites, El-Aziz—El-Hakim's father—had been no bigot ; but had a Christian for secretary, and a Jew for governor of Syria. El-Hakim did not share his liberality ; first he put restrictions on Jews and Christians, then, according to Ralph Glaber on September 29, 1010, he ordered the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre itself.¹ Contemporary rumour ascribed this outrage to the artifices of the Jews, who persuaded El-Hakim, that unless he put a stop to the throngs of pilgrims he would soon find himself without a kingdom. False though the rumour was, it became the pretext for the widespread persecution of the Jews in Christian lands. Eastern historians, however, show that El-Hakim was the impartial oppressor of Jew and Christian alike, imposing absurd but harassing restrictions on the members of either creed.² Later still his madness took a more serious form, and he allowed himself to be publicly declared the creator of the universe, until finally he was slain by order of his sister in 1021.

It was less than twenty years after the death of El-

¹ The destruction does not, however, seem to have been very complete. The Sepulchre was indeed restored by Hakim himself in the following year.

² Such as forbidding them to wear rings on their hands, or to ride on horses or mules.

Hakim, that there appeared a new power in Western Asia destined to influence fatally the fortunes of Palestine. In 1038 Masud the Ghaznevid was defeated by the Seljukian Turks, who thereupon chose for their sovereign Toghrul Beg, the grandson of Seljuk, a Turkish chief who had adopted Mohammedanism and founded a principality in the neighbourhood of Samarcand. Toghrul rapidly extended his conquests over all Persia, and into regions further west. The effeminate Abbasides had long possessed but the shadow of power, and the reality now passed to Toghrul, who was eventually in 1055 invested with the dignity of Sultan or vicegerent for the Caliph in the orthodox Mohammedan world. Toghrul was succeeded in 1063 by his nephew Alp Arslan, under whose leadership the Seljuks conquered Armenia, and defeated the Emperor Romanus Diogenes at the great battle of Manzikert in August, 1071. As the fruit of this victory Alp Arslan acquired the lordship of Anatolia, and though he himself died within a year, the power of the Seljuks continued to progress throughout the twenty years' reign of his son Malek Shah. After the captivity of Romanus Diogenes, the Byzantine Empire became the prey of imperial pretenders, who appealed without scruple to the aid of Norman and even of Turkish arms. During this period Asia Minor was so ravaged by the Turkish hordes, that almost the whole peninsula was within a few years lost to civilisation. At the beginning of the reign of Alexius Comnenus in 1081, so far had the wave of conquest spread that the Turkish standards on the battlements of Nicæa

were almost within sight of the Byzantine metropolis.

But the power of the Turks was not the only danger which threatened the empire of Alexius ; the Normans, under Robert Guiscard, were at the same time cutting short his dominions on the shores of the Adriatic. Like his predecessors, Alexius had recourse to foreign arms for assistance and support. Chief amongst the mercenary leaders in the reign of Romanus had been the Norman Ursel, who was perhaps a far-off kinsman of our own English and Scottish house of Balliol. At the capital itself the Emperor maintained the famous Varangian guards, in whose ranks there served side by side with the countrymen of their conquerors, many English, who had fled their native land after the fatal day of Hastings. The employment of these mercenaries familiarised the Eastern emperors with the notion of deliverance through the prowess of Latin Christendom. Nor were the Latins without some feeling of sympathy for the affliction of the Eastern Christians. Pope Sylvester II.'s famous letter of appeal on behalf of Jerusalem, "the immaculate spouse of God," is possibly a forgery of the later eleventh century. It is, however, certain that seventy years afterwards the profound statecraft of Gregory VII. saw clearly the danger with which the advance of the Turks threatened all Christendom. In an urgent letter he called upon all Christian warriors to take up arms on behalf of Constantinople. But this appeal was not fruitful in important results, and even if Gregory entertained any definite plan for uniting the West in

defence of the Eastern Empire, the troubles of his later years prevented its execution.

Alexius I., however, seems to have hoped for some such aid. A letter purporting to be an appeal from him to Robert, Count of Flanders, brother-in-law of William the Conqueror, has been preserved in more than one form. As regards its actual wording it may be a forgery, but it certainly dates from the early years of the twelfth century and, as Robert had visited Constantinople whilst on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, there is nothing improbable in the appeal. There is a pathetic ring in the Emperor's words as preserved in this letter: "From Jerusalem to the *Ægæan* the Turkish hordes have mastered all: their galleys, sweeping the Black Sea and Mediterranean, threaten the Imperial city itself, which, if fall it must, had better fall into the hands of Latins than of pagans."

The reference to Jerusalem is literally true, for since the victory of Manzikert, the Turks had conquered Palestine from the Egyptians. Tutush, brother of Malek Shah, had established himself at Damascus, and about 1092 granted Jerusalem to Ortok the Turk, from whose son Sokman, the Egyptian vizir El-Afdal captured it in 1096. But before the coming of the first Crusaders the East had obtained a temporary relief through the death, on the 18th of November, 1092, of Malek Shah, the noblest of the Seljukian Sultans, whose empire extended from the borders of China to the southern frontiers of Palestine. This vast inheritance was disputed for by Malek's children, and the consequent dissensions,

by weakening the power of the Seljuks, made the progress of the first Crusaders from Nicæa to Jerusalem a comparatively easy task.

Reference has already been made to the definite shape that the kingdoms of Western Europe had begun to assume at the opening of the eleventh century. For four hundred years previously Europe had been devastated by three great plagues, against which, in her divided state, she could make no effectual resistance. Yet it was, to no small extent, to the resistance offered to these three scourges that the feudal Europe of the Middle Ages owed its shape. Out of resistance to the Saracens arose the notion of religious war on a large scale; out of resistance to the Northmen rose the sense of national danger, which was ultimately to produce the sense of national unity; through resistance to the Hungarian invasion, the great rulers of the Saxon house made good their claim to the German kingship and all it brought in its train, the kingship of Italy, and the Empire of Rome.

But amongst all the incidents which these troubles gave rise to, there is none of such interest for our present subject as the settlement of the Normans in Southern Italy. An eleventh-century legend tells how forty Norman warriors, returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, found the Saracens besieging Salerno. They eagerly offered their aid to Guaymar, the Lombard prince of the city; and, when success crowned their efforts, refused to accept any money payment for what they had done out of love for God. Historically speaking, the Normans seem to have established themselves in Italy towards the beginning

of the eleventh century. The Greek emperors were then striving to recover the land from the Saracens and Lombards. The confusion was favourable to the new-comers, who further were aided by Melo, an Apulian rebel against the Emperor, and under their leader, Count Ranulf, the Normans fortified themselves near Aversa. Some years later the elder sons of Tancred of Hauteville, of whom the most famous were Robert Guiscard and Roger, came forward as chiefs of the new settlement. Robert obtained for himself the title of Duke of Calabria and Apulia, while Roger conquered Sicily from the Saracens. The conquerors were, however, eager to find a legal title for their authority. This they secured when, in 1053, they defeated and took prisoner Pope Leo IX., who was soon glad to purchase his release by the confirmation to the Normans of all their conquests past or yet to come.

The great and powerful Emperor, Henry III., died in 1056, leaving a little son—Henry IV.—a boy of six, whose infancy was to be the source of prolonged trouble. His subjects found in the weakness of a divided regency a fit opportunity for revolt, and hardly had the young king come to manhood when a yet greater danger appeared without. Gregory VII. availed himself of the king's weakness for an unparalleled assertion of the superiority of the ecclesiastical over the civil power; nor did he scruple to support the rebellious nobles of Germany against their lord. Henry set up Guibert of Ravenna as an anti-pope, and when, in 1080, his opponent Rudolf of Saxony had fallen in battle, entered Italy and expelled

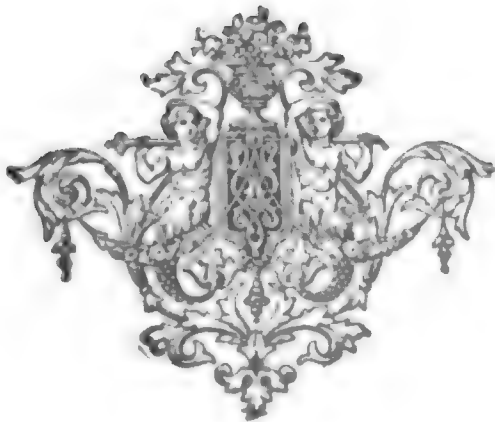
Gregory from Rome. Henry was forced to retire by the approach of the Normans under Guiscard ; but Gregory could not recover his city, and died as an exile at Salerno, leaving the contest to his successors—in full confidence as to its ultimate issue.

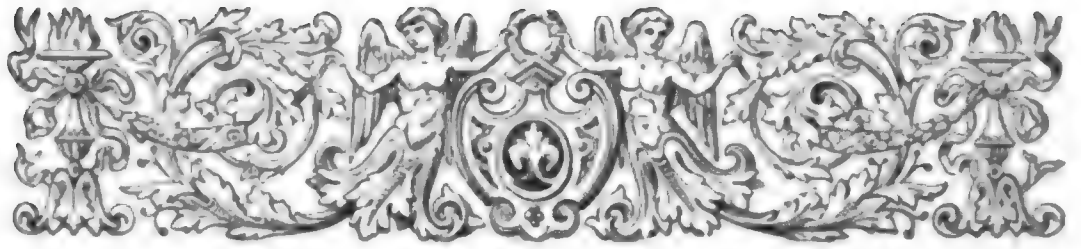
Indeed, despite the sadness of his last days, Gregory's labours had ensured the consolidation of the papal power. Popes Zachary and Hadrian I. had, it is true, played a great part in the days of Pepin and Charles. Nicholas I. (858–867) also had compelled Lothair to take back his divorced wife Teutberga, and established his authority in the Gallic Church despite the resistance of Hincmar of Rheims. But the ambition of such pontiffs did no more than furnish a foundation for the lofty and wide-spreading pretensions of a later age. The next century and a half forms the most degraded epoch in the papal annals, and it was Gregory who was the true creator of the mediæval papacy. Only when Gregory's action had forced on a contest with the greatest temporal power of the age did the popes learn to perceive their own strength. It was that contest which gave to the popes their position as the spiritual heads of Christendom, and enabled them to preach with success the Crusade against the Saracen.

Gregory's ally, Robert Guiscard, had meantime prepared the road in another direction. In 1081 he had carried his arms across the sea and was already master of Durazzo, when the news of Gregory's disasters compelled him to leave the conduct of the war to his son Bohemond. He was preparing for a second expedition against Constantinople itself, when

death overtook him. He left his duchy to his son Roger, and his ambitious projects in the East to Bohemond.

Thus neither Robert nor Gregory lived to take part in the Holy War, for which they both had consciously or unconsciously laboured. Tradition, indeed, makes a simple hermit the prime mover in the first crusade, and to his history we must now turn.





II.

PETER THE HERMIT AND URBAN THE POPE.

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young, oh ! it was very heaven."

WORDSWORTH, *Excursion*.

THERE is little in the legend of Peter the Hermit which may not very well be true, and the story as it stands is more plausible than if we had to assume that tradition had transferred the credit of the First Crusade from a pope to a simple hermit. However, the full tale of Peter's visit first appears in the "Chanson d'Antioch," and in Albert of Aix, some forty years after the supposed event. In the more sober writings of contemporaries, there is no proof that Peter the Hermit stirred up Urban to his great achievement, nor indeed that he was present at the Council of Clermont at all. In Guibert of Nogent he appears as the apostle of one district of Northern France ; and, though a contemporary chronicler seemingly takes him to the borders of Spain, it is more probable that his preaching and influence were confined to a very limited area.

To turn, however, to the picturesque narrative of

the traditional tale. About the year 1092 Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens or its neighbourhood, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Here his soul was stirred by the horrors that he witnessed, in the pollution of the Holy Places, and the cruel oppression of the native Christians and of the pilgrims from distant lands. The Patriarch, when appealed to by Peter, could only lament his own powerlessness and his dread of worse in store unless their brothers in the west should send them aid. At his entreaty Peter promised to rouse the princes of Europe to a sense of the sad condition of the Holy City. Before all else he bound himself to visit the Pope and enlist his sympathies on the same side.

Then, so runs the story, Peter left the Patriarch's presence, to spend the night in vigil at our Saviour's tomb. Weary with watching, at length he fell asleep. As he slumbered Christ appeared to him in a vision, and bade him hasten home to accomplish his task. But first Peter was to obtain from the Patriarch credentials for his mission: "So shalt thou make known the woes of our people, and rouse the faithful to the cleansing of the Holy Places; for through danger and trial of every kind shall the elect now enter the gates of Paradise."

At dawn Peter hurried to the Patriarch, and, after obtaining letters signed with the Holy Cross, went down to the coast and took ship for Italy. Urban proved a ready listener, and was easily induced to promise his aid. After more than one council in Italy, he crossed the Alps and gathered a great council at Clermont, where his exhortations stirred

lords of every degree to bind themselves in a sacred mutual engagement to redeem the Sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the Mohammedan. Such is Albert of Aix's narrative, and despite some taint of legend it is no doubt true in the main.

Urban II., by birth a native of Rheims, and by breeding a monk of Cluny, had been advanced by Gregory VII. to be bishop of Ostia. Finally, in 1088, he became Gregory's second successor in the papacy and the inheritor of his struggle with the Emperor Henry. To this German trouble was added another scandal in France, where King Philip lived in open adultery with Bertrada de Montfort, the wife of Fulk Rechin of Anjou. In Lent, 1095, Urban held synod at Piacenza, where Philip's envoys attended to make peace for their lord; but a more remarkable embassy was that from the Emperor Alexius, pleading for help against the Turks. The church was not sufficient to hold the crowds that assembled, and mass was celebrated in the fields, where doubtless the multitude listened to the impassioned language in which the Eastern envoys appealed to their brethren of the West for aid against their pagan foes.

Urban at once displayed his interest in the proposal, and induced many to pledge themselves to such a holy service. A second council was then convened to meet at Clermont on November 18, 1095. In the Acts of this council it was declared that—"whoever shall have set out for Jerusalem, not for the sake of honour or gain, but to free the Church of God, may reckon his journey as a penance." The Acts contain no further allusion to the Crusade, but

more than one contemporary historian has preserved what purports to be the very speech with which Urban kindled the hearts of the French warriors. These versions may be copies of encyclical letters from the Pope to the Churches of the West, or the compositions of the historians themselves. But in either case they represent the aspirations and breathe the spirit which impelled the first Crusaders to relinquish wife and child and home for the sake of Christ.

When the strictly ecclesiastical business of the council was completed, Urban preached to the assembled multitude, exchanging the language of the universal Latin Church for the French speech that had been familiar to him in his youth. To the French warriors the first truly French Pope could speak in his own and their mother tongue. He began by reminding them that they were of God's elect, set apart by a special providence from all other nations for the service of the Church. He painted in vivid colours the sad necessity that had brought him back to Gallic soil ; he told how the cries from threatened Constantinople and down-trodden Jerusalem had long been ringing in his ears. It would take two months to traverse the lands, which the "accursed Persian race" had won from the Empire of the East. Within all this region the Christians had been led off to slavery, their homes laid waste, their churches overthrown. Could his hearers look on unmoved, when the heathen had entered into God's heritage? Antioch, once the city of Peter, was given over to Mohammedan superstition. Of Jerusalem it was a shame even to speak, but there were

some there who had witnessed with their own eyes the abominations wrought by the Turks in the very Sepulchre of Christ. Yet God had not in His mercy forsaken the land, and still repeated every Easter His miracle of the Sacred Fire.

Then Urban appealed to the proud knights standing by, and asked, how they were busying themselves in these fateful days, shearing their brethren like sheep, and quarrelling one with another. Yea! the knighthood of Christ were plundering Christ's fold. They were changing the deeds of a *knight* for the works of *night*.¹ As they loved their souls let them go forth boldly, and quitting their mutual slaughter, take up arms for the household of faith. "Christ Himself will be your leader, as, more valiantly than did the Israelites of old, you fight for your Jerusalem. It will be a goodly thing to die in that city, where Christ died for you. Let not love of any earthly possession detain you. You dwell in a land narrow and unfertile. Your numbers overflow, and hence you devour one another in wars. Let these home discords cease. Start upon the way to the Holy Sepulchre; wrench the land from the accursed race, and subdue it to yourselves. Thus shall you spoil your foes of their wealth and return home victorious, or, purpled with your own blood, receive an everlasting reward. . . . It were better to die in warfare than behold the evils that befall the Holy Places. Frenchmen recall the valour of Charles the Great and his son Louis, who destroyed the kingdoms of the unbelievers, and extended the limits of the

¹ In the Latin: "*militiam male depravastis in malitiam.*"

Church. Valiant knights, descendants of unconquered sires, remember the vigour of your forefathers, and do not degenerate from your noble stock."

This challenge to Christendom to forget its private feuds in one great effort for God and Christ, this skilful allusion to the glories of the old Frankish race produced an instantaneous result. As the voice of the Pope died away there went up one cry from the assembled host: "DEUS VULT! DEUS VULT!" ("It is the will of God! It is the will of God!")

Then, raising his eyes to heaven, and stretching out his hand for silence, Urban renewed his speech with words of praise. "This day has been fulfilled in your midst, the saying of our Lord: 'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them.' Had not the Lord been in your midst, you would not thus have all uttered the same cry. Wherefore I tell you it is God who has inspired you with His voice. So let the Lord's motto be your battle cry, and when you go forth to meet the enemy this shall be your watchword: '*Deus Vult! Deus Vult!*'"

"The vast concourse," says one who was himself present at this moving scene, "flung themselves prostrate on the ground while Gregory, a cardinal, made confession of sin on their behalf, and begging pardon for past misdeeds received the apostolic blessing." Then man after man pressed forward to receive his commission in the sacred service from the Pope's own hands. To each class was assigned its special share in the glorious work. But the old and feeble were dis-

suaded from an expedition wherein their presence was more likely to impede than to assist. No woman was to venture, unless in the company of husband or brother. Priests and clerks were not to start without the leave of their superior, nor any layman without the blessing of his priest. The rich were to aid in proportion to their wealth, and even to hire soldiers for the field. All these elaborate injunctions can hardly have been given out on one day: it is more likely that the historian is here speaking proleptically, for he certainly wrote at a date, when experience had proved the impossibility of conducting an unarmed rabble through so vast a space of unknown land. Of the warnings thus put into Urban's mouth few at the time could have seen the necessity.

The enthusiasm reached its height when the envoys of Count Raymond of Toulouse, declared that their lord, the most powerful prince of Southern France, had pledged himself to go on the Crusade. Not only would he conduct a mighty host from his own domains, but he was willing to give his counsel and wealth to all intending pilgrims. Moreover, it was announced that Adhemar, the bishop of Puy, would go with the lord of Toulouse, and so in their persons the people of God would find a new Aaron and a new Moses.

Urban himself was foremost in the work of distributing the crosses. All who took the cross did so of their own accord; there was no compulsion, but there must be no turning back. The renegade was to be shunned of all; he was to be a perpetual outlaw till waking to the true wisdom he

undertook once more what he had abandoned so basely.

At length with the papal blessing all the laymen were dismissed to their homes. To confirm their good intentions, the Church promised her protection to the wives, children, and property of all who undertook the "Way of God."

The bishops and priests on their part went away to preach the new gospel each in his own diocese and parish. As the clergy uttered their exhortations, the laymen raised their voices in one great cry, doubtless, the same that had first made itself heard at the council Clermont: "*Deus Vult!*" Soon men began to seek for signs and wonders. Surely God must have given some foretoken of all that was to happen. Far away from Clermont, Bishop Gilbert of Lisieux, a philosopher, famous for his knowledge of astronomy and medicine, one of the physicians who had watched by the death-bed of the Great Conqueror, was looking out upon the starlit sky. The night was thick with falling stars, and as Gilbert watched, he expounded the significance of this marvellous sight to the servant who shared his vigil: "This prefigures the transmigration of many people from one realm to another. Many shall go forth and never return, until the stars return to their place in the sky, whence you now see them falling." Later, men saw the moon turn red and black at her eclipse, a sure sign of change in high places. Yet wilder stories spread abroad, and it was fabled that the Acts of the Council of Clermont became known within a few hours to the whole world; joy leapt up in the

hearts of Christians, but fear and amazement fell upon the heathen dwellers in the East; for such a blast resounded from the heavenly trumpet that throughout all lands the enemies of Christ trembled and were afraid.

Raymond was the only great lord who had pledged himself to the Crusade at Clermont. But the enthusiasm was spread broadcast over Western Europe by the prelates, priests, and laymen as they returned from the great assembly.

A vivid picture of the intense excitement of the next few months has been preserved. In the highways and the cross-roads men would talk of nothing else; layman and priest alike took up the cry and urged their fellows to start for Jerusalem. The intending pilgrim gloried in his resolution, while his laggard friend took shame to himself for his sloth and slackness in the cause of God.

The last harvest had been a failure so complete that many of the rich found themselves in penury, while the poor were driven to feed on herbs and the wild roots of the field. Guibert of Nogent draws a vivid picture of these winter days, when all were sad with the prospect of approaching famine, save only the prudent rich man, who had long been storing up in the years of plenty, so to gather wealth in times of dearth. "It was a time," writes Guibert, "to gladden the heart of the miser as he added the price of his garnered grain to his precious hoard." And now just when the money-lender was rejoicing in hope of unexampled profit, his dream was rudely dissipated; Urban had spoken and Christendom was roused.

Instead of the expected want, the markets were glutted ; every one was eager to sell, few cared to buy. Before the council bread was scarce ; after the council, though it was full winter, when stock had been killed off for salting, seven sheep were sold for fivepence.

As usual there was the crowd of greedy self-seekers only too eager to snatch a profit out of the enthusiasm of their fellows. "Yet, even these men," says a contemporary, "could not all hold out against the prevailing contagion. To-day a man might be seen chuckling over his friend's madness ; to-morrow he might be seen acting the same part and selling all he had for a few trumpery coins."

It was in North-eastern France and on the lower Rhine that the popular frenzy first gathered head. Eight months were to elapse before any of the great leaders started on the road, for many preparations had first to be made. But the wilder spirits could not brook delay, nor were there wanting men to set the torch to their enthusiasm.

In the long winter months the voice of one preacher was heard in North-eastern France urging men to fulfil the commands of God. This preacher was Peter the Hermit, and it is with the winter of 1095-6 that his historical career commences. From town to town he passed along walled round by a throng of eager devotees. "Never," says Guibert, "within our memory was any man so honoured." Of small stature, dark complexion, thin features, and if we may trust the evidence of romance, with a long white beard, he rode upon a mule, whence his followers plucked the very hairs as precious relics.

The exhortations of Peter and his fellows produced a marvellous effect. Guibert saw villages, towns, and cities emptied of their inhabitants as the preacher went along. This of course is the language of exaggeration, though it may possibly bear some relation to the truth, while Peter was passing through a district. But the real effect of his exhortations is to be seen in the expeditions that left France and Lorraine in the early spring of 1096.

The popular excitement, however, sank to lower depths than these. Madness, the near kinsman of enthusiasm and credulity, is often the slave of persecution. Whilst, on the one hand, crowds were starting for Jerusalem under the guidance of a mad woman, a goose, or a goat whom their frenzied imagination took to be the receptacles of the spirit of God, others made the movement an excuse for wanton rapine and murder. In Lorraine it was declared that a man's first service to God should be the destruction of the accursed race which had crucified the Lord. At Cologne the synagogues were destroyed, the Jews slaughtered, and their houses sacked. At Mayence the Jewish community vainly purchased the archbishop's protection and sought safety in his house. Even here they were not secure ; at sunrise a certain Count Emicho led the rabble against them ; the doors were broken open, and men, women, and children massacred without mercy, till in their despair the victims sought death at each other's hands.

The preaching of Peter the Hermit brought some fifteen thousand French pilgrims to Cologne about Easter 1096. Peter wished to stay and exhort

the Germans also, but the French would not wait, and set out under the guidance of Walter de Poissi and his nephew Walter the Penniless. They journeyed through Hungary, where they were kindly treated by King Caloman, to Semlin on the Danube. Here the main body passed over to the Bulgarian city of Belgrade, but a small party remaining behind to purchase arms were plundered by the people of Semlin. Walter begged the Bulgarian chief to supply him with provisions, and on a refusal suffered his followers to pillage as they would. The Bulgarians then mustered in such force that Walter's host was scattered, and many of his followers killed. The stragglers, however, forced their way through the woods in eight days to Nisch, and there obtaining guides and food, made their way on to Constantinople, where they remained till Peter the Hermit and his contingent arrived.

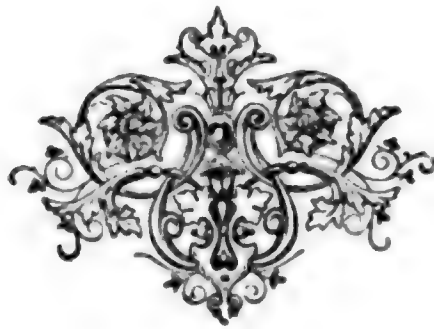
Peter, with the German host which his eloquence gathered round him at Cologne, seems to have followed the same route as Walter the Penniless. Through Germany, Bavaria, and the modern Austria they passed in peace, some on foot, some floating down the Danube and other rivers in boats. At Oedenberg they reached the Hungarian frontier, and there awaited Caloman's permission to traverse his dominions. Thence they journeyed in peace and good order to Semlin. From the walls of that city they saw the arms of Walter's comrades hung as in derision. This sight moved them to take vengeance, the horns blew to arms, the standards were advanced, a dense rain of arrows was poured in upon the city,

and the Hungarians were driven from the walls. The citizens for the most part sought refuge in a lofty fortress, while the pilgrims occupied the town, in which they found an abundant supply of food and horses. After a stay of five days the Crusaders crossed over to Belgrade, the inhabitants of which town had fled in terror at the news of Peter's success. At Nisch the Bulgarian prince Nichita granted them a market, but, when he heard that some unruly Germans had fired seven mills on the river, at once bade his subjects make reprisals. Peter, who had already started with the main host, returned at the news, and a general conflict soon ensued. The Crusaders were scattered, their baggage lost, and Peter's own treasure chest with all its wealth fell into the hands of the Bulgarian prince. A few of the fugitives gathered under Peter's leadership on a neighbouring height, where one by one the stragglers joined them till seven thousand had re-assembled. Then they renewed their march, and at last, on August 30, 1096, they reached Constantinople. There Peter had an interview with Alexius, who advised him to wait till the great Crusading armies should arrive. But certain unruly Lombards set fire to some buildings near the city, and stripping the lead from the churches sold it to the Greeks. Annoyed at such disorder Alexius urged that they should pass over to Asia. Peter and Walter were accordingly carried across to Nicomedia, whence they proceeded to Civitot, a city on the coast. Here the Emperor's ships supplied them with abundance of food, and they stayed in all for two months.

Some of the Germans, however, led by one Reinald, left their fellows and made an expedition towards Nicæa. Near that city they seized a deserted fortress, called Exerogorgo, wherein they were presently besieged by Kilij Arslan, the Sultan of Rûm. The sufferings of the Christians were intense, for there was no drinking-water; in their anguish men drank the blood of their horses, some sought to procure a few drops of water by letting down their girdles into the foul fishponds, others dug pits in the earth, and endeavoured to obtain relief by covering their limbs with the moist soil. After eight days Kilij Arslan captured Exerogorgo, and moved on against Civitot. Peter was away at Constantinople seeking aid from the Emperor, and Walter was unable to control his motley host. The Sultan surprised the Christians as they lay asleep in their camp outside the walls of the town. Walter was slain, and numbers of his followers ruthlessly massacred; three thousand of them, however, found shelter in a roofless fort close by. The Turks, unable to effect an entrance, kindled a fire against the walls, but the flames, so runs the contemporary story, were driven back by the wind into the faces of the assailants. In this fort the fugitives maintained themselves, until Peter persuaded Alexius to send a body of troops to the rescue, whereupon the Turks withdrew with their spoil and their captives.

A second host of Germans started for Constantinople under the leadership of a priest named Gotschalk. They were well received by Caloman, whose kindness they requited in the usual way, by plunder

and drunken disorder. Their conduct so angered the king that he ordered the pilgrims to be disarmed, and then the enraged Hungarians massacred the defenceless host, till, as it is asserted, the whole plain was covered with corpses and blood. Folkmar, a priest, led a mixed host through Bohemia with similar results. A fifth army under Count Emicho included some warriors of renown, but met with no happier fate. They besieged Meseberg, on the Leitha, and Caloman had prepared for a flight into Russia, when a sudden panic fell upon the invaders. The Hungarians took fresh courage and the blood of their foes soon reddened the rivers. A few of the leaders, including Count Emicho, escaped into Italy or to their own homes, but the mass of the pilgrims were slain or drowned: "Thus is the hand of the Lord believed to have been against these pilgrims, who had sinned in His sight, and slain the Jews, rather for greed of money than for justice of God."





III.

THE FIRST CRUSADE—THE MUSTER AND THE MARCH TO ANTIOCH.

Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,
οἵτινες ἡγεμόνις Δαναῶν καὶ κοίρανοι ἦσαν.

Iliad II.

“Tell me, now, ye Muses that dwell in the halls of Olympus,
Who were the chiefs of the Greeks? what were their leaders' names?”

No sovereign prince of Western Europe took part in the first Crusade, nor did any prince of the second rank start before the summer of 1096. The intervening time was spent in negotiations to secure a free passage and plentiful provisions on the way to Constantinople. For there seems to have been no real thought of proceeding to Jerusalem by sea; men shunned the horrors of a Mediterranean voyage, and the conversion of the Huns had reopened the earlier track, by which the Bordeaux Pilgrim had journeyed to the Holy City. The numbers of the first Crusade, though perhaps grossly exaggerated, were too great to admit of a united progress through Central Europe. The main hosts of the Crusaders accordingly set out in five distinct bodies, under different leaders and by

different routes. The first started in August, 1096, the last did not join its fellows till they were camped round Nicæa in the following summer.

First marched the Teutonic host, under Godfrey of Lorraine, who was now some thirty-five years old. His father Eustace II. of Boulogne had accompanied William on his expedition to England, and even before then had played a prominent, if not an honourable, part in English politics. Through his mother Ida he was, perhaps, descended from Charles the Great ; and claimed the duchy of Lorraine, which was confirmed to him while still a youth by the Emperor Henry IV. His early manhood was spent in war and politics ; he fought for Henry against Rudolf and Gregory, and when ill of a fever at Rome vowed to make a pilgrimage to the Holy City. Historically speaking before the first Crusade Godfrey figures as a somewhat turbulent noble of no particular piety. His grandfather, Godfrey the Bearded, Duke of Lorraine, had been one of the sturdiest of the rebels against Henry III. ; even in an age of violence men stood aghast at the daring of the man who had burnt the great church of Verdun to the ground. His grandson too, for all his later piety, could war upon the Bishop of Verdun in defence of what he deemed his rights. But in the next century men loved to think of Godfrey of Bouillon as marked out from his very infancy for his high career.

When Godfrey reached Oedenberg, on the borders of Hungary, he found his further advance stopped ; for Caloman, angry at the injury already done to

his kingdom, would not grant a passage till Godfrey had paid him a visit of reconciliation. Finally Godfrey's brother Baldwin, with his wife and children, were given as hostages, and a peaceful compact made with the King. "So day after day in silence and peace, with equal measure and just sale, did the duke and his people pass through the realm of Hungary."

Shortly after they had crossed the Save, the Greek Emperor's envoys met the duke, promising to supply his men with provisions if they would refrain from plunder. Nor did Alexius fail to keep his promise, for there was no lack of corn, wine, and oil for the leaders, while the common folk had full liberty to buy and sell. But at Philippopolis news came how Hugh of Vermandois was a captive in Constantinople. At first the duke had no thought of vengeance; but when the envoys, whom he sent to petition for the count's release, returned with a blank refusal, Godfrey gave orders to lay waste the surrounding country. A second and more friendly message from Alexius induced him to stay his hand and advance towards Constantinople. He pitched his tents outside the city, where he was welcomed by Hugh and his fellow captives; but by the advice of the French residents in Constantinople he refused the Emperor's invitation to enter the city, and rejected all presents, lest they should be poisoned. Alexius, in return, forbade his people to supply the Crusaders with food; nor was it till Baldwin, brother of Godfrey, took to plundering that the prohibition was withdrawn.

In the latter part of the eleventh century the coast of the Bosphorus beyond the Golden Horn to the Black Sea was bordered for some thirty miles with the palaces of the Byzantine nobles. Alexius, eager to have the Crusading host removed as far as possible from Constantinople itself, persuaded Godfrey to take up his winter quarters in this favourable district. To this Godfrey assented, but still refused the Emperor's solicitations for a personal visit. When Alexius had resort to actual violence, the Crusaders returned to their old position before Constantinople, and the Emperor was soon compelled to come to terms. A peace was patched up, and after the Emperor's son John had been given as a hostage, Godfrey visited Alexius in his palace. A little later, perhaps on the 21st of January, 1097, by the Emperor's request, Godfrey led his troops across to Asia.

Bohemond and his uncle, Count Roger of Sicily, so runs the contemporary story, were laying siege to Amalfi, when news came that innumerable Frankish warriors had started on the way to Jerusalem. Bohemond inquired of the messengers, "What are their weapons, what their badge, and what their war-cry?" "Our weapons," was the enthusiastic reply, "are those best suited to war; our badge the cross of Christ upon our shoulders; our war-cry '*Deus Vult! Deus Vult!*'" The piety or cupidity of the warlike Norman was aroused at this answer. He tore from his shoulders his costly cloak, and with his own hands made of it crosses for all who would follow him in the new enterprise. His example proved contagious,

and nearly all the knights offered their services to Bohemond, so that Count Roger returned to Sicily almost alone. With Bohemond went his cousin¹ Tancred, destined in later days to be lord of Antioch, and to find immortal honour in the great poem of Tasso.

Bohemond crossed to Durazzo about the end of October, and two months later had reached Castoria, where he spent the Christmas, and then proceeded on his way to Constantinople. He seems to have been well supplied with provisions on the route, and kept good order on the march. At Rusa, on the 1st of April, he received an invitation to Constantinople, and leaving his troops under the care of Tancred, hurried forward with only a few attendants. Alexius knew Bohemond's measure, and by the promise of a princely lordship in the confines of Antioch prevailed on him to take an oath of fidelity.

The third host marched under Raymond of St. Gilles, and comprised all the men of the Languedoc. Those of the Languedoc had gone before, and under the guidance of Hugh, Count of Vermandois, had been the first of all the Crusaders to take the field. "Hugh," writes a contemporary, "was first to cross the sea to Durazzo, where the citizens took him prisoner, and sent him to the Emperor at Constantinople." How he was released from his captivity we have already seen.

Raymond had been merely Count of St. Gilles, but through the death of his elder brother, while on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, had become in 1093 Duke

¹ Or nephew, for the genealogy is obscure.

of Narbonne, Count of Toulouse and Marquis of Provence. He was older than the other Crusading chiefs, being now past fifty years of age. In his company was the Papal legate Bishop Adhemar of Puy, and under his banners went many noble knights of Southern France. "It was already winter when Raymond's men were toiling over the barren mountains of Dalmatia, where for three weeks we saw neither bird nor beast. For almost forty days did we struggle on through mists so thick that we could actually feel them, and brush them aside with a motion of the hand." So writes a contemporary, who had shared in all the horrors of this painful march. Raymond, with that careful consideration for the weak which seems to have marked his character, did his best to hold at bay the rude natives, who dogged his rear athirst for the plunder of the sick and old; as a deterrent he cut off the noses, hands, and feet of his captives, blinded them, and in this plight sent them back to their comrades. At Scutari Bodin, the King of the Slavs, promised them an open market. "But this was fancy only; for we repented of the peace we had sought for, when the Slavs once more began to rob and slay in their wonted manner." At last they reached Durazzo, "where," writes Raymond's biographer, "we believed that we were in our own country; for we believed that Alexius and his followers were our brothers and allies." The Imperial friendship proved, however, but a broken reed; "right and left did the Emperor's Turks and Comans, his Pincenati and Bulgarians, lie in wait for us, and this though in

his letters he spoke to us of peace and brotherhood." However, despite such experiences and the consequent warfare, this host at last made its way to Rodosto, whence Raymond, at Alexius's bidding, hurried on to Constantinople. Raymond, unlike Bohemond, Godfrey, and Robert of Flanders, would take no oath to the Emperor. "Be it far from me," were the words of his proud humility, "that I should take any lord for this way save Christ only, for whose sake I have come hither. If thou art willing to take the cross also, and accompany us to Jerusalem, I and my men and all that I have will be at thy disposal."

While at Constantinople Raymond received news that during his absence the Emperor's troops had attacked his men. In his wrath it is said that he invited the other Latin chiefs to join him in the sack of Constantinople. Bohemond, however, was staunch to the Emperor, and even gave himself as a hostage that Alexius would recompense the count if it should prove true that the Imperial troops had done him injury. Godfrey, too, refused to bear arms against a brother Christian, and so Raymond had to endure his wrong as best he might. Nothing could induce him to become the Emperor's liegeman, but at last he swore to do Alexius no harm to his life or honour, and not to suffer any such wrong to be done by another. "But when he was called on to do homage," says Raymond of Agiles, "he made answer that he would not, even at the peril of his life. For which reason the Emperor gave him few gifts." Yet Raymond's oath proved of better worth than that of



those who had sworn more. Anna Comnena perhaps writes by the light of later events, but her words are very precise, and apparently refer to this time: "One of the Crusaders, the Count of St. Gilles, Alexius loved in a special way, because of his wisdom, sincerity, and purity of life ; and also because he knew that he preferred honour and truth above all things."

The last of the great hosts did not start till September or October, 1096. At its head was the Conqueror's son, Robert of Normandy, and with him went his sister's husband, Stephen, Count of Blois and Chartres ; his cousin, Robert of Flanders ; his uncle Odo, the turbulent Bishop of Bayeux, and a goodly host of warriors from the lands of Northwest France. They passed through Italy, at Lucca received a blessing from Pope Urban, and so by way of Rome came to Bari.

Winter was come when Robert of Normandy reached this town. The prospect of the stormy Adriatic determined him to spend the winter in Calabria ; where as head of the Norman race he might look for lavish hospitality from the children of those Normans who had conquered Sicily and South Italy. But Robert of Flanders bade defiance to the winter storms, crossed the Adriatic, and appears to have reached Constantinople a little before Raymond. The great majority of those who remained behind suffered terribly ; Robert enjoyed his ease in Italy or Sicily, but his humbler followers found it hard to support themselves in so unexpected a delay. "Many," says Fulcher, "of the commoner

sort became disconsolate, and through fear of want sold their bows. Then, taking up their pilgrims' staves once more, they returned meanly to their homes. So they became vile before God and man, and the thing was turned to their shame." Of the prelates, Odo died at Palermo and was buried there.

By the end of March, 1097, Duke Robert and Count Stephen were ready at Brindisi, and fixed their departure for Easter Day, the 5th of April. The sinking of a large vessel laden with four hundred pilgrims seemed to augur ill for the success of the expedition. But when more than one of the bodies thrown upon the beach was found to be marked with a mysterious cross, the incident was turned to a happy omen. "However," says Fulcher, "some being of a less robust faith were greatly perturbed with fear, and went back home, saying they would no more venture themselves on the treacherous waters. The rest of us placing our trust in Almighty God, launched forth on to the deep amid the blare of many trumpets, and the breath of a gentle breeze."

Four days later they disembarked near Durazzo, and thence made their way across Thessaly to Salonica and Constantinople. Fulcher relates that "the Emperor would not let us enter the city lest we should do it harm;" but the new-comers were not indiscriminately excluded, and it was doubtless the tales of his luckier comrades that filled Fulcher with admiration: "Oh! how great a city it is; how noble and comely! What wondrously wrought monasteries and palaces are therein! What marvels everywhere in street and square! Tedious would it

be to recite its wealth in all precious things, in gold and silver, in divers shaped cloaks, and saintly relics. For thither do ships bring at all times all things that man requires."

So one by one the varied hosts made their way to Constantinople. The successive arrivals of such numerous bodies of men, extending over nearly the whole of a year, may well have excited a feeling of dismay in the Eastern Emperor and his subjects. Almost all contemporary writers go further, and accuse Alexius of an actual breach of faith; nor were their charges entirely devoid of foundation. Yet so far as the providing of actual supplies was concerned Alexius seems to have kept his word in the main. We read how Bohemond's army marched "through overmuch plenty from villa to villa, from town to town, and from fortress to fortress;" at Philippopolis Duke Godfrey found an abundance of things necessary for eight days; and at Salonica Duke Robert and his comrades pitched their tents before a city abounding in all good store.

But the hordes of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless can have known little of discipline, and even in the more regularly constituted hosts it was impossible that the chiefs should maintain strict authority. It was perhaps still more impossible for Alexius to have arranged the commissariat without a flaw, and possibly his authority did not count for much in cities remote from the capital. "At Castoria," says Bohemond's chronicler, "the inhabitants would not assent to a market, for they feared us greatly, deeming us no pilgrims, but a people

desirous to waste their land, and slay them." Afterwards this same host was eager to attack a certain fortress, for no other reason than that it was full of all manner of good store. Bohemond refused, as much, we read, from love of justice as from loyalty to the Emperor. But even Tancred did not take so strict a view of what good faith meant.

Mutual distrust soon breeds open discontent, which is the speedy harbinger of open war. Nor was Alexius without justifiable suspicions of more than one Crusading chief; he can never have forgotten how within the last few years Bohemond and his father had waged war on the Empire. Byzantine duplicity was only too ready to suspect Norman guile; might not Bohemond, after all, be using the Crusade as a cloak for his own designs against the Imperial city? Such at least was the suspicion of the Byzantines a few years later, when they could interpret the events of the eleventh century by those of the early twelfth. "Some of the Crusaders," writes Anna Comnena, "were guileless men and women marching in all simplicity to worship at the tomb of Christ; but there were others of a more wicked kind—to wit, Bohemond and the like: such men had but one object—to get possession of the Imperial city." Such plans as these, if they ever existed, Alexius was bound to resist to the utmost, but his hopes went much further. He remembered that the Empire, which he ruled, had once stretched to Antioch and the Euphrates, nay, even to Jerusalem itself. Might he not turn the Crusade to his own advantage, by its aid beat back the invading Turks,

and recover for the Empire all that Frankish valour could wrest from Saracen hands? This was what Alexius had in view, and it was possibly by his insistence on this, that he sowed the first seeds of permanent distrust between himself and his so-called allies.

In all his actions Alexius had but one aim: he was resolved to give the Crusading hosts no facilities for their journey through Asia Minor until the leaders, one and all, had taken an oath of fealty to him. They must promise too that whatever conquests they might make elsewhere on their own



COINS OF ALEXIUS.

account, everything that had once belonged to the Empire should revert to it again. Doubtless he would grant them out in fiefs to the Frankish warriors, but he must at least be over-lord. Godfrey was first to take this oath, but it was uncertain whether the other leaders would consent to follow his example; the bargain seemed dishonourable, and they suspected some hidden trap. But at length the Emperor won his way. We have seen how Bohemond was bribed by the promise of a vast principality, and how Raymond, at first inexorable, eventually yielded so far as to take the oath in a modified form. In the end Tancred was the only

Crusader of the first rank who escaped the oath, and that only for the time. "He came," says his biographer, "to get himself a kingdom, should he find himself a yoke?" So Tancred would not approach Constantinople, but crossed the Hellespont in disguise, whilst Bohemond had to excuse his conduct as best he might. After the fall of Nicæa, Bohemond brought his kinsman back to Constantinople, and Tancred then took the oath, but refused all the Emperor's smaller gifts, hoping for a splendid tent, "turreted like a city, and a load for twenty camels." This Alexius refused to give him, making a few wholesome remarks on his covetousness, and Tancred accordingly returned in dudgeon to Nicæa.

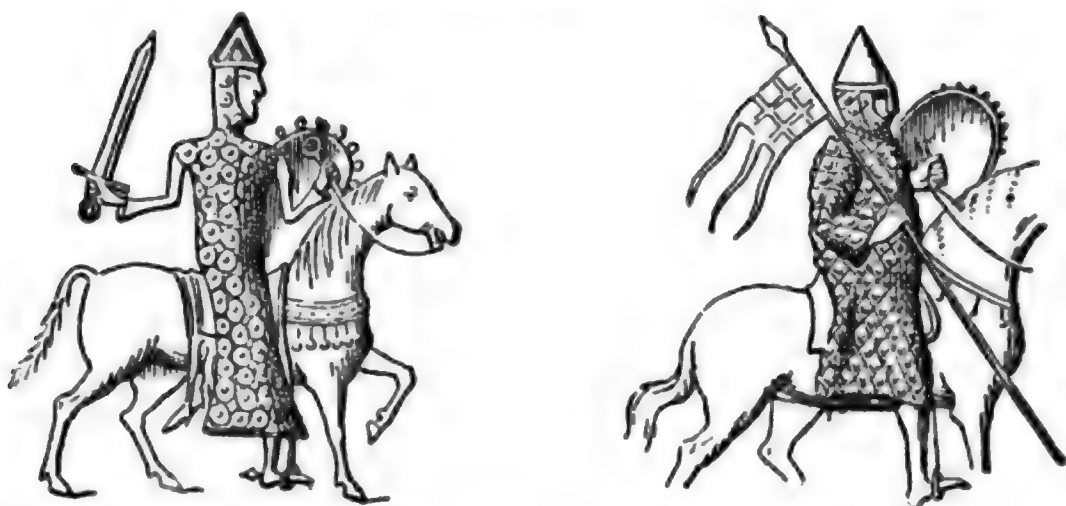
The first exploit of the Crusaders after they were all mustered in Asia Minor was the siege of Nicæa, which city they reached on May 6th. The first attack on the city failed, and then came news that Kilij Arslan was approaching with an army of relief. On Saturday morning, May 16th, his troops were pressing down upon the city, when fortunately Raymond of St. Gilles and Adhemar of Puy arrived to join their comrades. It was a glorious day for the Crusading armies, and their first battle with the enemy resulted in a complete victory. "The Turks rushed to war, exultingly dragging with them the ropes, wherewith to bind us captive. But as many as descended from the hills remained in our hands; and our men cutting off their heads flung them into the city, a thing that wrought great terror amongst the Turks inside."

After this victory the siege was renewed with fresh

vigour, and when, early in June, Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois, arrived the whole city was at length encompassed, except on one side, where a lake afforded means to go out and come in. It was plain that Nicæa would never be taken till this entry was closed. Envoys were sent to seek aid from Alexius, and through his assistance vessels were brought overland from the sea, and launched upon the lake. It seemed now that the city must fall; and all were looking forward with eagerness to the plunder, which was to repay them for their labour. But the Turks preferred to fall into the hands of Alexius, and just when the Christians were hoping to capture the city the Imperial banners were seen floating from the walls. Still though Alexius had thus forestalled his Frankish allies he was lavish of his gifts among them. "To our leaders," says Fulcher, "he gave gold and silver, and raiment; and among the foot-soldiers he distributed brass coins that they call Tartarons." No generosity, however, could quite satisfy the greed of the disappointed soldiery. What, they angrily demanded, had become of the gold and horses of the conquered? Where was the hospital that Alexius had promised to build for the poorer Franks? So also says Raymond of Agiles—"Alexius paid the army in such wise that, so long as ever he lives, the people will curse him, and declare him a traitor."

The siege of Nicæa thus ended, the Crusaders started on their way to Antioch on June 29th. Whether by accident or design they divided into two parts; with one went Raymond, Adhemar, Godfrey,

and Robert of Flanders ; with the other Bohemond, Tancred, Hugh the Great, and Robert of Normandy. At evening on the following day Bohemond found himself beside a little stream. The heights around were thronged with thousands of Turks, and a hasty order was issued to pitch tents. The night passed in anxious expectation, till in the early morning of July 1st, the horn gave the signal to resume the march. An hour or two later the scouts of the two armies came to close quarters ; Bohemond



KNIGHTS AT THE TIME OF THE FIRST CRUSADE.

ordered a halt, the baggage was stacked, and a message sent to call up the other host of the Crusaders. Then the knights dismounted, and Bohemond bade them be of good cheer, and keep the foe at bay, while the footmen guarded the tents.

It was a day of heroic deeds ; “the very women were a stay to us,” writes Bohemond’s eulogiser, “for they carried water for our warriors to drink, and ever did they strengthen the fighters.” At last, hemmed in by thousands of Turks, Bohemond himself was

losing heart, and his men giving way, when Robert—mindful, perhaps, how his father turned the day at Hastings—bared his head to view, and urged his comrades to stand firm. The battle was resumed with vigour, and as the other Christian leaders came up, the Turks were driven back, and fled leaving their treasures behind them. Victory had been snatched out of the very jaws of defeat, and well might the Christian warrior write: "Had not the Lord been with us in this battle, and sent us speedily another army, none of our men would have escaped."

Such was the fight at Dorylæum, the first pitched battle between the Crusader and the Turk. Fable or superstitious enthusiasm soon cast a halo round the fight. "A wondrous miracle is reported to have taken place," writes Raymond of Agiles, "but we did not behold it; for it is said that two knights of wonderful appearance, and clad in shining armour, went before our army and pressed the enemy in such wise as to leave them no chance of fighting." A few years later men told one another with awe how St. George, St. Demetrius, and St. Theodore, came forth from the mountains on white horses, bearing white banners in their hands, and dealt deadly blows against the infidels.

From Dorylæum the Crusaders plodded on over the rugged table-lands of Asia Minor, through a waterless and uninhabited region, "whence we scarcely issued with our lives." Survivors related to Albert of Aix, the story of their terrible march across the mountains. Men, women, and horses, perished of thirst in the heat of the hot July sun. Pregnant

women dropped down by the way to give birth to their hapless offspring before their time ; men marched along with open mouths, hoping thus to cool their parched throats by even the slightest breath of air. The hawks and dogs, which accompanied the chiefs to the war, died in the hands of their attendants. At length a stream was reached ; there was a general rush to gain the bank ; men and cattle unable to restrain their desire drank themselves to death.

Over the rough mountains the Crusaders passed into the pleasant valleys near Iconium, where the friendly inhabitants taught them how to carry water in the skins of the country. At Heraclea now Erkli, Tancred and Baldwin left the main army, and, by the famous "gates of Judas," passed into the Cilician plains. This they did in order to conquer on their own account, nor were they the only chiefs who at this time left the army for such a purpose. Raymond, Bohemond, Godfrey, and the two Roberts, for some unexplained reason, turned north towards Armenia ; but at length the main host of the Crusaders, under their command, pitched its tents before the walls of Antioch on Wednesday, October 21, 1097.





IV.

THE FIRST CRUSADE—THE FIRST FRUITS OF CONQUEST: EDESSA AND ANTIOCH.

“ The true old times
When every morning brought a noble chance,
And every chance brought out a noble knight.”

TENNYSON.

§ 1. *The Conquest of Edessa.*

WHEN Tancred entered Cilicia, and pitched his tents outside the walls of Tarsus, that city, like many other towns of Asia Minor and Syria, though mainly inhabited by Christians, was held by a garrison of Turks. The citizens were eager to obtain Bohemond's protection, and in his absence Tancred was only too ready to become their lord. The Turks were on the point of surrendering, when Baldwin's host appeared on the neighbouring mountains. The Turks, mistaking this force for allies of their own, refused to keep their engagement. The new-comers then joined the Normans in prosecuting the siege, but Baldwin, jealous of Tancred's success, presently induced the citizens to transfer their allegiance to

him. Tancred was too weak to resent such injustice, and withdrew to Adana, where Welf the Burgundian gave him a kindly welcome.

A little later the Turks surrendered, and Baldwin, leaving a garrison at Tarsus, started eastwards in his turn once more. Tancred who was now at Messis, beheld with indignation his rival come again to pitch his tents outside the city. Was he always to yield his conquests to the greed of Baldwin? So at their chief's bidding the Norman knights attacked the new-comers, but only to meet with a repulse. Next morning each army began to regret such a violation of their pilgrim's vows, and peace was restored. Baldwin then went off to seek fresh adventures in Armenia, whilst Tancred proceeded by the coast towards Antioch.

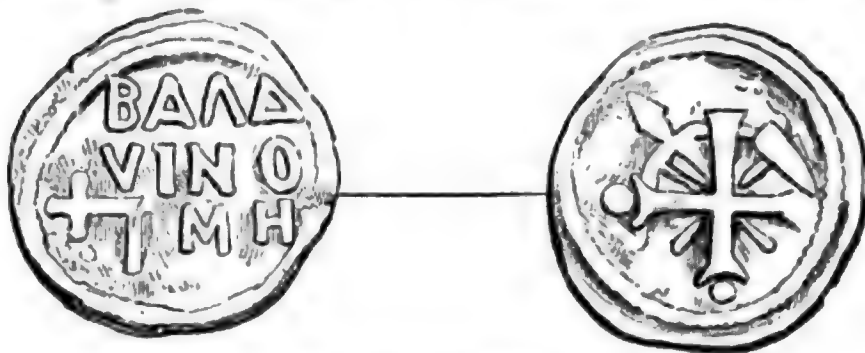
Among the cities of Armenia proper, none was more famous than Edessa, celebrated in Christian legend for its king Abgar, and for the tombs of the apostles Thomas and Thaddeus. At this time it was ruled by an Armenian prince called Thoros, who, though nominally subject to Alexius, had much difficulty in maintaining himself against the conquering Turks. Almost all the Armenian lands had fallen into the possession of the infidels, and it was only here and there that a remnant of that powerful nation still maintained themselves in their ancient home. Others had already commenced that obscure and mysterious migration, which, before the close of the next century, was destined to establish a new kingdom of Armenia on the shores of the Mediterranean.

Such a state of confusion offered not merely

great facilities, but some justification, to Frankish conquests. Nor were the Franks long before they availed themselves to the full of their opportunities. Baldwin was led by the advice of Pakrad, an Armenian, who had joined the Crusaders at Nicæa, to seek a field of conquest in Armenia. His fame reached Thoros at Edessa, and a message soon came to beg his assistance against the Turks beyond the Euphrates. Baldwin accepted the invitation with alacrity ; with eighty knights he crossed the great river, and was received within the walls of Edessa to the sound of trumpets. Thoros welcomed him kindly, but presently, growing jealous of Baldwin's popularity, refused to pay the promised wage. The twelve senators, who seem to have formed an aristocratic curia in Edessa, then begged their governor to fulfil his bargain, and so retain this illustrious warrior for service against the Turks. Thoros yielded to their persuasion and adopted Baldwin as his son ; after the manner of their race and country, he and his wife in turn took the count beneath their shirts, and pressed him to their naked breasts. This curious ceremony completed, Baldwin started on an unsuccessful expedition against Balduc, the Turkish ruler of Samosata. On his return he found the people of Edessa eager to have him for their prince. Treachery was at work, and on the Sunday and Monday before Easter, 1098, Thoros and his adherents were attacked, and the prince imprisoned in his own citadel. Baldwin seems to have been a party to the tumult ; but at least he may be credited with a sincere desire to save his benefactor's life. He

counselled Thoros to abandon all his treasures, and swore to secure him a safe retreat to Melitene. But Baldwin's promises were in excess, either of his powers or his intentions. Once more the people rose up against their ancient prince. Trembling for his life, Thoros attempted to let himself down from a window by a rope. His attempt was detected and in a moment his corpse, riddled with arrows, was flung out into the square.

Baldwin was now lord of Edessa, but it was by a precarious tenure ; for the Turks were close at hand, and his own troops few in number, whilst he had



COIN OF BALDWIN I.

already learnt how little trust could be reposed in Armenian fidelity or valour. Yet for all this he held himself as proudly as if he had an army of Franks at his back. Baldac sent offers of tribute, and in return for a talent of gold Samosata was left in Turkish hands. "But from that day," writes Albert of Aix, "Baldac became Baldwin's subject, a dweller in his house, and one among his friendly Gauls."

Baldwin's next conquest was Saruj, a town a few miles south of Edessa, which was surrendered by its Armenian ruler and entrusted to Fulcher of Chartres.¹

¹ This was not the historian, but a namesake.

He then sought to make his rule more pleasing to his subjects by taking an Armenian wife ; for his English wife, Godwera, who accompanied him on the Crusade, had died a few months previously at Marash. Baldwin now married a niece of the Armenian prince Constantine the Rupenian, by which alliance he strengthened himself both among his new subjects and against his Turkish foes. Still his position was very insecure, and he could render no help to the great army of the Crusaders, and indeed was himself besieged for forty days by Corbogha, when the Mussulman prince was on his way to Antioch. He did, however, contrive to send large store of provisions to his brother Godfrey, whilst the Armenian mountains furnished many of the Crusaders with a refreshing scene of adventure during the weary months of the siege of Antioch. Such hospitality was, however, a great strain on Baldwin's resources, and the consequent oppression excited a rebellion in Edessa. Although this movement failed, the renewed extortion for which it furnished a pretext alienated many of Baldwin's best friends, and so the position of the Franks in Edessa was, from the first, one of danger and difficulty.

§ 2. *The Siege of Antioch.*

Antioch on the Orontes was by far the most famous of the sixteen cities founded by Seleucus Nicator in honour of his father. Within four centuries of its creation it was the third city of the Roman world, the central point of all the Hellenic east. Later it became the seat of one of the four great patriarchates,

and the birth-place of the golden-mouthed preacher of the Eastern Church. Justinian surrounded it with a girdle of enormous walls, which after the earthquakes and sieges of thirteen centuries, still bid defiance to the wasting power of time. It was taken by the Saracens in 635 A.D., recovered under Nicephorus Phocas in 968, and again lost to the Seljuk Soliman in 1084.

At the present day Antioch, lost in its gardens and orchards, occupies but a small portion of its ancient extent. Now, as of old, the city lies on the south bank of the Orontes, beyond which there stretches northwards to the foot of Mount Amanus a wide and level plain; on the south the precipitous hills ploughed with deep ravines run down from the mountains of Ansarieh to within half a mile of the river. The modern Antioch is huddled together in one corner of the narrow space that lies between these hills and the Orontes; but in the eleventh century the southern walls of the city were built along a ridge of the hills which rise in that quarter to a height of several hundred feet above the valley, and are cleft by a deep and narrow ravine, down which a mountain torrent ran northwards through the city to the Orontes. On the more westerly half of the range rose the citadel; the other portion also was secured by a castle. The whole circuit of the fortifications may have enclosed an area of some four square miles. Within its course were included four gates: on the west, the Gate of St. George; near the north-west angle, a gate which led to a stone bridge over the Orontes; on the north-east, the Gate of St. Paul;

and on the south, at the deep ravine, the Iron Gate. Besides these there were numerous smaller gates at comparatively short distances apart.

Such was the city that the Crusaders sat down to besiege in October, 1097. Orders had been issued that all the predatory bands were to gather together, but even in their fullest strength the Crusaders were all too few for the task before them. Yet a contemporary, who should have had special opportunities for knowledge, asserts that the host consisted of three hundred thousand armed men; whilst within the walls there were but two thousand choice horsemen, five thousand mercenaries, and some ten thousand footmen. Finding it impossible to invest efficiently the whole circuit, the Crusaders directed their first efforts to the north-eastern portion of the walls. Bohemond pitched his tent furthest south, on a rock opposite the castle; a stone's throw off and nearer the city wall was Tancred. Then came Duke Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders; near the Dog gate were stationed Raymond and Bishop Adhemar; Godfrey and his fellow Teutons were posted before a gate which in William of Tyre's days was still called the Duke's gate.

It was Wednesday, 21st of October, 1097, when the Crusading army encamped before Antioch. For fifteen days no Turk dared issue from the city, but the Armenians and Syrians came out daily to the camp, pretending friendliness to their fellow Christians, but in reality seeking intelligence for the besieged. Presently the Turks began to make sallies in every direction, whilst their friends in Harenc also

pressed the besiegers hard. As Christmas drew near, the Crusaders felt the first touches of want : "We did not venture abroad, nor could we find aught to eat in the land of the Christians ; for none dared enter Saracen land without a great host." Bohemond and Robert of Flanders led out a large force to forage, but they gained little booty, and the Turks seized the opportunity to make a sudden sally, wherein they slew many knights and footmen. From this moment the Armenians and Syrians ceased to bring provisions to the Christian camp, and transferred their services to the besieged.

As the new year advanced on things grew worse and worse. There was no provender for the horses, and two solidi would scarcely purchase a man's food for one day. There were signs in heaven above, and in the earth beneath ; the earth trembled, and red lights burnt in the northern sky at night. Terror seized upon the bravest hearts ; Bohemond declared that he could not stay to see his men perish. Godfrey was ill, and so also was Raymond. The leader of Alexius' Greek auxiliaries urged his Latin colleagues to retire, and it seemed that there was no hope but to abandon the siege. Then came news that a vast host of Turks was advancing from the east. Bohemond's warlike spirit was roused, and at his own suggestion he led out one half of the host to battle, while the other half remained to keep watch on the city. Starting late at night, at early dawn he came upon the Turks encamped on either side of the river. But despite this advantage the battle at first went against the Christians, till the reserve under Bohemond's own

banner restored the day. Then the Turks were routed, their camp plundered, and Bohemond returned with a hundred heads as a trophy of his valour. This was on Tuesday, February 9, 1098.

The Crusaders now determined to build a fortress on the height above Bohemond's camp, hoping thus to check the constant sallies from the city. Another castle was to be built on a little hill near the bridge over the Orontes. During a temporary absence of Bohemond, the Turkish commandant sent out his troops across the bridge, and closed the city gates behind them, bidding them conquer or die. It would have gone hard with the Christians, but for a valiant knight, Isuard of Gagia, who with a hundred and fifty footmen made a desperate onset on the Turks, and drove them back to the bridge to find that Bohemond was returned. The narrow causeway was crowded with horsemen, and the walls of Antioch were thronged with Christian women eager to behold the destruction of their Turkish tyrants. "We overcame the enemy, and flung them into the river, where they received everlasting damnation, and rendered up their wretched souls to Satan. If by chance any strove to climb on to the piers of the bridge, or to swim ashore, our men slew them from the bank. Twelve emirs and fifteen hundred of a meaner sort fell upon that day." On the morrow the Turks came out and gathered their dead for burial; but the Christians broke into the cemetery, flung the corpses into a ditch, and carried off the heads as witness to the number of those slain. Then the besiegers renewed the building of the

castle, and when it was finished entrusted it to Count Raymond to guard.

During all these months it would seem that Bohemond had been in negotiation with the besieged. He had further obtained a promise from all the other chiefs, except Raymond, that he should be lord of the city when captured. Now, after having arranged with a certain Emir, Pyrrhus or Firuz, for the betrayal of the city, Bohemond prevailed upon the chiefs much against their will to promise Antioch to the man, who should succeed in taking it.

Once sure of his reward Bohemond revealed his plan. A night was fixed for the surrender, and on the preceding day a part of the Christian army went foraging so as to throw the enemy off their guard. At midnight a little band gathered below the Gate of St. George, and there waited for the signal. At last a messenger came to bid them stay till the passing of the watch, which every night made the circuit of the walls lamps in hand. Dawn was breaking before the wished-for sign was given, and Bohemond ordered his men to advance. They found a ladder ready, and sixty men ascended and seized the three towers of which Pyrrhus had charge. When Bohemond learnt that the towers were in the hands of his men, he advanced with the remainder; in their exultation the Christians crowded on to the ladder, which broke beneath their weight. It was a desperate moment for the few, who were now left alone upon the walls; it was still too dark to see clearly, but at last they felt their way to a gate, broke it down, and so let in their comrades. As the

morning sun rose, the Christians from their tents against the eastern walls saw Bohemond's banner floating on the hill. There was a general rush forward, the other gates were burst open and the city won. There was riot everywhere, and forgetful of their God men gave themselves over to banquets, and the blandishments of pagan dancers.

Hardly had the Crusaders taken Antioch, when on June 5th the scouts of Corbogha's army appeared before the city. He drove the Crusaders before him within the walls, and even gained possession of the citadel. From this vantage ground the Turks pressed the city hard. All day the Christians strove to bar their progress, and at night rested among the corpses of their comrades. As Corbogha's host closed round the city on the south, the hearts of the besieged began to fail. Men turned their thoughts to flight, and under the cover of darkness let themselves down by ropes from the walls. The panic affected even the noblest; the Grantmaisnils—Alberic and that Ivo whose turbulence a few years later won him an evil fame in English history—escaped over the hills to the port of St. Simeon, and put out to sea. Scarcely any event made such an impression as this cowardly flight: the recreant nobles are spoken of with scorn as "rope-dancers," and as men who were everywhere called infamous and held up to shame and execration. But there was one deserter of still more importance even than these. Stephen of Chartres, son-in-law to the great Conqueror, had made his failing health an excuse for retiring to Alexandretta before the fall of Antioch.

The besieged Christians sent him daily messages for help, and at last he mustered heart to scale a height whence he could look down upon the innumerable tents that filled the plain of Antioch. The sight was too much for his unwarlike mind ; panic seized him, and he hurried back to his own camp eager to escape the coming doom. Departing northwards he met Alexius, who was marching with a great army to assist the Crusaders. The Emperor was only too glad for an excuse, and despite the expostulation of Bohemond's brother Guy, Stephen and Alexius shortly went back to Constantinople.

Meanwhile the state of Antioch grew daily worse. "We, who remained," writes Tudebode, "could not hold up against the arms of those within the castle, and we built a wall between ourselves and them, and watched it day and night." Hunger came as the climax of their ills ; those who had money might purchase a small goat for sixty shillings, or a horse's head for three ; the poorer folk fed on any garbage they could find, on boiled fig-leaves, or ox-hides softened in water. Even the greatest nobles were reduced to beg for the commonest necessities, and but for his successful mendicancy Robert of Flanders would have been horseless on the day of the great battle.

For nearly a week the fight had raged hotly along the southern wall, and things were at their very worst, when the madness or enthusiasm of a poor Provençal brought hope and ultimate victory. It was early on Wednesday, June the 9th, as Count Raymond and Adhemar were sadly gazing at the enemy's

stronghold, that one Peter Bartholomew appeared before them with a strange story. St. Andrew had revealed to him in a dream the hiding-place of the very lance, wherewith the Roman soldier had pierced the side of Christ. He was bidden to reveal this vision to Raymond and Adhemar, but feared to approach men so noble. Twice was the vision repeated, and twice he failed to obey the apostle's command. He had even fled from the city, and set sail for Cyprus, but a storm drove him back to Mamistra, whence he had now made his way to Antioch. At first this strange tale received little credence. "The bishop thought it empty words; but the Count believed, and entrusted Peter to the care of his chaplain Raymond." Such is the account which Raymond of Agiles gives of the famous legend of the Invention of the Holy Lance.

Confirmation soon followed, for that night as a priest named Stephen was watching in St. Mary's Church, Christ Himself appeared to him, and promised aid within five days. These visions had come at the darkest hour of the Crusaders' fortunes; it was on the previous night that the Grantmaisons had fled, and it was even rumoured that all the great leaders were meditating flight. In such a strait it is no wonder that policy or superstition inclined the Crusaders to look for aid from a supernatural quarter.

The five days passed, and early on the morning of the 14th of June, Raymond of Agiles and eleven others went to the Church of St. Peter. From morn to eve they dug without reward; as each withdrew

in weariness fresh workers took their place. "At last, seeing that we were fatigued, the young man who had told us of the lance leapt into the pit, all ungirt as he was, without shoes and in his shirt. He adjured us to call upon God to render us the lance for our comfort, and our victory. At last the Lord, moved by such devotion, showed us the lance. And I, who have written these things, as soon as ever the blade appeared above ground, greeted it with a kiss; nor can I tell how great joy and exultation then filled the city."

By this time Corbogha must have changed the siege into a blockade. What happened during the ensuing fortnight we cannot precisely tell. Perhaps these were the worst days of the famine, during which the Crusaders hoped against hope for the coming of Count Stephen, or the Emperor Alexius. It would, however, seem that the time was partly spent on fruitless negotiation. The Christians offered to stake the issue on the valour of six or three chosen champions from either side; but this and other offers were rejected with disdain. So at length the Crusaders determined on action, and in the morning of Monday, 28th of June, issued to the attack. A gentle rain was falling with the dawn of day, and to their pious feelings it seemed like the dew of God's blessing.

They marched in six battalions; first were Hugh the Great, Godfrey and Robert of Normandy; fourth was Adhemar bearing the Holy Lance, and leading the men of Provence, Count Raymond being left behind to watch the citadel; fifth went Tancred and

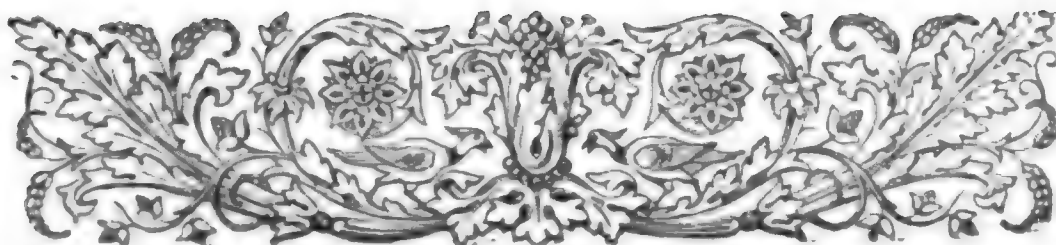
the men of Poitou under Gaston de Béarn ; last was Bohemond with the horseless knights. Many bishops and priests accompanied the army with crosses in their hands ; whilst others from the city walls called down God's blessing on the departing host. " As we marched from the bridge towards the mountains it was a toilsome journey," writes Raymond of Agiles, " for the enemy strove to hem us in. Yet though we of the bishop's squadron were hard pressed in the fight, thanks to the Lord's Lance none of us were wounded, no not so much as by an arrow. I, who speak these things, saw them for myself, since I was bearing the Lord's Lance. And if any says that Heraclius, the bishop's standard-bearer, was wounded in this battle, let him know that Heraclius was straggling far from our ranks."

Meantime Corbogha dreamt of nothing so little as an attack. He was sitting in his tent playing at chess, when news came of the sally of the besieged. A fugitive Turk, who had escaped from Antioch, assured Corbogha that there was no cause for fear ; but as the bishop's followers came in view, he added, " These men may be slain, but they will not be put to flight."

In strict truth Corbogha seems to have suffered the Crusaders to approach, in the hope of drawing them out from the city to battle in the open plain. He had despatched a force of Turks to make a circuit and take the Christians in the rear, warning their commander that a fire would be the signal that the main battle was lost. Perceiving these tactics, and fearing to be surrounded, the Crusaders organised a seventh squadron of knights,

taken from the divisions of Godfrey and Robert, and placed it under the command of a certain Count Reginald. When the Christians came within range of the camp, Corbogha's men discharged their bows ; but a violent wind destroyed the surety of their aim, so that they fled in panic, and Count Hugh on his arrival found none to oppose him. Bohemond was, however, hard pressed, and Hugh and Godfrey hastened back to give their aid where the real stress of conflict lay. Many deeds of valour were then wrought ; but at length the signal of defeat was raised, and the Turks fled on all sides for the mountains. In their excitement the Christians imagined allies of no earthly mould. "For there came out of the mountains innumerable armies on white horses, and bearing white banners. And our men seeing this host, knew not who they were, till they recognised it for the promised aid of Christ. The leaders of this host were George, Mercurius, and Demetrius. These things are worthy of belief, for many of our men beheld them."

It was a day of glory for the Christian host. A half-famished and ill-equipped band had routed an immense army well provided with all warlike stores. "But the Lord multiplied us, so that in battle we were more than they. And returning to the city with great joy, we praised and magnified God, who gave the victory to His people."



V.

THE FIRST CRUSADE—THE CAPTURE OF THE HOLY CITY.

“ Lay siege against it, and build a fort against it, and cast a mound against it ; set the camp also against it, and set battering rams against it round about.”—EZEKIEL iv. 1, 2.

THOUGH Antioch was at last secured, the Crusaders neglected to hurry on to Jerusalem, the goal of their ambition. Godfrey had learnt at Rome, fifteen years before, what dangers attended summer warfare in a hot climate. He therefore opposed an immediate advance, which, if undertaken promptly, might have brought about the fall of the Holy City without a siege, and the departure was accordingly postponed till November 1st.

This interval the chiefs devoted to conquest on their own account ; each great lord offering pay to all who would enlist under his banner. To these months we must ascribe the acquisition of most of the fortresses between Antioch and Edessa, though only a few scattered incidents of this warfare have been preserved. Raymond Pilet, a follower of Count Raymond, took the castle of Tell Mannas, but failed in an attack

on the more important town of Marra. The count himself captured Albara, and slew all the Saracens whom he could find, men and women, young and old. Then he sought out for his conquest a bishop who might convert it from a house of devils to a temple of the living God. The chief of Hazart, who was hard pressed by his lord, Ridhwan, the powerful ruler of Aleppo, appealed to Godfrey for assistance. When the proffered alliance had been accepted, the envoys, to the astonishment of the Christian bystanders, drew two pigeons from their breast, and despatched them as messengers of their success to Hazart.¹ Godfrey summoned Baldwin from Edessa, and the two brothers then advanced to Hazart. Ridhwan, who was already encamped before the town, withdrew on their approach. Godfrey renewed his compact with the chief of Hazart, and gave his ally a wrought helmet of gold, a masterpiece of art, wherein his ancestor, Herebrand of Bouillon, had been wont to issue forth to battle. After this Godfrey, shunning the August heat, withdrew to the highlands of Armenia, where his brother gave him Ravendal and Tell-basher.

About this time the Christians at Antioch experienced a grievous loss. On August 1st, Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, "one dear to God and man, departed in peace to the Lord." On the night after his burial in the Church of St. Peter, the bishop appeared in a dream to Peter Bartholomew, in company with

¹ This is the first notice we have of this use of pigeons in Syria, which later on was a familiar method of intelligence among the Farnk settlers.

Christ and the Apostle Andrew. To Peter, Adhemar confessed that he had been led down into hell in punishment for his doubts as to the Holy Lance ; but after his burial Christ had visited him in the flames, and brought him up to heaven, whence, Adhemar said, he now came to assure his former comrades that he would not forsake them.

In November, the chiefs began to assemble at Antioch. Bohemond was absent at first, and Count Raymond took occasion to protest against the bestowal of the citadel on the Norman chief to his own detriment. The other chiefs feared to offend either of these great lords, and so would make no decision. It seemed that the quarrel would prevent any further advance, when Raymond, with characteristic self-restraint, offered to waive the question for a time. If Bohemond would join in the march south, the count would leave the dispute to the judgment of their peers, always saving the fealty due to the Emperor. Bohemond agreed, and the two rivals were formally reconciled, although both thought well to fortify such parts of the city as they held.

When peace had thus been patched up, the army set out on its march. On Saturday, November 28th, Raymond made an unsuccessful attack on Marra, which, on Bohemond's arrival next day, was renewed, but again to no purpose. Raymond, who often figures as the engineer among the Crusading chiefs, then built a great wooden castle.¹ The huge machine overtopped the city walls, and defied all attempts to

¹ See the detailed description of these engines in chap. xxiii., and the illustration on page 89.

burn or crush it. The defenders of the city were driven from their posts by showers of stones, the Crusaders clambered up the walls, and the Saracens fled in panic. The Crusaders slew without discrimination, "so that there was no corner without a Saracen corpse, and one could scarcely ride through the streets without trampling on the dead bodies" (Dec. 11, 1098).

The capture of Marra led to a fresh quarrel between Raymond and Bohemond. The Norman mocked at the latest revelations of the Count's Provençal follower, Peter Bartholomew; he also refused to surrender his portion of the city unless Raymond would relinquish his share of Antioch. Raymond taunted his rival with greed and slackness in the fight; he wished to bestow Marra as a military fief on the Bishop of Albara. A further cause of discord was soon added. Bohemond urged that the advance to Jerusalem should be postponed till Easter; Christmas was close at hand, Godfrey and many knights were still absent at Edessa. The army, however, was in favour of advance, and with one accord appealed to Raymond to be their leader, if all the other chiefs should fail. After some hesitation Raymond agreed, and named a day for the renewal of the march. Bohemond thereon returned in wrath to Antioch. In the face of these troubles Godfrey was summoned from Edessa, and a conference of the chiefs held. Only a few supported Raymond, although these few included the two Roberts and Tancred. But news of the dispute reached those who were lying sick at Marra, and their indignation

took a strange, though practical form. Rising from their beds they tottered feebly to the walls in eagerness to destroy a city over which their chiefs were quarrelling. Indignation gave them strength to drag huge stones from their places ; and though the bishop's officers might stop the work of destruction for a moment, it was renewed as soon as they had passed by. " Those who dared not destroy by day pressed on by night ; hardly a man was too weak to work at bringing down a wall."

At last the appointed day arrived, and despite all the opposition, Raymond and his followers marched out from Marra on January 13, 1099. The fear of the Christians had gone before them, and the rulers of the great cities along the Orontes were eager to purchase peace. In the valley of Desem, where the Crusaders, spent the Feast of the Purification (February 2nd), they passed a fortnight of ease and plenty. Then, having determined to forsake the straight road for Damascus, they crossed the Great Lebanon, hoping on the coast to hear news of the ships they had left in the ports near Antioch, and through this means obtain supplies from Cyprus. On Monday, February 14th, Raymond sat down before the stronghold of Arkah, a fortress situated on a steep and almost inaccessible hill, and surrounded with a double wall. Here the Crusaders were detained three months, finding in the neighbourhood ample scope for the foraging adventures, so dear to the eleventh-century knight. Moreover, the besiegers were in no lack of provisions, for these were brought in abundance by the Greek and Italian merchants to the seaports close at hand.

Presently there came a rumour that the Caliph of Bagdad was sending an immense host to raise the siege. In this peril Raymond appealed to Godfrey and Robert of Flanders, who were besieging Jebleh or Gibel. The northern army marched to Arkah only to find the rumour false. The new-comers openly charged Raymond with having invented the story, and murmured at his wealth, which they contrasted with their own poverty. The visions of Peter Bartholomew and others, which had not abated, were again turned to ridicule, the chief among the scoffers being Robert of Normandy's chaplain Arnulf, afterwards Patriarch of Jerusalem. Peter Bartholomew retorted, "Make me the biggest fire you can, and I will pass through its midst with the Lord's Lance in my hand. If it be the Lord's Lance may I pass through unharmed ; if not, may I be burned up."

On Good Friday morning, April 8th, forty thousand Crusaders gathered to see the ordeal. In front of them were two parallel piles of dead olive branches, fourteen feet long by four feet high, and only one foot apart. "When the fires were kindled, I, Raymond, spake before the whole multitude: 'If God hath spoken to this man face to face, and if the blessed Andrew showed him the Lord's Lance as he slept, may he pass through the fire unharmed ; but if the thing be a lie, let him be burned up together with the Lance that he holds.' And all the people answered, 'Amen.' Now the fire blazed so fiercely that it occupied the space of twenty cubits, nor could any man approach it." Then Peter Bartholomew, clad only in his tunic, knelt before the Bishop of Albara, received the Lance,

and manfully entered the fire. Some fancied that they saw a bird fluttering over his head, but the great mass of the people do not appear to have seen anything miraculous ; though, as Raymond remarks, "There was a multitude present, and all men cannot see everything." As Peter issued from the flames he was greeted with loud cries of "God aid him." Such was the popular enthusiasm that he would have been torn to pieces, had not Raymond Pilet forced a way through the thronging multitude, and carried Peter off in safety.

Peter died within a few days, and the ordeal, as might be expected, only served to confirm the believers and the incredulous each in their own faith. For while his supporters declared that he passed through the fire comparatively unhurt, and owed his wounds to the unruly crowd, his enemies asserted his death to be due to the effects of the ordeal itself. Even Raymond of Agiles had to confess that "there was some sign of burning about him," though qualifying his admission by adding that his wounds were great.

Easter passed and Arkah was still untaken. There were two parties among the Crusaders ; some urged that the host should await the coming of Alexius, who had promised to join them by mid-summer, others pointed to the harvest, which was already ripening in mid-April, and were for proceeding to Jerusalem with the new crops. The latter counsels prevailed, and on Friday, May 13th, the host departed from before Arkah, and marched along the coast to Cæsarea. There they celebrated Whit-

Sunday, and thence, turning inland, marched to Ramleh.

At Ramleh the Crusading chiefs held a council of war. Some advised that they should strike at the very heart of Mohammedan power, and leaving Jerusalem on one side, march south for Alexandria and Babylon ; thus they would conquer a great kingdom, and Jerusalem would then fall without an effort. Others asked how a host which numbered only fifteen hundred knights could conquer vast nations, if it were too feeble to take the capital of a province like Jerusalem. Finally, the latter prevailed, and the march for the Holy City was resumed. Many eager for present gain hastened to set their banners on the neighbouring strongholds and homesteads, others mindful of Peter Bartholomew's advice, refused to think of such earthly things while nearing the goal of their desire. " These, to whom the Lord's command was dearer than lust of gain, advanced with naked feet, sighing heavily for the disdain that the others showed for the Lord's command."

It was June 6, 1099, when the Crusaders arrived before the Holy City. During the course of the few preceding years,¹ Jerusalem had once more passed into the hands of the Egyptian Caliph, who had been in negotiation with the Crusaders for more than two years before. Alexius had pointed out the advantages to be gained from an alliance with the Egyptian Caliph, who as head of the Shiites would willingly co-operate against the unorthodox Turks. During the siege of Nicæa, the Crusading chiefs had sent an

¹ The exact date is obscure : Arabic writers give 1096.

embassy to the Caliph, and during that of Antioch had received one in return. Later when the Caliph found both Turks and Christians bidding for his friendship, he had compromised matters by offering to admit three hundred unarmed pilgrims into Jerusalem. "But we laughed this proffer to scorn, hoping for God's grace, and threatening that unless he gave us up Jerusalem for nothing, we would lay claim to Babylon."

The Crusaders were too few to encompass Jerusalem entirely ; but so far as possible they distributed their forces over the whole circuit. Robert of Normandy camped on the north, by St. Stephen's Church, and near him was his namesake from Flanders. Godfrey and Tancred besieged the city from the west. Count Raymond stationed himself on Mount Sion to the south. Eastward, by Mount Olivet, the Crusaders kept no watch, for the city was impregnable on that side, where the strong walls of the Temple enclosure rose abruptly from the deep valley of Jehoshaphat.¹

After some days of preparation the Crusaders on June 14th delivered an assault, which almost succeeded, but they could not secure any permanent advantage. Then, as the days crept on, hunger and thirst made their appearance in the besiegers' camp. The chief water supply was the little fountain of Siloe, which, bubbling up only every other day, was but a doubtful blessing ; for as soon as it began to flow, men and animals crowded to the waterside in such numbers that they trod one another to death,

¹ See the plan on p. 119.

and at last the spring was entirely choked with the corpses of men and animals. Raymond of Agiles draws a fearful picture of the things he saw: "Near the fount lay many weak folk, unable to utter a cry for the dryness of their tongues; there they remained with open mouths, and hands stretched out to those whom they saw had water. Horses, mules, and oxen, lay rotting where they had fallen, till the stench of the decaying flesh became abhorrent to the camp." Afterwards, when water was discovered a few leagues distant, the Saracens lay in ambush among the mountains to plunder the cattle as they were being driven to drink.

Food also was running short, when fortunately news came that nine Christian ships had put in at Jaffa. With early dawn on Friday, June 17th, Raymond Pilet started with a band of a hundred knights to convey the provisions to the camp. The seamen at Jaffa welcomed the Crusading warriors with a feast, and they spent the night together in careless glee. In fancied security they kept no watch, and at dawn they awoke to find themselves surrounded by their enemies; but they contrived to unload their cargo, and carry it up to the camp, though the ships fell into the hands of the Saracens, except for one that had been cruising outside, and which escaped back to Laodicea.

The danger of famine was thus averted; but fresh trouble arose through the outbreak of the old quarrels once more. Some grudged Raymond his post on Mount Sion; others blamed Tancred because he had set up his banner over the Church of the Nativity at

the walls, and every effort was devoted to the construction of the great engines necessary for the siege. The lack of wood for this last purpose had been among the most pressing difficulties of the besiegers ; Tancred, while prowling about the mountains, had discovered four choice beams in a cave, but this was as nothing to the amount required, and there was no nearer source of supply than the groves at Nablûs some thirty-six miles off. Robert of Flanders superintended the work of felling the trees, and protecting the timber on the road, and so at last two wooden castles were constructed ; one by Godfrey on the north, the other by Count Raymond on the south.

While these works were in progress, the other half of Adhemar's injunctions was not forgotten. It was probably on Tuesday, July 12th, that the Crusaders made their grand procession round the city. The whole army, so far as it was possible, marched slowly from St. Mary's Church on Mount Sion to St. Stephen's on the north-east. At their head went the white-stoled priests and bishops barefoot, and cross in hand, chanting hymns and praying as they went for the fall of the city. The Saracens clustered on the walls to see the novel sight, and as the Crusaders made their first halt near St. Stephen's, mocked them with derisive shouts and gestures. "Moreover, in sight of all the Christians, they kept beating the most holy crucifix, whereon Christ shed His blood for the redemption of mankind, crying out in the Saracen tongue : 'Franks, it is the blessed cross.'" On the Mount of Olives, where a small church marked the place of Christ's ascension, Arnulf, afterwards Patri-

- went on. On Wednesday, July 13th, the attack was commenced on every side, and continued next day, but without any decided success. On the Friday the Saracens attempted to fire Godfrey's castle, which, through the fracture of one of its wheels, was fixed at a little distance from the walls, unable to advance or to withdraw. The defenders further protected the walls from the assaults of the ram by hanging out sacks stuffed with straw. But the Saracens were driven from the walls by continual volleys from the stone-slingers; the straw sacks were set ablaze by fire-bearing arrows; the scaling ladders were placed against the walls; the drawbridge lowered from the castle, and Jerusalem was won. Bernard of St. Valery, a surname afterwards very glorious in Crusading history, was first to leap upon the battlements, and as his comrades followed him the Saracens fled in panic before them to the Temple of Solomon.

Meanwhile, in the opposite part of the city, Raymond had met with less success. He had built his castle with the aid of the Genoese sailors who had lost their ships at Jaffa. After breaking down the outworks (*antemuralia*), and filling up the foss (*val-lum*), he found the Saracens on the walls had ten times as many engines as he could bring against them. It was the ninth day of which Peter had spoken, and though the Crusaders were not working as they should have done, this was doubtless due to the spells of two Saracen witches upon the wall. A stone silenced their iniquitous incantations, but even this brought no relief, and at noon the wall was still unshaken. The chiefs were already meditating the

withdrawal of the engines, when suddenly the count's men caught sight of a strange apparition. Far away on the Mount of Olives stood a knight waving his shield in triumph. It was a sign that the city had been forced from the other side. "Who this knight was," says Raymond of Agiles, ever ready to believe in a miracle, "we could never find out." But his meaning was understood at once, and the Provençal soldiery returned to the assault with renewed vigour.

Jerusalem had at last been taken, and was to fare as captured cities only too often did in mediæval warfare. The words of an eye-witness paint the horrors of the day in general terms without any attempt at detail—"When our men had taken the city with its walls and towers, there were things wondrous to be seen. For some of the enemy, and this is a small matter, were reft of their heads, while others riddled through with arrows were forced to leap down from the towers; others, after long torture, were burnt in the flames. In all the streets and squares there were to be seen piles of heads, and hands, and feet; and along the public ways foot and horse alike made passage over the bodies of the dead." Tancred burst into the Temple, and tore down the golden hangings from the walls—seven thousand marks in weight. He was, perhaps, of a more pitiful turn than most of his compeers, for he offered to protect such as took refuge in Solomon's Temple. But even his charity could only offer a reprieve, and not a full pardon. Weary with slaughter the Christians at length turned their thoughts to sacred things, and went in tearful procession to the Holy Sepulchre. But early next

morning their sterner mood revived ; the rumour went about that Tancred had been luring the fugitives to their destruction, and the Crusaders armed themselves anew to the work of death. Every one was eager for blood : some stationed at a distance shot the hapless Saracens with their arrows ; others scaled the roof of the Temple itself and massacred both men and women with the sword. Raymond alone seems to have felt an honourable compassion for the conquered ; he offered life to those who had taken refuge in the Tower of David, and on their surrender, suffered them to depart unharmed to Ascalon.

This terrible slaughter "filled all the city with dead bodies," and the first work of the conquerors was to cleanse the streets of the impurity which might breed a plague. The surviving Saracens were compelled to carry the dead outside the walls, where they were "heaped up in mountains," to be presently destroyed by fire. "Such a slaughter of pagan folk had never been seen or heard of ; none knows their number save God alone."





VI.

GODFREY DE BOUILLON.

"He was a very parfite gentil knyght."

CHAUCEK.

EIGHT days after the capture of the Holy City, the Crusaders met to elect a king (July 22nd). Few, however, of the great chiefs were willing to accept so barren and laborious an honour. The object of their expedition accomplished, all were eager to return home; so to one after another was the crown offered in vain. Raymond of St. Gilles, if we may trust his biographer, refused to bear a king's title in the Holy City. "Robert of Normandy's refusal," writes an almost contemporary English chronicler, "aspered his nobility with an indelible stain, to which not reverence, but sloth or fear impelled him." At last Godfrey de Bouillon was persuaded to accept the headship of the conquered city. But he, too, refused to wear a crown in the city where our Lord was crucified, and so does not figure among the kings of Jerusalem. He contented himself with the modest

title of Baron of the Holy Sepulchre, even after he had practically become king of a new realm.

After a temporal head, it was necessary to elect a spiritual one. There were many claimants for the office, but finally the choice fell upon Arnulf, chaplain to Robert of Normandy. According to Raymond of Agiles, he was as yet only a sub-deacon, and a man of loose life, whose notorious amours were the theme of popular songs in the Crusading camp. Ralph of Caen, on the other hand, speaks in no mean terms of his literary taste. Arnulf had been tutor to the Conqueror's daughter, Cecilia, and followed Odo of Bayeux on the Crusade. He was chief of the disbelievers in the Holy Lance, and narrowly escaped murder at the hands of the Provençal count's emissaries; when the Holy Lance was discredited he had a golden crucifix made to take its place as an object of devotion. His influence had grown as that of Raymond's followers diminished, and he had been chosen to preach the sermon on Mount Olivet on the day of the great procession round Jerusalem. Such was the man who was first elected to the Latin Patriarchate in the Holy City.

Immediately after the capture of Jerusalem, Tancred and Count Eustace started north to secure Nablûs. Meantime at Jerusalem a quarrel broke out between Godfrey and Raymond, who refused to surrender the Tower of David. When Godfrey wrested the stronghold from the Bishop of Albara, to whom it had been entrusted, the count indignantly declared that he would go home at once. But first, in accordance with the injunctions of Peter Bartholomew, Raymond

and his company made a pilgrimage to the Jordan. There his followers, unable to find a vessel, launched their lord on a boat of wicker-work ; and then flinging off his worn-out garb, dressed him in new apparel. "This," said Raymond of Agiles, "we did in accordance with our instructions, but we know not why the man of God bade us act so."

In August, there came news that a great Egyptian army was mustering at Ascalon. Tancred and Eustace were called back in haste, while Godfrey and Robert of Flanders marched out from Jerusalem. Robert of Normandy and Count Raymond refused to move without more certain information, but on a message from Godfrey that, "if they wished to share in the battle they must come quickly," they also set out, leaving Peter the Hermit at Jerusalem to organise processions and prayers for their success. On the 11th of August, the united host advanced towards Ascalon.

The Egyptians never dreamt of danger from so weak a foe, and rested idly in their tents, since the soothsayers forbade them to give battle till Saturday, the 13th of August. The Christians advanced in nine battalions : on the left fought Duke Godfrey ; on the sea by the right, Count Raymond ; while in the centre rode the two Roberts and Tancred. From the moment when the Crusaders caught sight of their adversaries, each standing with his skin of water hung round his neck, there seems to have been no doubt as to the result of the battle. It was rather a massacre than a conflict ; some threw themselves into the sea, others buried themselves in the earth, "not daring to rise up against us, and our men

cut them down as a man fells animals at the shambles" (Friday, Aug. 12, 1099).

The honours of the day seem to have belonged to Robert of Normandy, who slew the standard-bearer with his own hands. The standard with its golden apple and silver shaft, he purchased for twenty marks of silver, and gave to the Holy Sepulchre. The booty was immense, and when each had taken what he desired, they returned with joy to the Holy City, their camels and asses laden with biscuits, flour, wheat, and all things needful. "Wherefore there was such plenty that one could buy an ox for eight or ten coins, a measure of corn for twelve, and a measure of barley for eight."

Not even the unity forced upon them by the late danger could entirely reconcile Godfrey and Count Raymond. The count had accepted from the citizens of Ascalon the offer of their allegiance; but the chiefs declared that the possession of that stronghold was essential to the royal power. Truly or falsely—for the story is told in too many ways to be entirely true or entirely false—Raymond is alleged to have given back the town to the Egyptians rather than suffer it to pass into Godfrey's hands. It was with difficulty that the two leaders were kept from open warfare through the intervention of Robert of Flanders.

Many of the leaders now started homewards through Northern Syria. So great was the terror produced by the victory of Ascalon that the Egyptian garrisons at Acre, Tyre, and other towns received them kindly. Laodicea which Bohemond, with the

aid of the Pisans and Genoese, was endeavouring to secure for himself, was put into the hands of Count Raymond, who thus obtained some consolation for his previous disappointments.

Godfrey meanwhile led his whole force against Arsuf, but after a prolonged and futile siege he was forced to go into winter quarters, and withdrew to Jerusalem. His return to the capital was hastened probably by the arrival of his brother Baldwin and Bohemond of Antioch. Fulcher of Chartres, who was present in attendance on Count Baldwin, has left a detailed account of this march, which furnishes a typical example of the perils besetting an eleventh-century pilgrimage.

The two chiefs started from Balunyâs, a little south of Jebleh, taking with them Bishop Dagobert of Pisa. Their united companies numbered some twenty-five thousand, including women and children. As they passed along the Saracens refused them food, and since there was no fodder for the horses, the pilgrims would have fared ill, but that in the tilled fields there were crops of what the common folk called "cannamelles." "These cannamelles are almost like reeds, and hence their name from *canna* (*a reed*) and *mel* (*honey*). Whence as I take it wild honey draws its name, for that it is cunningly confected from these." The hungry people managed to stay their pangs by sucking these reeds, but they were of little use as food. During four or five days also a ceaseless torrent of cold rain was added to their troubles. Fulcher says that on one day he saw several men and women, besides very many beasts,

perish through the cold. Only twice in the long march did the pilgrims secure a market—at Tripoli and Cæsarea. At last, on the day of the winter solstice, they reached Jerusalem. The Holy Sepulchre was visited, and Christmas Eve spent in vigil at the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Even now, though it was nearly six months after the taking of Jerusalem, Fulcher was only too conscious of the offensive odours from the dead bodies of the Saracens. On January 1st the pilgrims started on their journey back; by the Jordan they cut their palm branches, and so returned through Tiberias, Banias, Tortosa, and Laodicea.

A little later Gabriel, the ruler of Melitene, applied to Bohemond for help against Ibn Danishmend.¹ Bohemond, eager to extend his sway, accepted the invitation. On the road he fell into an ambuscade through the careless confidence of his men who, wearied by the heat, were marching without their armour. Most of the Franks were cut to pieces, and Bohemond himself with his cousin Richard were taken prisoners.

By this time Godfrey had forced Arsuf to surrender, and obtained a promise of tribute from the other cities along the coast, including Ascalon, Cæsarea, and Acre, for “the fear of the most Christian duke fell upon all the lands of the heathen folk.”

¹ Mohammed Gumishtakin ibn Danishmend (the son of the learned man) founded, towards the end of the eleventh century, a great lordship in a district that roughly corresponds with the ancient Cappadocia. This district lay east of the Seljukian Sultanate of Rûm. His father had been a Turcoman schoolmaster, whence Mohammed obtained his surname.

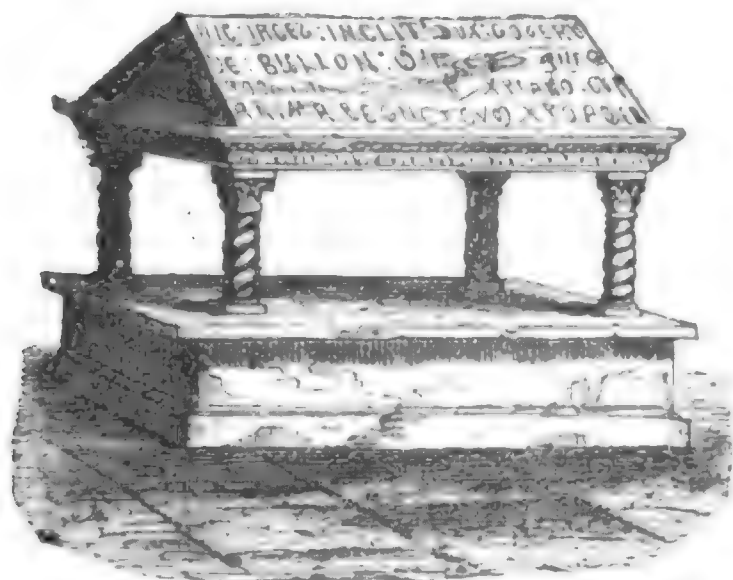
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Even the sheiks of the wild Arabian tribes begged for peace in order that they might have a market for their flocks. But neither Christian nor Saracen kept peace by sea ; and while the merchants of Ascalon and Jerusalem passed to and fro from one city to the other, the Saracen warships scoured the Mediterranean, and the Crusading warriors cut off all vessels that brought up provisions from Alexandria and Damietta for the Egyptian cities along the coast.

Godfrey's next task was to fortify Jaffa, a town that was of extreme importance to the infant kingdom and for a double reason ; it was practically the only harbour at which the Crusaders could disembark reinforcements from the west ; it was also their base of supply since the Franks could not trust entirely to an alien race for their provisions. From this labour Godfrey was called away to assist Tancred, who was establishing himself near the lake of Tiberias. As he returned from this expedition along the coast towards Jaffa, a deadly sickness fell upon him, due, so it was declared, to poisoned fruit sent him by the Emir of Cæsarea. At Jaffa he met the Venetian bishop and doge, who had lately arrived, but was too feeble to endure the excitement of a prolonged interview. The same night he grew worse, and feeling unable to bear the bustle of a maritime city, had himself carried up to Jerusalem. He breathed his last on July 18, 1100, and was buried in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Godfrey's death occurred three days after the anniversary of the capture of the Holy City. Under the later kings the two events were celebrated together, and

the anniversary of the great duke's death was marked by the distribution of gifts in accordance with his will. Godfrey himself is one of the most remarkable characters to be met with in history. No other ruler, perhaps, combines so perfectly the religious and active elements in life. His history was soon surrounded with tales of wonder, so that he seemed to have been marked out from his earliest days for his sacred mis-



GODFREY DE BOUILLON'S TOMB IN THE CHURCH OF
THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

sion. His mother told how long before the First Crusade he had desired to make his journey to Jerusalem, not as a pilgrim, but at the head of an army. Yet he does not seem to have held the first place amongst the leaders, and the reason for his election must be sought in the jealousy between the men of north and south France. The fierceness of this feeling had everywhere been displayed in the quarrels between the followers of the Norman and Provençal

leaders. Some compromise was necessary, and seeing that the Germans, as Ralph of Caen expressly says, had "stood outside the quarrel," it is little wonder that the choice fell on the great leader, whose engines had made the first breach in the walls of Jerusalem. Moreover, Godfrey, as a native of the French and Teutonic borderlands, was unlike most of the chiefs, familiar with both the French and German tongues.

Piety had always been a marked feature in Godfrey's character. Either this or his natural humility made him refuse to wear a golden crown of state in the city where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns. He was fond of religious services, and even in the turmoil of the capture had stolen away to pray at the Holy Sepulchre. Yet there were harder elements in his character; he had sternly punished any lack of discipline among his followers, and shown himself merciless to his foes. Still his short reign was so far as possible one of peace, and all the varied dwellers round Jerusalem mourned for his death.

It must have been within a very few years that Godfrey began to figure in contemporary song. Later he became the centre of one of the five great cycles of romantic literature. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the fame of Godfrey and the First Crusade rivalled the older legends of Arthur and Charlemagne, and he is named with them as one of the three Christian heroes who made up the number of the nine noblest. Slowly the floating mists of romance gather shape and substance round his name, not only from the true exploits of his Crusading life,

but from others in which he had taken no part. Like the mother of Thomas à Becket, his mother was fabled to have been an Eastern princess, and his grandmother's name was associated with the old-world legend of the Knight of the Swan. Whatever its form his legend became one of the chief themes of mediæval song. Ballads of the siege of Antioch cheered the camp fires of the warriors of the Third Crusade, and men almost forgot the miserable feuds which wrecked the fair prospects of 1191-2 in thinking of the self-denial, the devotion and the chivalrous valour of the great Crusaders of an earlier age.

Thus in little more than a year from the capture of the Holy City had the hero of the First Crusade passed away. Of the other great chiefs, Raymond, Bohemond, Tancred, and Baldwin alone remained in the East. The remainder had hurried home to meet with more or less tragical fates. Robert of Normandy reached his duchy just too late to secure the succession to England on the death of his brother William. Six years later his defeat at Tenchebrai consigned him to lifelong captivity, but even so his name was not forgotten in the Holy Land, where an illegitimate son of his, William by name, played a prominent part under Baldwin I. Robert of Flanders, like his cousin and namesake, reached home by way of Greek territories; eleven years later he was thrown from his horse and killed. Hugh the Great, who had been sent to Constantinople after the fall of Antioch, shared in the disastrous expedition of 1101 and died at Tarsus. The recreant Count Stephen of Blois, driven back to the East by his wife's reproaches,

took part in the same expedition, and was slain in the great battle of Ramleh (1102). This expedition, which ended so disastrously for the two French counts, must detain us for a little.

The conquest of Jerusalem kindled a warlike enthusiasm in many hearts which had been cold to the impassioned pleading of Urban and Peter. Amongst those who now took up arms was the powerful Duke William of Aquitaine. Religious feeling had not restrained him from the endeavour to turn Count Raymond's absence on the Crusade to his own profit. He is perhaps the first of all the Crusading chiefs who undertook the expedition in the frivolous spirit of the mere adventurer eager for some new thing. The details of this crusade, or series of crusades, are difficult to follow; but first of all a large and unruly horde of Lombards reached Constantinople, and after some riotous conduct, in the course of which they broke into the palace and killed one of the Emperor's pet lions, crossed the Bosphorus. At Nicomedia they were joined by Conrad the Constable of the Emperor Henry, and the two Stephens of Blois and Burgundy.

It was now Whitsuntide, 1101, and the Crusaders, eager to depart, begged Alexius for a guide. He offered them Raymond of St. Gilles, who was present at Constantinople. But when the time for departure arrived a feud broke out between the two divisions. Stephen of Blois was for following the old Crusading track through Iconium to Antioch. The Lombards, however, were seized with a wild desire to push across the highlands of Asia Minor to the realm of

Chorazan, by which they probably understood Persia or the region of the Lower Tigris. There they hoped to rescue Bohemond from captivity or, happier still, to seize Bagdad itself. Others, among whom was Ekkehard, our chief authority for this expedition, took alarm at a reported speech of the Emperor Alexius, to the effect that he would let the Franks and the Turks devour one another like dogs; these went by sea from one or other of the Greek ports, and, as Ekkehard says, "Through the Divine mercy, after six weeks we reached the haven of Jaffa."

Raymond threw in his lot with Count Stephen. Three weeks' march through a region of plenty brought them to Ancyra on June 23rd. Here they entered on a waterless and desert region, and from this point their steps were dogged by the Turks, who, shooting from a distance, picked out with their arrows the stragglers and weak. At last the whole rearguard, consisting of seven hundred Lombards, was cut off. Next morning there was a deadly panic, and only Raymond and the Duke of Burgundy volunteered to take the post of danger. Some three weeks later, when the Christians were already near Maresch, not far from Sinope, Raymond was defeated by the Turks, and on the next day rode off with his followers, leaving his fellow Crusaders to fare by themselves. The other leaders, infected by his example, fled in panic, leaving their goods and their very wives as a booty to the Turks. "Ah! what grief was it to see delicate and noble matrons carried off by impious and horrid men—men whose heads were shorn behind and before, whose beards

were long and unkempt, and who were like to foul and unclean spirits in conduct."

The two Stephens, Conrad, and the Bishop of Milan got back to Constantinople, where Raymond also presently arrived by sea. The Count of St. Gilles found a general prejudice against him by reason of his alleged desertion, but he excused himself successfully to Alexius on the score of necessity.

Another expedition, under William, Count of Nevers, had reached Constantinople from Brindisi, and marched through Asia Minor in the train of Raymond and his fellows. Count William, with a scanty following, at length reached Antioch on foot, in the autumn of 1101.

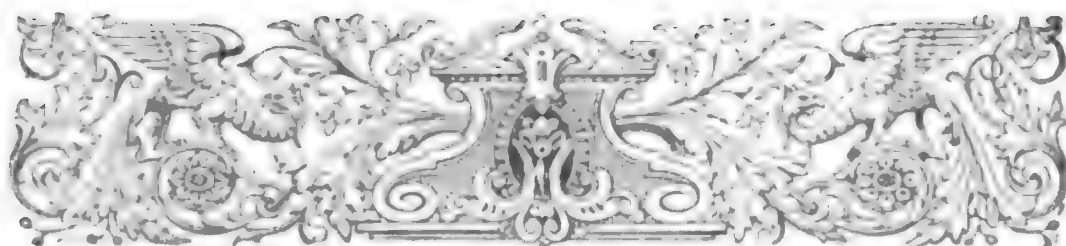
Duke William of Aquitaine reached Constantinople a little later than the rest; with him came Welf of Bavaria, the Countess Ida of Austria, and, if we may credit Albert of Aix, 160,000 pilgrims of either sex. This expedition fared worse than their predecessors alike in Europe and in Asia. In the end many thousands were slain or carried off captive by Kilij Arslan. Welf went wandering over the mountains, and hardly escaped with his life; as for the Countess Ida, says Albert of Aix, whether she was carried off or trod to pieces under the feet of horses is unknown to this day; William fled with a single knight, and found shelter near Tarsus till Tancred came and escorted him to Antioch.

The remnants of all these expeditions met at Antioch in March, 1102. "Of so innumerable a host of God's people," writes a survivor, "alas!

alas ! we do not believe one thousand survived ;
and these we saw afterwards at Rhodes, Paphos,
and other ports, hardly more than bones, but only
a few at Jaffa."







VII.

THE LAND AND ITS ORGANISATION.

"A land of settled government,
A land of old and fair renown."

TENNYSON.

THE capture of Jerusalem and the formal constitution of the kingdom which took its name from the Holy City were hardly more than the first stage in the conquest of Palestine. Even at the time of Godfrey's death the Franks held little besides Jerusalem itself, together with the communications with the Byzantine dominions, which they had established in the course of their march south. Though Bohemond at Antioch and Baldwin at Edessa had already secured somewhat more extended sovereignties, the true period of conquest covered the reigns of Godfrey's first two successors. But indeed the whole history of the Frankish rule in Syria was so chequered, that its curtailment at the hands of the reviving power of Mohammedanism had already commenced in one quarter before it could attain its full extension in another. The death of Baldwin II. may be said to mark the moment of greatest extension, when in the words of Abul-

faraj, "all was subject to the Franks, from the neighbourhood of Mardin to El Arish on the borders of Egypt." The present is, however, the most convenient place for a description of the territory of the Syrian Franks, always remembering that at no moment did its actual extent coincide with that which was theoretically theirs.

In its entirety the Frankish dominion should have included all the lands that lay between the sea on the west and the desert on the east. This region, taken as a whole, is one of well-marked characteristics, and, despite certain weak points, not ill-suited for defensive occupation. But, as we shall see, the Franks never did occupy it fully, and the neglect or incapacity to do so may without doubt be classed among the causes which prevented the Frankish principalities from maintaining a more permanent existence.

The extreme length of the Frankish territory from the Euphrates to the borders of Egypt was somewhat over five hundred miles. Its breadth, except in the far north, seldom exceeded fifty miles, and was for the most part much less. This extreme attenuation left a long frontier open to attack, and whilst the Mohammedans still held Damascus, Emesa, Hamah, and Aleppo the danger of attack was ever present. Otherwise, so long as the Franks retained their hold on Edessa and had Greeks and Armenians for neighbours in the north-west, the only serious danger would have proceeded from Egypt, a source of trouble to which the later Crusaders at least were keenly alive.

Physically speaking, the land consists of four longitudinal zones. The first is the plain country on the border of the Mediterranean, a region of sandy tracts alternating with wooded lands. This district, which extends to a width of some fifteen miles in the south, gradually narrows to very small dimensions in the region of the ancient Phœnicia, thus to continue to the head of the Gulf of Iskanderoun. In the kingdom proper the district is broken by the height of Carmel, but immediately to the north, in its turn, extends eastward over the fertile plain of Esdraelon. Behind the plain of the coast lies the mountain country which in Palestine proper consists of an undulating district of moderate elevation (1,500–1,800 feet) ; though with some more striking heights, as those on which the cities of Hebron and Jerusalem are situate, the one lying 3,000 feet, the other some 500 feet less, above the level of the Mediterranean. Behind the Phœnician coast lies the far loftier range of Lebanon, which is continued in the mountains of Ansarieh to the neighbourhood of Antioch. This mountain country rises for the most part gradually on the west, but on the east falls by a steep and rugged descent to the depression which forms the third zone. The valleys of the Orontes, the Litany, and the Jordan, with the Wady-el-Arabah, form a long and deep trench extending in an almost straight line from Antioch to the Gulf of Elim, and broken only by Hermon and the highlands to the south of the Dead Sea. This trench formed the eastern limit of Frankish conquest except in the extreme north, where the county of

Edessa spread to the Euphrates and beyond, and in the south, where it comprised the highlands to the east of the Dead Sea and reached to the Gulf of Elim. The fourth zone, that bordering on the desert, included the highlands of Moab and the Djaulan, together with the range of Anti-Lebanon and its eastern slopes. For the most part a high and bleak plateau, it comprises many well-watered and fertile spots, especially in the more northern part, where lay the great Mohammedan cities of Damascus, Emesa, Hamah, and Aleppo.

The Frankish dominions in Syria consisted of four main divisions—the kingdom of Jerusalem proper, the county of Tripoli, the principality of Antioch, and the county of Edessa.

Beginning with the north, we find in Edessa an extensive but ill-defined territory lying on both sides of the Euphrates. On the left bank, besides the proper district of Edessa, it extended northwards to the neighbourhood of Mardin, and in the south to the fertile region of Saruj. On the right bank of the Euphrates its chief territory consisted of the lordship of Joscelin of Courtenay, whose capital was Turbessel, now Tell-basher. The principal fiefs of Edessa were Hatab or Ain-tab, and Tulupe, Coris, Ravendal, Samosata, Bir, and Saruj. The Frankish settlers were not numerous, and confined themselves, as it would seem, to the towns and fortresses; even in Edessa itself they were but few in number. The mass of the population consisted of Armenians and Syrians, and the system of government appears to have remained almost purely Byzantine. Edessa, the capital,

is identical with the Rohas of antiquity and the Orfa of modern times. Built on the banks of the Kara Tchai, at the foot of a hill called the Top Dagħ,¹ and dominated by a strong castle, Edessa was at once a fortress and a great place of commercial transit. To the Franks it was of supreme importance as commanding the best route from Mesopotamia to Syria.

West of the county of Edessa lay the extensive principality of Antioch. Under the rule of its first princes Antioch was rapidly developed, till by 1130, the moment of its widest extension, it reached on the north-west far into Cilicia, and even included the towns of Tarsus, Adana, and Mamistra; but the conquests of John Comnenus in 1137 confined it within the river Jihun or Pyramus, and later on it was further circumscribed by the growth of the kingdom of Armenia. North-east it marched with Edessa, and south east included beyond the Orontes the territories of Albara, Apamea, and Marra, and, as we shall see, pressed hard on Aleppo itself. On the west lay the sea, and south the mountain district of Tripoli. Within these limits were included a great number of dependent fiefs, chief of which were Cerep, Harenc, Hazart, Zerdana, and Marra. On the coast lay the important ports of Laodicea, and Soudin, or St. Simeon, at the mouth of the Orontes, which was the harbour of Antioch. The position of the capital has already been sufficiently described,² and it is enough to emphasise here the importance of the

¹ In Crusading times this was called the Holy Mountain, from the numerous monasteries on its slopes

² Chapter iv. p. 63-6.

principality as the earliest, and perhaps the most permanent, of all the Frankish colonies.

The county of Tripoli formed a strip of territory about a hundred miles in length, and extending from the sea on the west to the Orontes on the east. Its southern boundary was at the Nahr Ibrahim, a little to the north of Beyrout, and at the other extremity it approached to the neighbourhood of Markab. On the east lay the territory of the Assassins and the Mussulman principalities of Hamah and Emesa. Among its fiefs were Arkah, Botron, Jebeil, and Tortosa, and it also included the strong fortresses of Safed and Kerak or Krak des Chevaliers. The town of Tripoli in Crusading times consisted of the actual city on Mount Pilgrim and the more ancient city on a peninsula below. In the thirteenth century it was a great centre of commerce, famous for its schools and for its silk factories, that gave employment to four thousand artisans.

Edessa, Antioch, and Tripoli were all theoretically dependencies of the kingdom of Jerusalem. In Edessa the royal authority was secured from the day when its first count became the second king of Jerusalem. Antioch was to have been held by Bohemond as a dependency of the Byzantine Empire ; but the conduct of Alexius gave the Franks a fair excuse for disowning his suzerainty. During the disasters which followed on the death of Roger in 1119, Baldwin II. was called in to defend the unguarded principality, and for some years the king was in fact its governor. In 1126 the second Bohemond married Baldwin's daughter, and on his death a few years later the king,

as guardian for his grandchild, received the oaths of all the vassals high and low. From this time Antioch may be considered both legally and politically as a dependency of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Tripoli, as we shall see, passed into the same position, when Raymond's son Bertram appealed to Baldwin I. for aid against William Jordan, and became the king's man. Henceforward its allegiance hardly wavered, except when in 1122 Pons for a while refused obedience to Baldwin II.

The kingdom of Jerusalem properly so called extended along the coast from the Nahr Ibrahim to the Wady-el-Arish. The eastern boundary was formed by the valley of Baccar and the Ghor, or basin of the Jordan and Dead Sea. But in the north the fortress of Banias and the land of Soad lay east of this line, and in the south-east the Franks occupied the land beyond the Dead Sea, and as far south as the Gulf of Elim. The kingdom was divided into four great baronies and twelve lesser lordships. The first were :—(1) the county of Jaffa and Ascalon ; (2) the lordship of Kerak and Montreal ; (3) the principality of Galilee ; (4) the lordship of Sidon. The lesser fiefs were Darum, Hebron or St. Abraham, Arsûf, Cæsarea, Nablûs, Bessan or Bethshan, Caimont, Haifa, Toron and Banias, Scandelion, St. George or Lydda, and Beyrout.

The county of Jaffa and Ascalon stretched over the plain of Sharon between the sea and the mountains of Judah, and from the river Leddar to Darum and the desert of Sin. It included the fortresses of Ibelin, Blanchegarde, and Mirabel, and the towns of

Gaza, Lydda, and Ramleh. Jaffa was erected into a county by Baldwin I. for his kinsman Hugh de Puiset. After the untimely fate of his son Hugh II., it passed into the royal hands to be revived by Baldwin III. for his brother Amalric, who was already Count of Ascalon. From this time the double county became an appanage of the royal house, and so was held by Guy de Lusignan and Walter de Brienne. The authority of the counts was, however, much circumscribed by the power of the great house of Ibelin. Balian the Bearded, founder of that house, appears in 1120 as Constable of Jaffa, and eventually became lord of Ibelin, Ramleh, and Mirabel. In later days his descendants accumulated many fiefs both in Jerusalem and Cyprus.

The lordship of Kerak and Montreal took its name from the two great fortresses in the land beyond the Dead Sea. Its peculiar importance lay in the fact that the rich caravans from Egypt to Damascus had to pass through its territories, and pay it toll. Its first lord was Roman de Puy, afterwards Fulk gave it to Payn, uncle of Philip of Nablûs. Philip's daughter conveyed it to Reginald of Châtillon, its last and most famous lord. This lordship included the maritime fortress of Elim or Aila, and was eventually united with the lordship of Hebron.

The principality of Galilee besides the district properly so called included the land of Soad beyond Jordan, and had Tiberias or Tabarie for its capital. It contained many important fortresses, such as Safed, La Féve, Forbelet, and Belvoir, and the towns of Nazareth and Sepphoris. Tancred was for a

short time Prince of Galilee, afterwards it was held by Hugh of Falkenberg or St. Omer, Joscelin of Courtenay before he became Count of Edessa, and William de Bures. Later it returned to the Falkenberg family, and in the thirteenth century passed by marriage to the Ibelins. On its northern borders lay the important lordship of Toron, whose rulers for four generations were called Henfrid, and were long constables of the kingdom.

The lordship of Sidon was bounded on the north by the Damour, on the west by the sea, on the east and south by the Litany. It included the strongholds of Beaufort and the Cave of Tyron, with the towns of Sidon and Sarepta. It was first granted to Eustace Grener, who was lord of Cæsarea. Eustace married a niece of the Patriarch Arnulf; of his two sons, Walter became lord of Cæsarea and Gerard of Sidon.

The immediate royal domain comprised, besides Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, including Nablûs, the two great cities of Tyre and Acre, the latter of which became in the thirteenth century the capital of the Latin colonies in Syria.

Of the city of Jerusalem itself detailed accounts from the hands of one pilgrim or another during the Crusading period are not wanting. Chief among these are the narratives of John of Wurzburg, who visited Palestine between 1160 and 1170, and one Theoderic, who came a few years later. But perhaps we can for the present purpose take no better guide than a Norman-French description of the state of the Holy Places and the city of Jerusalem as they

JERUSALEM.

IN 1187 A.D.

Traditional Names in Latin



were on the day that Saladin and the Saracens conquered them from the Christians. Mediæval Jerusalem had four chief gates—David's gate on the west, the Golden gate on the east, and St. Stephen's and Sion gates on the north and south. The pilgrim who had arrived from Jaffa would enter by the first named, with the Tower of David on his right, and would soon reach Patriarch Street on the left, where the Patriarch had his palace, and which also led to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Hospital of the Knights of St. John. David Street itself led into Temple Street, and so to the Temple enclosure or Haram, wherein was the *Templum Domini*, together with the royal palace or *Templum Salomonis*, and the House of the Knights Templars. The Temple enclosure lay upon the eastern wall and the Golden gate opened directly into it. The northern gate, or St. Stephen's, was that by which the pilgrims who came up from Acre entered; from this gate St. Stephen's Street ran into the heart of the city. At its southern end, on the left, were three narrow vaulted ways, the *Rue Couverte*, where the Latin merchants sold cloth goods; the *Rue des Herbes*, which was the market for all vegetables, fruits, and spices; and the *Rue Malcuisinat*, where the hungry pilgrim could obtain his food. From this point two streets ran south to the gate of Mount Sion.

There were in the city of Jerusalem or its vicinity no less than thirty-seven churches, many of which, as those of St. Anne, St. Maria Majora, and St. Mary Magdalen, were built during the Christian occupation. But churches are far from being the only buildings

of the Crusading period which have survived. The Tower of David is the Castle of the Pisans erected early in the twelfth century, Tancred's Tower survives as the Kalât Jâlûd in the north-west angle of the present city, and the Malcuisinat is a Crusading erection which still forms the meat bazaar. But the zeal of the Crusaders devoted itself above all else to the glorifying of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The existing church is mainly their work, and until the great fire in 1808 stood practically uninjured. They gathered into one building all the sacred sites of Golgotha and the Resurrection, and adorned the new buildings with rich mosaics and enamels wrought by Greek artists. Within the church, near the Adam Chapel, were the tombs of the Christian kings from Godfrey to Baldwin V., which were much injured by the Charismians in 1244, and finally destroyed by Greek jealousy after the fire. Both the *Templum Domini* and the *Templum Salomonis*, or Aksa Mosque, were also altered and beautified



FRIEZE IN CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

in Crusading times ; but much of the Christian work was defaced or destroyed when these buildings were restored to Mohammedan worship. But in both some mediæval Christian work still survives, and among other remains in the Haram enclosure are those of the magnificent refectory of the Templars.

The organisation of the kingdom of Jerusalem was feudalism in its purest form, the great feudatories duly receiving and observing their rights and obligations. The collection of usages devised for its governance are known as the Assizes of Jerusalem, and give us our most perfect picture of an ideal feudal state. Not that they describe the kingdom as it ever actually existed, for indeed the Assizes only began to take their present shape when the thirteenth century was well advanced, and were the work not of the kings of Jerusalem, but of the jurisconsults of Cyprus. Chief among these lawyers were Philip of Navarre and John of Ibelin, nephew and namesake of the famous head of that house in the time of Frederic II. According to the story preserved by John of Ibelin, Godfrey de Bouillon, by the counsel of the Patriarch of Jerusalem and of the princes and barons, appointed wise men to make inquiry of the Crusaders from the various countries of Europe as to what usages prevailed in their several lands. The result of this inquiry was put in writing, and formed the basis of the "Assizes and usages which Godfrey ordered to be maintained and used in the kingdom of Jerusalem, by the which he and his men, and his people, and all other manner of people going, coming, and dwelling in his kingdom of Jerusalem were to be

governed and guarded." ¹ Thus there were composed two codes, one for the nobles and the other for the bourgeois, which were deposited in a coffer in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and from the place of the keeping called "*Lettres du Sépulcre*." The coffer was not to be opened except for the purposes of consulting or modifying the law, and that only in the presence of nine persons who were carefully specified, and of whom the king and patriarch were two. The laws thus carefully made were afterwards from time to time modified by Godfrey and his successors, and especially by Baldwin I. and Amalric I. On the occasion of the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin these two precious volumes were destroyed, and thus all written record of the legislation perished. But owing to the circumstance that the knowledge of the written law was not a matter of common property, there had grown up in the courts of the kingdom a body of usages and customs based upon oral tradition. These usages and customs were carefully collected by the great jurisconsults of the thirteenth century, and their writings formed the basis of the extant Assizes.

There are, however, in the Assizes certain salient features which may be safely ascribed to Godfrey or his immediate successors. Such are the prescription of constant military service—not merely for a fixed part of each year—and the rules intended to prevent the concentration of fiefs in a single hand, and to secure that each fief should be able to render its requisite service. These ordinances were very essen-

¹ Assizes of Jerusalem, i. 22.

tial for the safeguarding of a conquered country, and though they failed in their purpose, the history of the kingdom illustrates well their necessity ; their failure, inevitable though it may have been, was indeed a main cause of the downfall of the kingdom.

More important, however, in the present connection than the actual laws, is the system of government and organisation which was established. At the head of the kingdom stood the king, whose legal title was "Rex Latinorum in Hierusalem," King of the Latins in Jerusalem. Next to him in dignity came the Seneschal, whose duty was primarily to hold the king's sceptre on the coronation day, and to see to the due ordering of the coronation feast. He also owed services—somewhat like the English custom—at the four great annual feasts. As a great officer of justice the seneschal was supreme over all the bailiffs in the kingdom ; he looked after the king's rents, and visited the royal castles, with power to appoint and remove the castellans ; in the king's absence he presided at muster and foray. Second of the great officers was the Constable, who held the king's horse at the coronation, and, as head of the royal army, ordered the battle in the king's absence, and was responsible for the maintenance of military discipline. The Marshal assisted the constable on the coronation day, and was more or less subordinate to him in ordinary times. It was his duty to engage knights and sergeants for the royal service. The Chamberlain robed the king on coronation day, and had to see to the homage of the king's vassals. Other officers were the Butler, the Forester, and the

Chancellor. The last, in this respect differing from the early English custom, often retained his post after he had been rewarded with one of the great bishoprics.¹

Similar functionaries existed in the great dependencies; Antioch had its own constable, marshal, and a special officer called "*dux*" or duke; whilst in a charter of Joscelin II. of Edessa, Robert the Constable, and Hubert the Marshal, appear among the witnesses. Even the smaller baronies within the realm of Jerusalem itself had each its own officials, who, as in the case of Galilee, attested their lord's charters. Every great baron would have his leaden seal, and it is perhaps with a touch of shame that Hugh of Ibelin borrows the seal of his lord Amalric because he "had no seal" of his own.

For the administration of justice there was at Jerusalem a High Court, over which the king himself presided, or in his absence one of the great officers. This court, intended in the first place to have jurisdiction over the great lords, gradually came to concern itself with all that related to the political and civil administration of the kingdom, and was, in fact, the king's Council of State. In the country generally the administration of law and justice was in the hands of certain of the lords who had, in technical language, the right to hold a court, coin money, and do justice. The lords themselves presided in their seignorial courts, where they dealt with criminal cases in accordance with the customs and laws observed in the High Court, to which they were

¹ The famous Archbishop William of Tyre is an instance.

subordinate. In addition to the High Court there was also established in Jerusalem and all other towns where the Frankish settlers were sufficiently numerous, Courts of the Burgesses. These courts were presided over by officers called Viscounts, and were concerned with the civil jurisdiction. The viscount was the representative of the lord; his office was often hereditary, and in some cases, as at Nablûs, he was a man of noble family. In addition to his judicial functions the viscount had charge of the revenue, and through his assistant, who was called the "Mathessep," was entrusted with the police. Other courts were those of the *Fonde* for commercial jurisdiction, under a bailiff; of the *Chaine* for maritime business, instituted by Amalric I.; and the Syrian Court, or Court of the Reîs. No doubt the courts of the Fonde and the Reîs were largely governed by local custom, though the Assizes of the Court of the Burgesses were held to be of force in them. Wherever the Syrians were not sufficiently numerous to form a community under a Reîs, the Fonde constituted their special court. This elaborate organisation with its criminal, civil, and commercial jurisdiction, formed in its entirety a system that was superior to anything of the kind which then existed in the West.

The judicial institutions of the subordinate principalities closely resembled those of the kingdom proper. The Prince of Antioch had, like the King of Jerusalem, both his High Court and Court of the Burgesses. The Assizes of Antioch were, however, distinct; they served likewise for the kingdom of

Armenia, and no doubt also for the county of Tripoli. Edessa also had, we may assume, a similar body of law, but its existence as a Frankish state was probably too short for the growth of an equally elaborate organisation.

As for the commercial colonies in the cities on the coast, they had special privileges and their own civil courts presided over by bailiffs, consuls or viscounts. But of these it will be more convenient to speak in a later place.¹

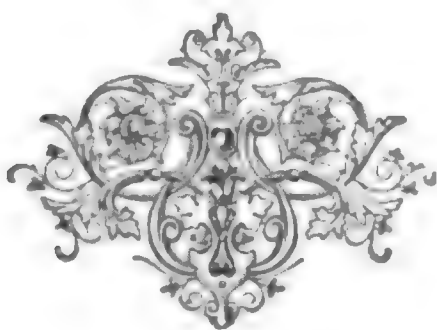
The pressure of warfare made finance a question of great importance in the Latin colonies of Syria. Baldwin I. was, as we shall see, much crippled by lack of money, and again in the last days of the kingdom its rulers had to seek pecuniary aid from the West. There was, however, a regularly organised financial service, called "*La Secrète*," managed by a bailiff and a staff of clerks or writers. Chief among the sources of revenue were the customs; the Assizes of Jerusalem specify 111 articles on which duty was paid at Acre. Ibn Jubair thus describes a visit to that city in 1184: "On our arrival we were taken to the custom-house. Opposite the door there sat on a covered bench the clerks of the custom, who are Christians; they had ink-pots of ebony, gilded and handsomely decorated, and wrote in the Arabic language, which they spoke well. Their head, who farms the customs, is called simply their chief, and has to pay a very heavy sum to the government. The merchants deposited their goods in a store above the custom-house; private travellers were allowed to pass

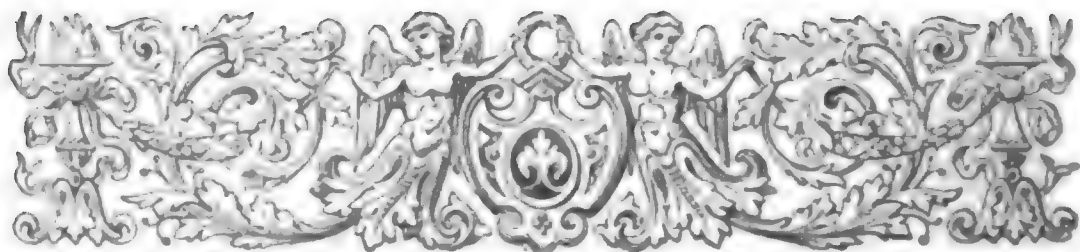
¹ See below in chapter xix. pp. 294-6.

after an examination of their baggage. The officials did their work courteously and without violence or exaction." In addition to the customs there were market dues, and tolls on caravans levied by the various lords. Other sources of revenue were the monopolies on various industries, such as dyeing, tanning, brewing; the tallage paid by the native Syrians; a poll-tax on the Mohammedans and Jews. On special occasions also the royal treasury had resort to an extraordinary tallage; such was the great levy for the defence of the kingdom in 1183, of which William of Tyre has left a minute account. One per cent. on movables was to be paid by all who had property worth a hundred besants; those who had less were to pay one besant for hearth-tax; the churches, monasteries, barons, and their vassals were to pay 2 per cent. on their rents. The hearth-tax fell upon the country-folk, who dwelt in the casals or villages; the lord of each casal was to so apportion the tax that the rich should not escape, nor the poor be oppressed. Two treasurers were appointed at Jerusalem and Acre to see that the money was applied only to defence against invasion, and not to the petty business of the realm. The special character of this census was marked by a proviso that it was not to be taken as a precedent, and during its operation the ordinary tallages on churches and towns were to be suspended. We, however, hear of other extraordinary levies, as for the equipment of a fleet, and the building of walls and towers.

As might be expected from the circumstances of

their origin, the Latin colonies boasted an ecclesiastical organisation not less elaborate than the civil. One of the first acts of the Crusaders was to establish Latin bishops in the conquered cities, following for this purpose the divisions of the ancient Oriental churches. At the head of the Latin hierarchy were the two patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch. Under the former were four archbishoprics of which Tyre and Cæsarea were the chief, and nine bishoprics; under the latter four archbishoprics and seven bishoprics. In each patriarchate there were also numerous abbeys and priories of the Latin rite. In addition to these the hierarchies of the Armenian, Syrian, and Greek rites still subsisted. Despite their external divisions it is noticeable that the Christians were all animated by a very conciliatory spirit, which at one time promised to lead to a general reunion. For the rest it is enough to state that the powers and pretensions of the clergy were not less remarkable than those exercised or assumed by their Western brethren, and that from successive donations they acquired vast estates, not only in Syria, but also in every country of Western Europe.





VIII.

THE CONQUEST OF THE LAND—BALDWIN I. (1100-1118.)

"Baldwinus qui parum ab optimo, qui unquam fuerit, milite distaret."
—WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY.

THE succession to the kingdom was not allowed to pass undisputed on Godfrey's death. Dagobert of Pisa, who had supplanted Arnulf in the patriarchate, and whose ecclesiastical pretensions were of the loftiest nature, dreamt that in Bohemond he might find a second Guiscard to defend a second Gregory. But the Crusaders at Jerusalem refused to recognise any lord except one of Godfrey's race. They held the Tower of David against the patriarch, and summoned Baldwin of Edessa to come and take possession of his rights. Baldwin accepted the offer, and leaving Edessa to his cousin and namesake, Baldwin du Bourg, started for Antioch on the 26th of September; thence, despite the opposition of Dukak of Damascus, with whom he had to fight a severe battle in the tortuous passes of Lebanon above Beyrout, he made his way to Jerusalem. The magnificence of his reception in his new capital was only



marred by the hostility of Dagobert ; there was, however, no further opposition to his recognition as king.

But king though Baldwin was in name, he had yet to conquer his kingdom. From the first he had to contend with two great obstacles, lack of money and lack of men. The internal history of his reign is to a large extent the story of how he overcame these difficulties.

On leaving Edessa Baldwin had only been accompanied by two hundred knights and seven hundred foot, whilst three months later at Jerusalem he could only muster another hundred knights. The Mohammedans themselves do not seem to have ever collected large armies, though they greatly outnumbered the Christians. Thus at Jaffa in 1101 they were eleven thousand horse and twenty-one thousand foot to two hundred and forty knights and nine hundred foot, and at Ramleh twenty thousand against two hundred. "To all," says Fulcher, "it appears to be a palpable and truly wondrous miracle that we could live among so many millions, making them our subjects and tributaries." Had Baldwin been dependent solely on the French and German soldiers who stayed with him in Palestine, he could not long have held his own. But aggressive operations on a large scale were almost uniformly carried out with the aid of Crusading fleets from Italy, England, or Norway. Thus two hundred ships under Harding the Englishman,¹ Bernhard of Galatia, and

¹ We may fairly find in this Harding, or Hardin, the great Bristol merchant ; the son, may be, of Eadnoth "Staller," and ancestor of the house of Berkeley.

Hadewerck the Westphalian, saved Baldwin from the consequences of his rash daring at Jaffa in 1102. An English and North German fleet helped him at the siege of Sidon in 1107, and the fall of that city three years later was due to the assistance of Sigurd the Norwegian. More important still were the services rendered by the Italians. The Genoese helped in the capture of Cæsarea (1101), Tortosa (1102), Acre (1104), Tripoli (1109), and other places. The Pisans fought for Bohemond at Laodicea, and for Raymond's successors at Tripoli. The Venetians, who under their doge had met the dying Godfrey at Jaffa, were present at the siege of Sidon, and were the moving force at the conquest of Tyre in the next reign. All these allies reaped large rewards; Baldwin granted the Genoese streets in Jerusalem and Jaffa, together with their part of Cæsarea, Arsûf, and other towns; the same king promised his Italian confederates one street in the towns they helped to conquer, and a third share of the booty; in 1124 the Venetians bargained for still higher privileges, and were promised a street, oven, and bath in every city whether belonging to king or noble.

In his early years Baldwin must have relied very largely on the members of his own and Godfrey's household. The need of supplying these and other mercenaries with money forced the king, on many occasions, to injustice and robbery. The easiest way of procuring funds was by taking tribute of the unconquered towns. Thus Godfrey had received tribute from Ascalon, Cæsarea, and Arsûf; Baldwin himself raised the siege of Sidon for money in 1107.

However, despite these and other payments, the king's impecuniosity brought him into serious conflict with the patriarch. Dagobert's pretensions had offended even the pious Godfrey, and his hostility to Baldwin was yet more bitter. It was only after long bickerings that Dagobert had consented to anoint the new king, and when a little later Baldwin demanded that he should furnish forty knights for the war, the patriarch treated his message with contempt. The indignant king broke into the patriarch's banqueting-room, and threatened to tear down the golden ornaments of the Sepulchre if his demands were not complied with. Dagobert unwillingly promised thirty knights, but soon after broke his word and fled to Tancred. Evremar, who then succeeded to the patriarchate, worked well with the king for a long time, but eventually lost the royal favour, and was in his turn supplanted by Gibelin.

Through his want of money Baldwin was frequently driven to have recourse to promiscuous plunder. In 1108 he made a night attack on the great Egyptian caravan beyond the Jordan, and carried off thirty-two camels laden with sugar, honey, and oil to Jerusalem. On another occasion William, bastard son of Robert of Normandy, brought a like benefit to the royal treasury. Worse still, after promising protection to the men of Tyre as they were carrying their treasures to Damascus for safety, the king adopted the base maxim that "truth need not be kept with unbelievers," and robbed them on the way. In 1113 Baldwin sought to improve his shattered finances in another manner, by marrying Adela, widow of

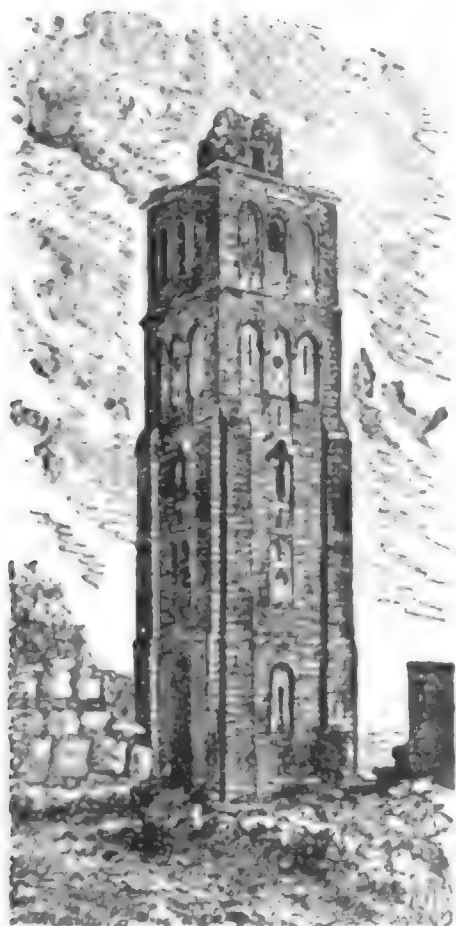
Count Roger of Sicily. Albert of Aix draws a glowing picture of the state in which she reached Acre. Her vessels were laden with gold and gems, while her own ship had its mast covered with pure gold. She brought a thousand skilled warriors to aid in the royal wars, and not content with helping her husband, she gave a thousand marks and five hundred besants to Roger of Antioch. But after three years, finding herself unable to live with the king, she returned home.

Baldwin's reign was one of continued activity; every year saw him engaged in fresh enterprises, and exploring fresh fields for conquest. His chief dangers lay on the south-west and north east of his kingdom. In the former region he had to keep up a perpetual struggle with Ascalon, whence the Egyptian garrison sallied out by land or sea on every opportunity. Even before his coronation Baldwin had been compelled to lead an expedition against the town. In 1101 he had renewed the warfare with the cities of the coast. Chiefly through the valour of the Genoese seamen Cæsarea was captured with but short delay. Thence a reported invasion called Baldwin south; it was not, however, for four months that the Egyptians took the field near Jaffa with eleven thousand horse and twenty-one thousand foot. To meet this host the king could only muster two hundred and forty knights and nine hundred foot soldiers; but, says Fulcher, "having God on our side, we did not fear to attack them." Three times the Christians were driven back, but when the king led out his fifth battalion in person, the Egyptians lost heart and fled

before him. Abbot Gerhard, who this day bore the Holy Cross, told Ekkehard that the arrows fell around the king like snow, and everywhere the enemy melted from his face like wax (September 7, 1101). Undismayed at their defeat, the Egyptians renewed the war next year. Baldwin was then at Jaffa, whence the Aquitanian Crusaders, after spending Easter at Jerusalem, were on the point of departing. William of Aquitaine was already gone; the two Stephens, however, were still there, and those who but now were eager to depart, caught gladly at the chance of striking a last blow against the Saracen. But, though there were many knights in Jaffa, there were but few horses; and, as Baldwin would not wait to muster his footmen, he had no more than two hundred knights with him when he marched out to Ramleh. Despite the numbers of the enemy the Christians by the fury of their first onset nearly carried the day, but all to no purpose, for within one short hour they were in their turn routed or slain. Baldwin himself, accompanied by four knights, forced his way out of Ramleh, and after wandering over the hills came on the second night to Arsûf. Of his companions only one now remained, and the watchmen on the walls refused to believe that it was indeed their king till they had lit a torch, and thus recognised Baldwin as he stood with head uncovered. The two Stephens and many other knights were slain during the battle or after.

After this battle, Ramleh fell into the hands of the Saracens, and Jaffa was seriously threatened. Baldwin was in great anxiety, for the loss of that

town would have involved the downfall of Jerusalem. By land he could not journey, but there was less difficulty by sea. At Arsûf he embarked on May 29th, with a certain English pirate, Godric by name, in whom we may fairly recognise our own English saint, Godric of Finchale. With banner displayed,



THE TOWER OF RAMLEH.

he boldly sailed into Jaffa, despite the opposition of thirty Egyptian galleys that strove to bar his way. It was a daring exploit that only the urgent necessity could justify. The Saracens almost at once withdrew to a little distance from the walls. Reinforcements gradually arrived from Jerusalem and from Arsûf;

and when in the early days of July the great fleet under Harding the Englishman arrived, Baldwin could once more take the field, and retrieve the disaster of Ramleh by a complete victory. Later in the year, when Tancred and Baldwin of Edessa had come to his aid, the king even felt strong enough to make an attack, though with little effect, on Ascalon itself. Eight years later, Baldwin nearly secured, by the treachery of the governor, what he could not obtain by force. The governor was, however, slain by the townsmen, and Ascalon remained a constant source of anxiety for many years to come.

The years that followed the battle of Ramleh were chiefly marked by the capture of Acre and siege of Sidon. Further north the warfare with Damascus was waged by deputy rather than in person. When Tancred was called away to rule Antioch for Bohemond, Baldwin had conferred the lordships of Galilee and Tiberias on Hugh of Falkenberg, a warrior from North-eastern France. This Hugh had fought with Baldwin at Ramleh and before Jaffa in 1102. In his own lordship he imitated Tancred's example by a desultory warfare. After a raid in the summer of 1107, he had drawn off his booty as far as Banias, when the Turks came down upon him. Unarmoured and heedless of his numerical weakness, Hugh turned to meet them; an arrow pierced his breast, and he breathed his last in the midst of the foe. This disaster called Baldwin north, and gave the men of Ascalon a chance, which they were not slow to take advantage of. The lordship of Tiberias was now bestowed on Gervase, another French knight.

Gervase next year fell into an ambush and was carried captive to Damascus ; Tughtakin, the atabek, demanded as the price of his release Acre, Haifa, and Tiberias. Baldwin, in reply, offered one hundred thousand besants, but he would give up no Christian territory, not even to release his mother's son. Gervase was shot to death at Damascus, and then the king restored his lordship to Tancred. During these years Tughtakin, though formidable in the north, had concerned himself little with the warfare in Southern Palestine ; however, it was his intervention which saved Sidon in 1107, and Tyre three years later.

Towards the close of his reign, Baldwin was much occupied in Arabia. In 1115 he built the famous stronghold of Montreal, or Shobek, beyond the Dead Sea. In the following year he led two hundred knights yet further south, being anxious to gaze on the waters of the Red Sea, which he had not yet seen. They marched as far as Elim, whose inhabitants put out to sea in little boats on their approach. Fulcher, with the curiosity natural to him, eagerly cross-examined the travellers on their return home, and gazed in astonishment at the "sea-shells" and little stones which they brought back with them : "I questioned them closely, with eager heart, as to the nature of the Red Sea ; for I had hitherto doubted whether its waters were fresh or salt, and whether it was a pool or a lake—with exit and entrance like that of Galilee."

Baldwin's last years were filled with disasters. The years 1114 and 1115 were marked by great earthquakes. In 1117 a plague of locusts devastated

the crops and vines. The following June saw a blood-red moon change to black ; and in December there was an aurora borealis, so bright that Fulcher and his friends saw the surrounding country as clear as in the day : " We conjectured it to portend the shedding of much blood in battle, or some other speedily approaching disaster ; but what is uncertain we commit with all humility to the Lord's keeping." A little later, Fulcher knew the true meaning of these portents ; for next year there died Pope Paschal, King Baldwin, Adela his wife, the Patriarch Arnulf, and the Emperor Alexius.

Early in 1118, Baldwin determined to attack Egypt, hoping through a bold stroke at the heart of this wealthy kingdom to force Ascalon to submission. He plundered the city of El Farema, but could proceed no further. Some fish caught in the Nile disagreed with his digestion, and the consequent illness awoke the trouble from an old wound in his side. Unable to ride on horseback, his followers placed him in a litter ; the horns blew the signal for retreat, and the little army turned slowly back towards Jerusalem. At El Arish Baldwin died ; his body was embalmed and carried home to rest in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by his brother Godfrey. It was Palm Sunday when the cavalcade, as it drew near the Holy City, met the solemn procession winding down in ancient fashion from the Mount of Olives to the valley of Jehoshaphat. The songs of joy were soon turned to the wail of woe, and Franks, Syrians, and even Saracens, wept for the fate of the great king.

Baldwin I. was, like Saul, of a very lofty stature ; a man, brown haired and brown bearded, but with a somewhat white complexion. His nose was aquiline, his mouth peculiar, for the teeth in the lower jaw were drawn back. He was neither over-stout nor over-broad. His bearing betokened a man of dignity, and the "chlamys" hanging down from his shoulders stamped him as a person of importance, even to strangers. "He looked," says William of Tyre, "more like a bishop than a layman." His private life was licentious, though he had the prudence to keep this fact from the outer world. But he was a warrior *sans peur*, if not *sans reproche*, and was lavish in his generosity. He was indeed the very type of the twelfth-century knight-errant : eager after adventure, reckless of his own life, craving for excitement. His rashness more than once threatened not only himself, but his kingdom with ruin. He trusted in himself more than he ought, and lacked the "modesty" requisite for the prudent king and wise general. But from the pictorial point of view, no king in all history stands out in more glowing colours. We can see him striking down the Saracens at Ramleh ; stripping off his armour to find it soaked and clotted with gore ; mounted on his fleet Arab, "the Gazelle," wandering over the hills by midnight, and with the dawn standing beneath the walls of Arsûf ; sailing on to Jaffa in his little vessel, with the royal banner displayed full in view of the hostile fleet. No obstacles could daunt his valour. Once, between Cæsarea and Jaffa, he met sixty Saracen horsemen laden with spoil. Amongst their burden

he espied the head of a Christian knight. This sight scattered all prudence to the winds ; though he had but two horsemen with him, Baldwin attacked the Saracens and drove them back to Ascalon. His favourite sport was hunting, and it was while pursuing this recreation, in July, 1103, that he received from some Saracens, who lay in ambush, the wound that troubled him to his death.

Baldwin had been brought up as a priest, and even held preferment in the diocese of Cambray. But his later life belied the mildness of his youth, and showed little of the priestly spirit. He can hardly have been loved by the people of Edessa, and it is a speaking fact that his biographer and friend, Fulcher, refuses to say a word as to the means by which he became ruler of Edessa. But whatever his blemishes, he was a great warrior, a true knight-errant, with all the accomplishments and all the stains inseparable from his calling.





IX.

THE CONQUEST OF THE LAND—THE FRANKS IN NORTHERN SYRIA.

"Sciebant milites nostros esse probissimos bellatores, et mirabiles de lanceis percussores."—FULCHER OF CHARTRES.

WHEN Bohemond was taken prisoner by Ibn Danishmend Tancred left his lordship in Galilee and went north to rule Antioch for his kinsman in March, 1101. He acted with a vigour sprung from the desire to conquer on his own behalf against the day of Bohemond's release. Laodicea was captured from the Greeks after a siege of eighteen months, whilst Mamistra, Adana, and Tarsus were also recovered from the Emperor, into whose hands they had once more lapsed.

Alexius can hardly have regarded these proceedings with equanimity; and there is therefore less ground for distrusting the almost contemporary story that he endeavoured to get Ibn Danishmend's prisoner into his own hands. Bohemond, hearing of the offer, secured his own freedom by outbidding his would-be

purchaser. Thenceforward he was the sworn foe of the Christian Emperor, and perhaps the half-ally and tributary of the Turkish lord; thus there came about a curious combination in which Bohemond and Ibn Danishmend were united against Alexius and Kilij Arslan of Rûm.

It was early in 1103 that Bohemond was released. In the following year he was called to the aid of Baldwin du Bourg. That noble had received the county of Edessa when his cousin and namesake was called to the kingdom of Jerusalem; Joscelin de Courtenay, another cousin, at the same time obtained the second Baldwin's old territory to the west of the Euphrates. Edessa was as it were an outpost in the enemy's country, and its fields were exposed to yearly ravages. In the hope of preventing this constant loss Baldwin determined to garrison Harran, and accordingly invited Bohemond, Tancred, and Joscelin to join in an expedition.

The feuds of the Turkish emirs left the Franks to pursue their conquests near the Euphrates with comparative immunity. The contest for the sultanate had continued till January, 1104, when Malek Shah's two sons, Barkiyarok and Mohammed, were reconciled and divided their ruined inheritance. In this time of confusion each emir had enough to do to hold his own, and had little time for concerting plans against the common foe. At Mosul, Corbogha had given place to Jekermish, while further north Sokman ibn Ortok¹ held sway at Hisn Keifa. Further west things were in much the same state of disorder. Ridhwan,

¹ Son of Ortok, to whom Tutush had granted Jerusalem (see p. 21).

son of Tutush and nephew of Malek Shah, was prince of Aleppo, whilst Tughtakin ruled Damascus in the name of Ridhwan's nephew, son of his brother Dukak; Hems or Emesa was under an emir named Janeh ed-Dauleh. On the coast the Egyptians were recovering much of their lost ground. In the absence of any real central power the Franks had full chance to spread and prosper; and, holding as it were the balance between the rival parties, were not slow to realise the strength of their position.

However, on this occasion Sokman and Jekermish abandoned their feud to rescue Harran. In a desperate battle outside that city Baldwin and Joscelin were taken prisoners, whilst Bohemond and his nephew fled to Edessa, where the Christians then chose Tancred for their lord. The battle of Harran had a disastrous effect on the principality of Antioch; the Greeks once more recovered Adana, Mamistra, and Tarsus, whilst Ridhwan on the south ravaged Artah and captured Kafer Tab. Bohemond declared his intention of seeking help across the sea, and accordingly, towards the end of 1104, left Syria never to return. Going to France, he married Constance, daughter of Philip I., and by his promises of rich fiefs induced many nobles to join him. With a large army he laid siege to Durazzo in October, 1107. A year later he was forced to return to Italy, and died in 1111, leaving two sons by his wife Constance. Of these John, the elder, died young; the second, Bohemond, survived to receive his father's principality fifteen years later.

Tancred had been left to rule Antioch with dis-

heartened subjects and an exhausted treasury ; by skilful management he contrived to replenish his own coffers from those of the wealthy citizens, and by the example of his self-denial inspired his subjects with fresh confidence. His first exploit was to recover Artah and the neighbouring strongholds from Ridhwan. Thus he became the greatest lord of Northern Syria ; he was master of Antioch, Tell-basher, and Edessa, whilst Aleppo itself could hardly have held out much longer but for the quarrels of the Franks and the coming of Maudud to Mosul.

Death and dissension worked also for Tancred in



COIN OF TANCRED.

the ranks of his Mohammedan rivals. Ibn Danishmend and Sokman ibn Ortok both died in 1104-5 ; whilst, by the decease of Barkiyarok, Mohammed had become sole Sultan. Jekermish at Mosul had lost the vigour of his youth, and Ridhwan took advantage of his weakness to form a league against him ; but the project was frustrated by the craft of Jekermish. In the meantime Mohammed had conferred Mosul on one of his own officers, Javalay Secava, who defeated Jekermish beneath the walls of the city. The citizens, steadfast to the end, appealed for aid to Kilij Arslan of Rûm. Kilij Arslan relieved Mosul,

but in June or July, 1107, was, through the treachery of his allies, defeated by Javaly near the river Khabur. Javaly then became lord of Mosul, to be supplanted a year later by the Sultan's brother, Maudud, with whom was soon afterwards associated his nephew, Masud.

On Maudud's approach Javaly took refuge with Il-Ghazi, lord of Mardin and brother of Sokman, but finding little support turned towards the Franks. He had the means of purchasing their support ready to hand in Baldwin of Edessa, who had become his captive on the fall of Jekermish. A bargain was struck, and Joscelin de Courtenay, who had already been set free, came back as hostage for his overlord. Tancred would not surrender Edessa to its old lord, and Javaly, eager to score every point, released Joscelin also. Thereon Tancred called Ridhwan of Aleppo to his aid, and thus, near Tell-basher, a battle was fought, in which Mohammedan strove with Mohammedan, Frank with Frank. In the end Tancred was victorious. Javaly, driven from the field, made his way across the desert to Ispahan; winding-sheet in hand he prayed humbly for his life; Mohammed forgave him, as he could well afford to do, for Maudud had by now captured Mosul.

After the battle of Tell-basher Baldwin went back to Edessa, where he was soon threatened by a new and more serious danger. Early in 1110 Maudud appeared before his walls with an immense host. For a hundred days he pressed the city hard. King Baldwin of Jerusalem was appealed to for aid, but would not leave Palestine till he had taken Beyrout,

which was on the point of falling. Directly he was master of the city the king gathered his army and crossed the Euphrates with eleven thousand men. With him came Bertram of Tripoli, the Armenian prince Kogh Vasil, and Tancred, who in such an emergency crushed down his feelings of hatred and jealousy. At their approach Maudud retired to Harran, "knowing that our knights were warriors of prowess and wondrous smiters with the lance."

A few days sufficed to garrison Edessa, and the royal army turned its steps homewards, followed however, by many Armenians who feared to stay in such an exposed city. At the Euphrates only two vessels were found wherewith to cross the river. Whilst some five thousand unarmed Armenians still remained on the left bank, the Turks suddenly appeared; what followed was a massacre rather than a battle. The river ran red with blood, and all the time the king's troops stood looking on from the opposite bank, grieving, but unable to lend any aid to their perishing comrades.

Meantime in Tancred's absence Ridhwan had broken the truce. Tancred on his return speedily compelled the emir to purchase peace at the price of twenty thousand dinars, and in a fresh invasion next year reduced Aleppo to a state of terror. The clamour of the unhappy Mohammedans reached the ears of the Caliph at Bagdad. Fugitives from Aleppo burst into the Great Mosque at Bagdad, and tore down the iron-work from the screen of the Caliph himself. About the same time, so an Arabic writer says, there came an envoy from Constantinople to Bagdad urging the

Caliph to make war against the Franks. The populace in their fury crowded round the Sultan, reproaching him for his slackness in the service of God. "The very infidels," they said, "showed more zeal for the Holy War than did he."

This disturbance led in 1111 to a great expedition, which besieged Tell-basher under the command of Maudud. But dissension and death paralysed his efforts, whilst Ridhwan, after appealing to him for aid, shut the gates of Aleppo in his face.

Tancred continued his career of conquest at the expense of Aleppo. Early in 1112 he captured a fortress near that city itself, but died at the close of the year, on December 12th, whilst warring with the Armenian Kogh Vasil. Antioch should by right have gone to the young Bohemond; but the times were too troublous for a child of four or five to hold his own, and Roger FitzRichard, Tancred's sister's son, succeeded with little opposition.

Maudud, after ravaging the neighbourhood of Edessa, gathered a great host, and in June, 1113, laid siege to Tiberias in Galilee. Baldwin summoned Roger to his aid, and himself started from Acre. The Turks drew the king into an ambush, and, according to the Arabic account, Baldwin was actually taken prisoner, but his ignorant captor, in greed for spoil, suffered his greatest prize to escape. The royal banner and tent were taken, whilst Baldwin, with the remnants of his host, took refuge on a neighbouring hill. There he was presently joined by the reinforcements from Antioch, but for six-and-twenty days he dared not move. Meanwhile the light

Turkish horsemen were flying over all the land from Jerusalem to Acre. At last, when provisions began to fail, Maudud retired to Damascus (September 19th), intending to remain there till the spring. Soon afterwards, as he entered the mosque accompanied by Tughtakin, an assassin sprang out and dealt him several blows. The wounded prince was carried to the atabek's palace; recognising that his end was near, he refused all food, declaring that he desired to appear before God fasting. "Maudud," says a contemporary Christian historian, "was a man of great wealth and power. He was most famous among the Turks and subtle in his actions. But he could not resist the will of God, who, though He suffered him to scourge us for our sins, decreed that he should die a mean death, and perish by a feeble hand."

Rumour ascribed the crime to Tughtakin. Nor was the charge against the atabek confined to Mohammedan lands, for Ibn El-Athir had heard from his father that Baldwin in his indignation wrote to Tughtakin: "A people that is capable of destroying its mainstay, and of slaying him in the house of God, deserves to be cut off from the earth."

Ridhwan of Aleppo died soon after, on December 10th. The eunuch Lulu administered the government for ten months in the name of Ridhwan's young son, Alp Arslan. Then he slew his master, and set up his brother, Sultan Shah, a child of six, in his place. Aleppo was during this time in great distress, and Tughtakin would vouchsafe no aid. "Strange it was," writes the Arabic historian, "that among so

many princes, none could be found to accept so rich a possession, and defend it against the Franks. But the princes wished to prolong the French occupation, so as to keep themselves in power." At last the Sultan despatched a vast army under El-Borsoki, the new governor of Mosul, with whom was associated Zangi, the future conqueror of Edessa.

Meantime there had been a general reformation at Antioch. The conscience of its citizens was awakened not less by the terrible earthquakes, which towards the close of 1114 shook the whole Levant, than by the approach of Borsac, lord of Hamadan, whom Mohammed sent in May, 1115, at the head of a fresh army to support El-Borsoki. At the patriarch's call, with bare feet and streaming eyes, they passed from church to church in long processions. Roger further made alliance with the discontented Mohammedan princes, Tughtakin, who feared to be punished for Maudud's death, and Il-Ghazi of Mardin, who in the previous year had failed in his duty to the new ruler of Mosul. Roger took up his position near Apamea, and sent for aid to King Baldwin and the Count of Tripoli. Borsac supinely let his opportunity slide, and with the arrival of the king and count retired without fighting.

But when Baldwin had gone home Borsac at once returned. Roger with his personal followers hurried out to Rugia.¹ Next morning, as the ranks were being arrayed, Theodore de Barneville, one of Roger's

¹ This place was between Marra and the Orontes, but its exact situation is uncertain ; probably it is Riha, thirty-seven miles south-east of Antioch.

scouts, rode up with a joyful countenance: the enemy were even then unfolding their tents in the valley of Sarmit, where the Franks had meant to camp. Roger bade his warriors quit them like men, and the Bishop of Jebleh, holding the cross in his hands, assured them of success. As he spoke the host fell on their knees and burst out with an unanimous cry, "Holy God, holy, mighty, and immortal, have mercy upon us!"

The Turks, in accordance with their usual custom, had sent on their baggage ahead. Behind came the troops marching hand in hand, and expecting no ill. Suddenly there appeared the flash of the white banners on the horizon, and before there was time to form their ranks the Christians had burst into the empty and defenceless camp. Each detachment of the Turkish army was cut off as it came up, and Borsac fled from the field to meet a peaceful death at home.

Roger returned with a vast spoil to Antioch. The streets were hung with silk and gold and flowers, as he passed in triumph to render thanks to God in the Church of St. Peter. "Hail, Champion of the Truth!" was the general cry, "May the enemies of God fear thee, and mayst thou have perpetual peace. Salvation and victory to thee throughout all ages! Amen!"

This victory gave the Franks the predominance in the northern parts of Syria. "They spread their arms to the east of Aleppo," says an Arabic historian; "they laid waste the province, and attacked Aleppo itself. That city would have been deserted had its inhabitants known where to find safety."

During the troubles that ensued on this defeat

Lulu lost heart, and whilst fleeing from Aleppo was treacherously slain. The allegiance of Aleppo was then offered to Il-Ghazi, of Mardin, who, however, hardly found it worth acceptance. It is strange that in a time of such confusion and distrust the Franks did not make themselves masters of the city. Probably, however, they found more profit in promoting dissensions among their foes, than in burdening themselves with so vast a conquest.

In 1119 Il-Ghazi once more took the field, and fortress after fortress fell before him with startling rapidity. Roger of Antioch scorned the sound advice of the patriarch, to wait for King Baldwin, and marched out to an ill-omened spot called the Field of Blood. It was a place deficient both in food and drink. Worse than this, the camp followers carried news of his distress to the enemy. Emboldened by these tidings the Mohammedans routed a small force of Christians near the fortress of Cerep.¹ Thereupon Roger sent forward Mauger of Hauteville with forty knights, and posted others to keep watch at a distant hill-tower.

Next morning the prince and all his army confessed their sins to the archbishop. This solemn work completed, Roger divided his gold among the poor, and then, with something of the true indifference of a Norman baron, went forth for his usual morning ride. His falcons and his hounds accompanied him; his followers took their hunting spears, and the lads were sent ahead to rouse the game. So Roger, "as became a prince," rode over hill and vale to hawk

¹ Some authorities identify this place with Athareb.

and hunt. But some prescience of disaster prevented him from taking pleasure in the sport. He left his gay companions and turned his steps towards the watchmen on the tower. Even as he rode there galloped up a messenger in headlong haste. "What news?" asked the prince. "With mine own eyes have I seen the enemy swarming over rough places and plain." "Christ," said the prince—"Christ hath granted us to suffer for Him."

Roger hastened back to his tent, but as he donned his armour, and knelt with his host to receive once more the archbishop's blessing, other messengers



COIN OF ROGER.

arrived. Many of the knights had fallen at their post ; Mauger was close behind hard pressed by an intolerable host of the enemy. Hardly had the Christians formed their ranks when the standards of the unbelievers began to glimmer between the olive thickets on the hills. Roger bade his little army not to fear the enemy because of their multitude ; before-times they had fought valiantly enough for earthly gain or glory, let them now fight as well for God. The Franks were victorious in more than one part of the field ; but they were quite outnumbered, and when the Turcoples were seized with a sudden panic, the terror spread to Roger's own band, who likewise

dispersed in fear. Then, to crown all, a sudden north wind blew down from the hills and, scudding close to the ground, raised a cloud of heated dust to blind the eyes of the Christians. Roger himself with a few followers fought desperately till, pierced through the brain, he fell dead before the Holy Cross—"his body to the earth, and his soul to heaven" (June 27, 1119).

Had Il-Ghazi marched on Antioch in the first flush of victory the city must have fallen. But his delays enabled the patriarch to restore some measure of confidence, and to keep the city safe till the coming of the king. Baldwin shortly marched out through Rugia to Danit, where he pitched his camp. His heedful wariness foiled an intended night surprise. The battle which ensued was long and doubtful; the Count of Tripoli, who commanded on the right, was driven back on the king's ranks. Evremar, the Archbishop of Cæsarea, was struck by an arrow, but to the surprise of all only one drop of blood fell from the wound. This they attributed to the efficacy of the Holy Cross, which Evremar carried in his hands. The archbishop turned the sacred relic towards the foe, and cursed them in its name. The Christians thereon took fresh courage and, renewing the fight, were rewarded with victory (August 14, 1119).

The death of Roger marks a period in the history of the principality of Antioch. Its fortunes in the succeeding years are closely bound up with those of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and will be properly narrated in the following chapter.

A few words will suffice to describe the course of

events in Tripoli during these early years. We find there a not dissimilar aspect of Frankish progress in the midst of Mussulman disunion. But the newcomers had a rival in the Egyptian Caliph, whose subordinates contrived during the years of confusion to recover their hold on the Syrian coast. Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, and Beyrout all passed into their hands, and it was from them that Raymond of St. Gilles and his successors had to win the chief towns of their future county.

Count Raymond, when he found it impossible to protect Laodicea from the greed of Bohemond, had gone to Constantinople to seek the aid of Alexius, and thus shared in the Aquitanian crusade of 1101, though he escaped the worst of the evils that befell his comrades. Afterwards, however, he fell into the hands of Tancred, from whom he had to purchase his release by an undertaking to make no conquests north of Acre. But on Bohemond's restoration Raymond thought himself free to besiege Tripoli. Its emir, Fakr-el-Molk, called in aid from Damascus and Emesa. Raymond had only three hundred warriors in all, yet he contrived to drive back both of the hostile forces in panic, and to shut up the men of Tripoli more closely than before. But as he could not take the city by storm, he established himself on the neighbouring height of Mount Pilgrim, and was still engaged with the siege at his death on February 28, 1105. Raymond appears to have been the noblest of all the early Crusaders; he alone was absolutely faithful in his vow to Alexius, and his conduct is in striking contrast to that of his great

colleagues. "Having once begun the fight for Christ," says William of Tyre, "he disdained not to continue his pilgrimage patiently till death. Although with his illustrious patrimony and power he might have lived in abundance in his own land, he chose rather to be an abject in the Lord's service than to abide in the tents of sinners."

On Raymond's death the siege was continued by William Jordan, his nephew. Raymond had, however, left in Mount Pilgrim an infant son, Alfonso. This child was soon sent to France, where a little later his elder brother Bertram resigned to him his father's possessions and started for the East. On his arrival in Palestine Bertram demanded his father's possessions from his cousin William. William denied the claim and appealed to Tancred for aid, while Bertram sailed south to renew the siege of Tripoli on his own account. To secure the aid of the king Bertram offered to do him service. Baldwin feared that the feuds among the Christians would ruin their prospects in the north, and hurrying to Tripoli succeeded in arranging a compromise. William was to hold Arkah and his present possessions; Bertram was to have the remainder of his father's fiefs—if he could obtain them. Tancred, who had a quarrel of his own with Bertram, was pacified by receiving Haifa, Tiberias, Nazareth, and the Templum Domini.

The united forces now laid siege to Tripoli with renewed vigour in March, 1109. Famine was at work within the walls, and the promised succour from Egypt was delayed till contrary winds prevented its coming

altogether. The Saracens, in despair, accepted Baldwin's proffer of their lives, but the Genoese supporters of Bertram, eager for plunder, forced their way into the city, slaying all they met.

Before Tripoli had fallen Bertram was left without a rival, for William Jordan had been mysteriously shot with an arrow while riding at night. Bertram now became the king's man, and thus Tripoli was made a fief of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

Bertram died about 1112, and was succeeded by his son Pons, who played a not inconsiderable part till his death in 1137; the successor of Pons was Raymond I., whose son Raymond II. was the foremost figure among the Syrian nobles in the events which preceded the Third Crusade.





X.

THE CONQUEST OF THE LAND—BALDWIN II (1118–1131.)

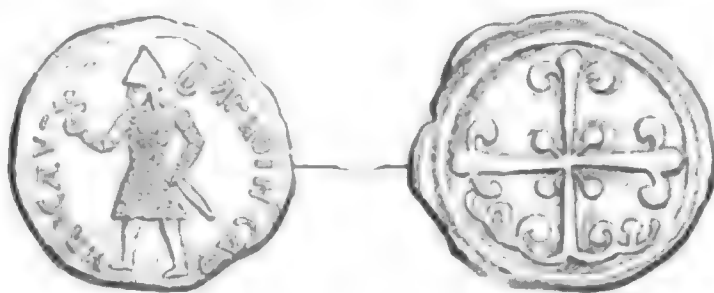
"O tempora recordationis dignissima."

FULCHER OF CHARTRES.

ON the death of Baldwin I. many of the nobles were in favour of offering the crown to Eustace, the late king's brother. But Joscelin de Courtenay, then lord of Tiberias, gave his support to Baldwin du Bourg, declaring that it was better to accept a good king who was to be had for the asking, than to wait the pleasure of a distant ruler, who might prefer the settled order of his European county to the strain and anxiety of a perilous kingdom. These words carried the greater weight because of the speaker's known enmity for Baldwin, and when the patriarch adopted the same view the nobles elected Baldwin to the vacant throne. Some dissentients, however, sent an invitation to Count Eustace, who received them but coldly. "Not by me," was his noble answer, "shall a stumbling block enter into the Lord's kingdom."

The new king, Baldwin II., was the son of Hugh,

Count of Rethel, near Rheims. He had accompanied Godfrey on the First Crusade, but afterwards joined his namesake in his adventurous conquest of Edessa. He, however, rejoined the main army, to share in the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem. When his cousin became king he obtained the county of Edessa, and the story of his life in the next eighteen years has already been told. He was a man of lofty stature and comely features. His scanty yellow hair was already tinged with white ; his beard was thin, though long, and his complexion ruddy for his age. A skilful horseman and an experienced military leader, he



COIN OF BALDWIN II.

never made his advanced years an excuse for inaction. Unlike his predecessor, he was a wary general, careful in organising an expedition, and happy in its results. Above all else he was truly devout in word and deed, a godfearing man, whose hands and knees were hardened with frequent prayer.

The first years of the new reign were devoted to the defence of Antioch and Edessa. Baldwin's victory at Danit has already been described. In the following year (June, 1120), Il-Ghazi returned with a host of Turcomans. These warriors were the moss-troopers of Oriental warfare, to which they came forth, each

with his skin of water, sack of meal, and strips of dried meat carried on his steed. They fought for the sake of plunder only, and when Il-Ghazi punished such conduct, they gradually deserted him. Il-Ghazi, abandoned by his army, had to purchase a truce, which was, however, soon broken through the indiscretion of Joscelin de Courtenay, now Count of Edessa.

Matters were further complicated by the revolt of Soliman, son of Il-Ghazi, and ruler of Aleppo, against his father. Soliman appealed for aid to Baldwin, who demanded, as the price of his assistance, the restoration of Athareb. To this Soliman refused his consent, and it was in vain that the king urged how indefensible Athareb was, ringed round with Christian fortresses like a horse with weak legs, who eats a whole granary without gaining strength. These troubles recalled Il-Ghazi, who found himself obliged to purchase a truce by the cession of Zerdana¹ and Athareb (about August, 1121). However, in June, 1122, despite the truce, he crossed the Euphrates, with his nephew Balak the Victorious, and laid siege to Zerdana. Baldwin refused to believe in such treachery. "I have been faithful," said the chivalrous king, "to the treaty, and have defended Il-Ghazi's possessions during his absence, and do not doubt but he will be as loyal on his part." On discovering his mistake, Baldwin called in Joscelin, and advanced to the relief of the beleaguered town. Illness soon forced Il-Ghazi to raise the siege, and on November 3rd he died, while on his way back to Mardin.

¹ This place was close to Athareb.

Meanwhile a great disaster had befallen the Christians. Balak having laid siege to Edessa, Joscelin came to its relief. Balak's troops were so scattered that he could barely muster four hundred horsemen to meet the count; he must have been defeated had it not been for a recent fall of rain, thanks to which the heavy Frank knights and their horses stuck in the miry soil, and were shot down by the Turkish bowmen. Joscelin and his nephew Waleran were taken prisoners, and when they refused to purchase their freedom by the surrender of Edessa were thrown into prison at Khartpert (September 13, 1122).

Balak's successes called Baldwin to the Euphrates. There, on April 18, 1123, the Christians fell into an ambushade whilst engaged on a night march for the relief of Kerker. The Franks were massacred piteously, and Baldwin was in his turn also carried off prisoner to Khartpert. Balak then forced his way into Aleppo, and had proceeded to besiege Kafer Tab,¹ when news reached him that Joscelin had escaped from Khartpert.

Joscelin had endeared himself to his Armenian subjects, who determined to make a desperate effort to secure their lord's freedom. Fifty men disguised as merchants, presented themselves one day in August before the gates of Khartpert. One by one with their wares they smuggled their way within the town to the walls of the citadel. There they found the warder of the gates carelessly playing at chess, and kept from all suspicion by his antagonist who

¹ Or Capharda, east of the Orontes, near Marra; its exact situation is uncertain, but Abulfeda says half-way from Marra to Cæsarea.

was a friend of the conspirators. Throwing off their disguise the Armenians drew their knives and slew the warder ; then seizing whatever lances lay at hand they quickly overpowered the Turkish guards. So soon as the king and his comrades were released, they hoisted a Christian flag on the highest battlement. But not daring to risk the journey home, they resolved to hold out in Khartpert till aid should come from Antioch or Jerusalem. Joscelin volunteered to carry the news ; with three of his servants, he passed by night through the surrounding enemy, and sent back his ring to Baldwin as a token of his success. After twenty-four hours' wandering they found themselves at the Euphrates ; the count could not swim, so his servants extemporised a raft of bladders, and thus they gained the other side. Hungry and thirsty, Joscelin lay down beneath a tree to rest, covering himself under the bushes. His servants meanwhile went to look for food, and shortly came back with an Armenian peasant, of whose simple fare of figs and raisins the count ate gladly. The peasant knew his lord at once and greeted him by name ; Joscelin's alarmed denial could not deceive the faithful peasant, and at last, assured of the man's loyalty, the count promised him a piece of gold if he would guide them to a place of safety. " I seek no reward," was the generous answer : " before times you gave me bread to eat, and I am glad to repay you." Then taking Joscelin to his cottage the peasant explained his plan for the count's escape ; but first of all wished to kill his pig for breakfast. " Nay," said Joscelin, " thou art not wont to eat a pig at a meal, and that would make thy

neighbours suspicious." Then the count was disguised in the dress of the peasant's wife, and set upon the man's ass with his baby in his arms. Thus the strange company set out for Tell-basher; but presently the child began to cry, and so embarrassed the count that he would have left his comrades had he not feared to wound his protector's feelings. At last they reached Tell-basher in safety, and after rewarding the faithful peasant Joscelin set out for Jerusalem and Antioch.

Meanwhile Balak had turned back to Khartpert, and by undermining the rock on which the citadel was built, forced his way inside. The poorer Franks and the Armenians were massacred without pity, whilst Baldwin and Waleran were carried off to Harran. Joscelin was on his way north once more when he heard the news; unable to help his kinsmen he turned his arms against Aleppo. The count's successes in this quarter brought Balak back to the Orontes. Balak reached Aleppo in May, 1124, and soon after marched out against the town of Manbij or Hierapolis. Joscelin, though he could muster but a small army, went out to meet him. The battle at first went favourably for the Christians, but Joscelin was at length compelled to retreat. Balak was, however, soon afterwards mortally wounded whilst prosecuting the siege of Manbij. Aleppo then passed to Hussan-ed-din, son of Il-Ghazi, from whom Baldwin purchased his release at the price of Athareb, Zerdana, Kafer Tab, some other towns, and twenty-four thousand dinars (August 30, 1124).

Baldwin, however, kept no faith with the infidels,

and attacked Aleppo. The inhabitants appealed for help to El-Borsoki, Emir of Mosul, who in February, 1125, drove back the Christians and so became Lord of Aleppo; but in June Baldwin in his turn defeated El-Borsoki. The king, however, realised that it was impossible for one ruler to govern both Antioch and Jerusalem; and accordingly he sent for the youthful Bohemond, who came from Italy to Antioch in the autumn of 1126. There the nobles swore fealty to him in Baldwin's presence, and the king gave him his second daughter Alice to wife. Bohemond's rule was short and troubled; he soon found himself at war with Joscelin, and Baldwin had to be called in to appease the quarrel. Some years later Bohemond was surprised and slain at the Meadow of Mantles in Cilicia. He was a youth of great promise, and bade fair to be a valiant warrior. At his death the principality passed to his infant daughter Constance.

Over and above all this warfare in the north, the reign of Baldwin II. was distinguished by many other expeditions. The Egyptians harassed him more than once from Ascalon, and Tughtakin of Damascus was ever ready to further their efforts by inroads from the east. Baldwin retaliated by more than one expedition across the Jordan, as in January, 1126, when he defeated the atabek with great loss near Marj-as-Suffar. But the great event of the reign was the conquest of Tyre during the king's captivity. That city was ruled by an emir in the name of El-Afdal, the Egyptian vizir. Being hard pressed by the Franks, and unaided by their own Caliph, the men of Tyre appealed to Tughtakin, and offered to take

him for lord if they might dwell under his protection Tughtakin sent them aid under an emir Masud, but refused to supplant the Egyptian Caliph. He informed El-Afdal that he was ready to withdraw his garrison directly Tyre was strong enough to do without it. But when a little later El-Afdal was murdered, the Egyptian admiral seized Masud by treachery and carried him off to Egypt. This conduct alienated Tughtakin, and the Franks seized the opportunity for attacking the city.

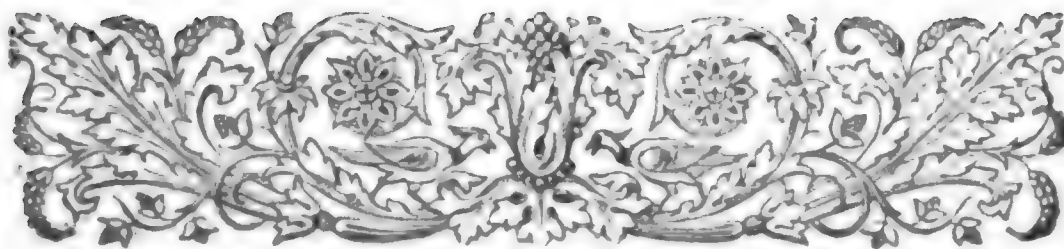
When Baldwin was taken prisoner by Balak, the Franks had elected, as guardian for the orphan realm, Eustace Grener, lord of Cæsarea and Sidon. It happened that in 1123 there came to Jaffa a strong Venetian fleet under the doge Domenico Michaeli. The doge went up to spend Christmas at Jerusalem, and there agreed with the lords of the land to lend his aid for an attack on one of the cities of the coast. Opinion was divided between Ascalon and Tyre, and it was decided to commit the question to the lot. The names of the two towns were written on two strips of parchment, and these were placed on the altar. Then an "innocent orphan boy" was bidden to take up one of them at random; the lot fell upon Tyre, which city was at once besieged by the combined forces of the Franks and Venetians, under Eustace and the doge. It was to no purpose that Tughtakin came up from Damascus, that a fresh fleet was sent from Egypt, or that the men of Ascalon strove to call off the besieging host by a foray to the very walls of Jerusalem. The last were driven back from the Tower of David; the Venetians defeated

the Egyptian fleet ; while William de Bures and Pons of Tripoli found the atabek unwilling to abide their onset. All the available forces of the realm seem to have been mustered for the siege, and when it began to flag through lack of military engines, a skilful Armenian engineer was called up from Antioch. At last, broken down by hunger and long privation, the city surrendered ; men told in later days that only five measures of wheat were found within the walls. The fall of this city (July 7, 1124) was a great blow to Islam ; "let us hope that God will one day restore it," writes the Arabic historian a century later.

Baldwin II. was an old man, and had no son to succeed him on the throne. Unwilling to marry his eldest daughter Melisend to one of his own nobles, he sought her a bridegroom in Europe. His final choice was Fulk V., Count of Anjou, who reached Acre in the spring of 1129. The marriage was celebrated before Whitsuntide, and the king's son-in-law received Tyre and Acre as his wife's dowry. Two years later Baldwin fell into a fatal sickness ; anxious for his soul's health, he quitted the luxury of the royal palace for the patriarch's house hard by the sepulchre of the Lord. There he put on the garb of a monk, and so died August 13, 1131. He was buried with his predecessors before Golgotha, under Mount Calvary.

With Baldwin II. disappeared the last of the great heroes of the First Crusade who had remained in Palestine. His death, too, marks the conclusion of the first stage in the history of the Syrian Franks. Despite the disaster of his eighteen months' captivity





XI.

THE MILITARY ORDERS.

"Triplex funiculus non facile rumpitur."
JAMES DE VITRY.

TO the men of the twelfth century there must have been a marvellous attraction in the tales which every returning palmer or crusader brought back from Syria. Adventure was as the very life-breath of the mediæval warrior, and in the East if anywhere he could find it to the full, with the added prospect of a sure reward, both spiritual and temporal. Did he perish in the combat, heaven, as St. Bernard told him, would throw open her halls to receive him; was he victor, then the spoils of the vanquished were his. The humblest man-at-arms might acquire wealth through the sack of a Saracen stronghold, or the rout of a Saracen host; the wandering knight might enter the bodyguard of Godfrey or Baldwin, and be recompensed with money or a fief; the greater lord could always hope for conquests on his own account. To the prospect of gain were added two other incentives; the always unsatisfied longing for travel, which then, as now, prompted the noblest spirits of the age to

seek ideals far away from home, and the feeling of devotion which urged mediæval Christians on to pilgrimages, whether near or distant. These impulses together sufficed to keep up a constant stream of visitors to Palestine during many years. Some came, saw, and departed; others however, stayed, and, whether for good or ill, made their home in the East.

Thus in the course of thirty years there had been built up a new kingdom, and, as it were, a new nation. So Fulcher of Chartres could write: "God transforms things according to His will. He has poured the West into the East; we who were westerns are now easterns. We have all forgotten our native soil, it has grown strange unto us." But the most promising feature in this new creation was the rise of military organisations, which might combine and turn to good purpose all those whom restlessness of spirit or devotion of soul drew towards the East.

The credit of the conception of an order of knights sworn to the service of the Cross belongs to Hugh de Payen, the founder of the Templars. But the priority of rank must be yielded to the Hospitallers, who trace their origin to a more ancient institution, established for a different purpose. According to the story preserved by William of Tyre, and in part confirmed from other sources, the merchants of Amalfi having won the favour of the Egyptian Caliph, obtained permission, as it is said, about the year 1023, to found a hospital at Jerusalem for poor and sick Latin pilgrims. The original dedication was to St. John the Almoner, a humble patron who had afterwards to

give way to St. John the Baptist. At the time of the First Crusade the master of the hospital was one Gerard, "during many years the devoted servant of the poor." Gerard, who is often regarded as the founder of the hospital, obtained from Pope Paschal II., in 1113, a Bull, which, besides granting him the special protection of the papal see, confirmed to the hospital all the possessions which it then held as well in Syria as in Western Europe. Gerard died in 1118, and was succeeded by Raymond du Puy, a noble from Dauphiné, who held his office over forty years, and taking an example from the recently established order of the Temple, gave his own order a military organisation.

The Templars, although they were from the first an order of knights, owed their institution, as did the Hospitallers, to a charitable purpose. In the early days of the kingdom a Burgundian knight, Hugh de Payen by name, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Moved to pity by the sufferings of the Christians through the perpetual attacks of the Saracens, he joined with eight other knights in devoting themselves to the service of protecting the poor pilgrims on the road to Jerusalem. They took the triple vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty, after the manner of regular canons, and obtained from Baldwin II., in the same year that Gerard the Hospitaller died, the gift of a residence near the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem; originally designated the poor fellow soldiers of Christ, they from this circumstance came to be known as the Knights of the Temple. After nine years at the Council of Troyes, in January, 1128,

Hugh obtained from Pope Honorius II., through the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux, a formal Rule, which the famous abbot himself drew up, or at least inspired.¹

From a religious point of view the Rule of the Templars not unnaturally followed that of the Cistercians, but here it is not necessary to concern ourselves, except with the military organisation of the order. At its head stood the Master, who, though he had great power, was far from absolute, and was obliged even in the field to act by the advice of his council. Second came the Seneschal, and third the Marshal, whose special charge was all that concerned the equipment of the order with arms and steeds. After these came the commanders or preceptors of the provinces, premier of whom was the "Commander of the land and kingdom of Jerusalem," who was also Grand Treasurer, and had charge of the port of Acre, where the knights had their chief maritime establishment. The commander of the city of Jerusalem was Hospitaller of the order, and had to provide for the safe conduct and care of pilgrims. The other provinces were Tripoli and Antioch in the East, and France, England, Poitou, Aragon, Portugal, Apulia, and Hungary in Europe. Last of the great officers was the Drapier, charged with all that concerned the dress of the members. Subordinate officials were the commanders of the houses or com-

¹ The extant "*Regle du Temple*" is of later date. It has been edited more than once, most recently for the *Société de l'Histoire de France* by M. de Curzon. The shorter *Latin Rule* may more closely represent S. Bernard's original statutes.

manderies, and the commanders of the knights. The greater officers had all a more or less extensive household, and were allowed four horses each ; the ordinary knights had, as a rule, three horses and one squire. Other knights there were *ad terminum*, who had not taken the regular vows, but associated themselves with the order for a time, as Fulk of Anjou is said to have done in the early days before he was king or the order fully constituted. After the knights came the sergeants, or serving-brothers, amongst whom were included some inferior officials, as the underseneschal and the gonfanonier, whose duty it was to bear the banner Beauseant. Besides the knights and sergeants there was a numerous body of light-armed horsemen called Turcoples, under an officer called the Turcopolier. These formed the fighting force ; but there were also chaplains of the order—priests attached to it for religious duties. The “Rule” contains careful regulations as to the admission of new members, which could only be done in a chapter ; the aspirant must not be baseborn, a member of any other religious order, or hampered by any worldly ties. In the case of knights he must be of knightly birth, for a sergeant it was enough that he was free-born. The original knights had no regular dress, but wore such motley garb as charity afforded them. Honorius assigned them a white habit, while later on, in the time of Eugenius III., they were granted, as a mark of distinction, a red cross, to be worn on the mantle. The mantles of the knights alone were white, those of the sergeants and squires black or brown, but all alike wore the great red cross.

St. Bernard, shortly after the foundation of the order, draws a somewhat fanciful picture of the knights of Christ. "They live together without separate property, in one house, under one rule, careful to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Never is an idle word, or useless deed, or immoderate laughter, or a murmur, if it be but whispered, allowed to go unpunished. Draughts and dice they detest. Hunting they hold in abomination; and take no pleasure in the frivolous pastime of hawking. Soothsayers, jesters, and story-tellers, ribald songs and stage plays they eschew as insane follies. They cut close their hair, knowing, as the apostle says, that 'it is a shame for a man to have long hair.' They never dress gaily, and wash but seldom. Shaggy by reason of their uncombed hair, they are also begrimed with dust, and swarthy from the weight of their armour and the heat of the sun. They strive earnestly to possess strong and swift horses, but not garnished with ornaments or decked with trappings, thinking of battle and victory, not of pomp and show. Such hath God chosen for His own, who vigilantly and faithfully guard the Holy Sepulchre, all armed with the sword, and most learned in the art of war."

A century later James de Vitry, writing in the light of personal knowledge, says: "When the Templars are summoned to arms, they inquire not of the numbers, but of the position of the foe. They are lions in war, lambs in the house; to the enemies of Christ fierce and implacable, but to Christians kind and gracious. They bear before them to battle a banner half white, half black; this they call Beau-

seant, because they are fair and favourable to the friends of Christ, to his foes drear and black."

The organisation of the Hospitallers, or the Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, was in its general features similar to that of the Templars, and comprised knights, chaplains, and serving brothers, together with a body of Turcoples. The officers other than the grand master were styled conventual, capitular, or honorary bailiffs. The conventual bailiffs



SEAL OF HOSPITALLERS.

were the heads of the *langues*, or provinces, of which in 1331 there were seven, Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Germany, Aragon, and England.¹ The capitular bailiffs or grand priors were the heads of the *langue* in Europe; in the English *langue* there were

¹ These conventual bailiffs remained usually at the headquarters of the order. They were respectively grand commander (or treasurer), grand marshal, grand hospitaller, grand admiral, grand conservator (in charge of the commissariat), grand bailiff (chief engineer), grand chancellor, Turcopolier.

two grand priors, one for England and one for Ireland. The heads of the houses were called commanders or preceptors. In their religious life the Hospitallers followed the rule of St. Augustine; their mantles were black with an eight-pointed cross of white.

Hugh de Payen and his original eight companions had remained alone for nine years in their primitive poverty, so that, according to a thirteenth-century tradition, two knights rode upon one horse. But after their regular constitution on a military basis both orders grew rapidly in importance, wealth, and



SEAL OF TEMPLARS.

numbers. Mention is made of both in different campaigns during the reign of Fulk.¹ Both played a prominent part in the futile siege of Damascus during the Second Crusade, and in the succeeding years the two orders were the mainstay of the kingdom. To their care were entrusted some of the most important of the frontier fortresses; thus the Hospitallers received Gibelin or Beersheba in 1136, and the Templars Gaza in 1149. Templars and

¹ The first authentic reference to the Hospitallers as a fighting body is in a Bull of Innocent II., dated 1130.

Hospitallers fought side by side under their masters Bernard de Tremelay and the aged Raymond du Puy at Ascalon in 1153; the Hospitallers were Amalric's chief support in his Egyptian campaign in 1168, and a few years earlier, in 1163, we find the Templars of Tripoli, under their English preceptor, Gilbert de Lacy, playing a leading part in the contest with Nur-ed-din. In the troublous days that preceded the Third Crusade the masters of the two orders appear as the leaders of the party that favoured active warfare with Saladin. During that Crusade the Templars were foremost among the supporters of Richard, who, according to a thirteenth-century legend, left the Holy Land in the disguise of a knight and on board a vessel belonging to their order. The loss of Jerusalem deprived both Hospitallers and Templars of their original headquarters. After a short interval both were established at Acre, where they remained till the fall of that city a century later marked the end of Frankish rule in Palestine. During this, the last century of Crusading history, the defence of such possessions as yet remained to the Franks in Syria devolved more and more on the military orders. Many nobles, finding themselves unable to defend their fiefs any longer against the foe, sold their estates to the Templars or Hospitallers, and departed westward.

Great as was the power of the knights, their numbers and wealth were not incommensurate. William of Tyre says that in his day the original nine of the Templars had increased to three hundred,

which would seem to be a moderate estimate. At the battle of Hattin, in 1187, this order lost two hundred and thirty knights, though only a few weeks previously the marshal and eighty knights had been slain in the fight with El-Afdal. More than three hundred Templars fell before Acre in 1191, and a like number in the battle with the Charismians some fifty years afterwards. As for the Hospitallers, in 1168 they furnished Amalric with five hundred knights and as many Turcoples for his Egyptian campaign. The Templars held eighteen fortresses in Syria, chief of which were Safed, Tortosa, and Athlit, or Castle Pilgrim. The last was a magnificent structure on the coast near Acre, which was commenced in 1218. It comprised a palace for the master and knights, quarters for their subordinates, and a splendid church—the whole adorned with such a wealth of luxury as filled James de Vitry with amazement; even in ruins it forms a majestic memorial of its builders. Of the property of the Temple in Syria we have, owing to the destruction of their records, no exact knowledge, but they had fourteen commanderies besides others in Armenia and Cyprus. The Hospitallers owned 135 casals or villages, beside other property. They had twelve commanderies in Syria, and their fortresses comprised the important castles of Markab, Kerak des Chevaliers, Chastel Rouge, Gibelin, and Belvoir.

Wealth brought in its train the usual abuses. Even in the days of their first master the Hospitallers were engaged in a serious quarrel with the Latin ecclesiastics of the East, due to the grasping

gold into copper in their chests. Their rash assault at Ascalon five years later was put down to a wish to secure the best of the spoil for themselves.¹ So notorious was their arrogance that, when Fulk of Neuilly bade Richard provide for his three daughters, it was an easy jest for the king to bestow "Pride" on the Templars.²

Great as was the wealth of the two orders in the East, it was not their main resource. Both had from an early date received large benefactions in Western Europe. Hugh de Payen had visited Henry I. in Normandy in 1128, when "the king received him with much worship, and gave him treasure of gold and silver, and afterwards he sent him to England, where he was well treated by all good men, and all gave him treasures." Alfonso I. of Aragon, Raymond Berengar I. of Provence, and Louis VI. of France were not less forward. In England the Templars settled early in the reign of Stephen at the old Temple outside Holborn bars, whence, in 1185, they removed to the new and more famous Temple on the Thames. The church, which was in this year consecrated by the Patriarch Heraclius, and was completed by 1240, still survives as the finest monument of the order in England. The great William Marshal chose it for his burial-place, and his effigy, with those of two of his sons, still lies in the Round Church. Stephen gave the knights Temple Cressing, in Essex, about 1150, and his queen Matilda Temple Cowley, near Oxford. Many other benefactions followed during the twelfth

¹ For another example of combined treachery and cupidity, see p. 232.

² See below, p. 370.

century, and all our English kings were among their patrons. Henry II. gave them Waterford and Wexford, and John Lundy Island; whilst Henry III. regarded them with such favour that he and his queen at one time chose the Temple Church as their place of burial. Matthew Paris asserts that the Templars possessed no less than seven thousand manors in Christendom.

The Hospitallers, though not nearly so wealthy, had also great possessions. Even in 1113 it is clear that they had considerable property in Western Europe. Indeed, their chief English house at Clerkenwell is said to have been founded by Jordan Briset, who died in 1110. After they became a military order they acquired, in the reign of Stephen, lands at Little Maplestead in Essex, Shandon in Hertfordshire, and Shengay in Cambridgeshire, as also at many other places both then and later.

Wherever their estates were of sufficient importance both orders established houses, or commanderies, which served the double purpose of homes for the aged knights and recruiting stations for young aspirants. Great privileges were bestowed on both orders, and many individual knights rose to positions of importance. One Templar was almoner to Philip IV. of France, and another to Henry III. of England. In Aragon the Templars occupied a position of unique importance, and more than one of its kings was entrusted to their care for training. One result of the peculiar position of the orders in East and West, combined with their great wealth, was to give them exceptional opportunities for the commercial

transactions of exchange—a means of increasing their wealth and power of which they were not slow to avail themselves in times of peace.

In addition to the two great orders there grew up about the time of the Third Crusade another order, which, from the nationality of its founders, was known as the Teutonic. In 1128 some German merchants had founded at Jerusalem a hospital, which subsisted till the fall of the city sixty years later. During the siege of Acre in 1190 the charitable work of this hospital (the tending of the sick and wounded) was revived and the active sympathy of many Germans, who had accompanied Frederick Barbarossa, enlisted in its favour. About eight years later the order received a military constitution as a body of knights, to whom were afterwards added, in imitation of its more ancient models, chaplains and serving brothers. In their military organisation the Teutonic knights followed the rule of the Temple, but in their religious life they adopted, like the Hospitallers, the rule of St. Augustine. Their mantle was white with a black cross. Under Herman von Salza, who was Grand Master from 1210 to 1239, the order rose rapidly in wealth and power, and first commenced that work in East Prussia which afterwards made it great and famous. The original seat of the order was at Acre, whence in 1291 they removed to Venice, till a few years later they became entirely German and devoted themselves to the work of maintaining the eastern frontier against the Lithuanians. There they rose to be a famous and important power, which attracted to its ranks many seekers after adventure, amongst

whom was reckoned for a time Henry, the first of our Lancastrian kings. The order maintained its independence till Albert of Brandenburg, its last Grand Master, in 1525 converted its lands into a duchy for himself, and so took an important step towards the creation of the modern Prussia.

Another little known and obscure order deserves a passing mention in this place. The Germans were not alone in their charitable work at Acre, and an English priest, William, chaplain to Ralph de Diceto, devoted himself to the work of burying the Christian dead. Afterwards he built himself a chapel and bought ground for a cemetery, which he dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr. Through the patronage of the sister of Becket a hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury at Acre was built in London on the site of the archbishop's house; and in 1231, when Peter des Roches was in Palestine, he established these knights under the rule of the Templars. These knights of St. Thomas of Acre wore their own mantle with a cross of red and white, and have the distinction of being one of the few peculiarly English orders. They survived in the kingdom of Cyprus till near the close of the fourteenth century.¹

On the later fortunes of the two greater orders it is impossible to more than briefly touch. That of the Templars was no less disastrous and shameful than that of the Hospitallers was glorious and honourable. After the fall of Acre the Templars transferred their head-quarters to Cyprus, whence they made some futile attempts to gain a footing at Alexandria and Tortosa.

¹ Stubbs, "Lectures on Mediæval History," pp. 182-5.

But their power excited the fear, and their wealth the cupidity of a dangerous foe. Internal dissensions gave Philip IV. of France an opportunity to bring accusations of the most shameful character against the whole order. After nearly sixty knights had been burnt in May, 1310, the royal influence or tyranny prevailed upon Clement V. to decree the suppression of the order in March, 1312; and two years later Jacques du Molay, the Grand Master, after a cruel imprisonment, shared the fate of his subordinates. The proceedings which thus terminated the existence of the Temple in France were a precedent for measures of less severity but like effect in other countries. The falsehood of the graver charges, immorality of the grossest kind, is now generally admitted, yet there seems no doubt that practices of an unseemly nature prevailed at least in the French provinces. Friendly intercourse with the Mohammedans had probably influenced the knights in matters both of belief and conduct, whilst it is more than probable that some taint of heresy had penetrated the order through the admission of Albigensian knights, compelled to choose between the service of the cross and the penalty of death.

Like the Templars the Hospitallers had retired to Cyprus on the fall of Acre; more fortunate they, twenty years later, achieved the conquest of Rhodes, and at the same time, through the downfall of the rival order, acquired a great accession of wealth. At Rhodes the knights of St. John were, during over two centuries, the bulwark of Christendom against the Turks. When at length that island fell before the

power of Soliman the Magnificent in 1522, the bounty of Charles the Fifth gave them a new home and a fresh career of glory as the knights of Malta. As a military body the order was long since obsolete, when Ferdinand von Hompesch somewhat tamely surrendered the island to the French in 1798. Recent years have, however, witnessed its honourable revival as a charitable institution, with a special care for the tending of the sick and wounded in war, and after a chequered career the gate of the priory at Clerkenwell has once more become the home of the English *langue*.

No attempt has been made in this chapter to even sketch the full career of the two great orders. But indeed the history of the Latin colonies is the history of the knights of the Hospital and Temple. The orders constituted the most stable element in the Angevin kingdom of Jerusalem; and the later kingdom, subsequent to the Third Crusade, was dependent on them for its very existence. The organisation that was happily devised by Hugh de Payen and Raymond du Puy was the one best suited for the circumstances in which the Syrian Franks found themselves. The climate forbade any hope of success to a regular system of colonisation; the races of Western Europe could not perpetuate their existence in face of the twofold strain of warfare under an Eastern sun. The lessened vigour of the race intensified the evils inherent in the feudal system—the weakness of widows and minors, and the strength of family feud and faction. From these defects the knightly orders were exempt; they could provide more surely that warlike organisation, which the ever-present

Saracen and Turk made a necessity ; as corporations, whose life-blood came in a fresh and constant stream from the West, they possessed a cohesion and vigour which were no less essential. With them there was no question, as with the Frank nobles of Syria, of private interest or family advantage ; they had no interest but to justify their existence by preserving the Holy Land from the Moslem ; unhampered by personal or worldly ties they were free and eager to prosecute to the end the sacred enterprise which they had undertaken.

If it be asked how we are to explain the only moderate measure of success which they achieved, the answer is ready to hand. The field was already occupied by another organisation. The co-existence of the feudal and hereditary barons of Syria with these incorporated bodies of new-come adventurers gave rise to perpetual jealousies. Yet, further, there was the weakness natural to the twofold organisation of the orders themselves. In theory there might be no antagonism between them, and the Templar might be ordered in all good faith to rally to the banner of the Hospital, if in the hour of defeat his own failed him. But in practice there could not but be a rivalry between the two, which was fatal to all solidarity of action. Traces of this rivalry are not wanting in the earlier period, as when the Templars refused to support Amalric's Egyptian policy from jealousy at the prime part which the master of the Hospital had taken in inspiring it. In the thirteenth century this feeling of rivalry became more acute, and through the absence of any controlling power more mischievous.

The jealousies of the two orders crippled the hands of Richard of Cornwall in 1240-41, and it was with difficulty that the earl could keep the peace between them. In 1243 the Templars broke the truce which Richard, by the advice of the Hospitallers, had made with the Sultan, and openly attacking their rivals, laid siege to them in Acre. Yet, again, after the first Crusade of St. Louis the ill-feeling became so bitter that in 1259 another open war led to a pitched battle, in which the Templars were disastrously defeated. Mutual rivalry of this sort was not less mischievous than the ambition and treachery with which both orders were freely charged by their opponents ; such accusations are, however, most noteworthy as evidence of the jealousy with which the knights were regarded by the native nobles. The success of the knights of St. John at Rhodes is sufficient proof of what the two orders might have achieved under happier auspices. Even as things were it was chiefly due to the military orders that the Latin kingdom did in any sense so long survive the conquests of Saladin. Their partial ill-success notwithstanding, the history of the Knights of the Temple, and of the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem, must always afford some of the most picturesque pages in mediæval history.



XII.

THE KINGDOM AT ITS ZENITH—FULK OF ANJOU.

(1131-1143.)

"Princeps potens et apud suos felicissimus."

WILLIAM OF TYRE.

FULK of Anjou, the new king of Jerusalem, belonged to one of the most powerful families in Western Europe. His ancestors during two centuries had been capable warriors and statesmen, the most prominent of all being that Fulk the Black whose numerous pilgrimages have been alluded to in a previous chapter.¹ Fulk, the King of Jerusalem, was great grandson of Fulk the Black, and son of Fulk IV. by the infamous Bertrada de Montfort, who forsook her lawful husband for Philip I. The young Fulk became Count of Anjou 1109, and had to steer a difficult path through the thick of the Anglo-French complications. But actively engaged, though he was in temporal politics, there was in Fulk a strain of piety, which about 1120 led him to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

¹ See chapter i. pp. 15-16.

There he must have been among the very first of the associates *ad terminum* of the Templar knights, to whom on his departure he granted an annual sum of thirty pounds. But even at home his thoughts still turned towards the East, and his secret longings became known to others, so that Louis VI. was led to advocate his marriage with King Baldwin's daughter.

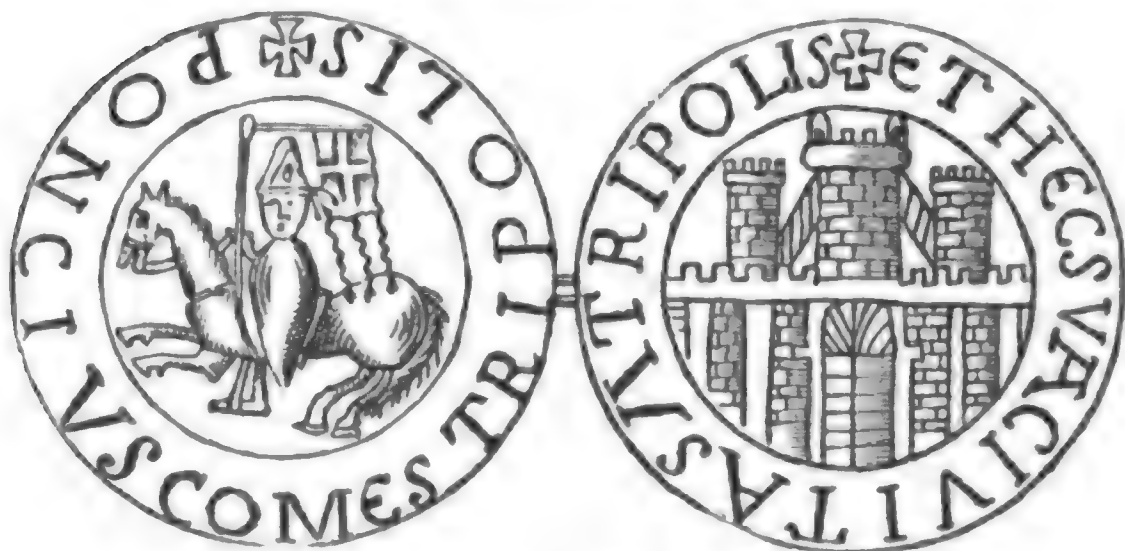
Baldwin's envoys could hardly have made a better choice. Fulk was a warrior, a politician, and something of a saint ; more than this he was akin to many of the greatest princes of Western Europe. His two daughters had been married, one to the ill-starred Atheling William who perished in the White Ship, the other, Sibyl, to Theodoric Count of Flanders ; whilst his eldest son Geoffrey became, through his marriage to the ex-empress Matilda, the father of our own Henry II.

In personal appearance Fulk was, like David, of a ruddy countenance, but, adds William of Tyre, unlike most people of this complexion, affable, kindly, and compassionate. His chief defect was a weakness of memory so marked that he could not recollect the names of his own servants, and would often offend his familiar friends by asking who they were.

The early years of Fulk's reign were occupied with the affairs of Antioch, where even in her father's lifetime Baldwin's daughter Alice had after her husband's death been intriguing to secure the principality for herself. Baldwin had forced her to content herself with Laodicea, but she now resumed her pretensions with the support of Pons of Tripoli and Joscelin II. of Edessa. The nobles of Antioch

appealed to Fulk for help ; whereupon Pons soon came to terms, and Antioch was placed in charge of Rainald Mansuer. In February, 1133, Fulk was again called north to the assistance of Pons, who was besieged by the Turcomans at Mons Ferrandus. He raised the siege and defeated the marauders near Harenc. The spoils of this victory sufficed to win over those nobles, who still favoured the pretensions of Alice.

It was, however, necessary to find a settled ruler



SEAL OF PONS, COUNT OF TRIPOLI.

for Antioch, and a husband for its princess, a girl of six or seven. After due consideration Raymond of Poitou, younger son of the Crusading Duke William of Aquitaine, was asked to wed the little heiress, and undertake the defence of her lands. Raymond accepted without hesitation, and set out for Syria forthwith. But he did not dare to travel in his own name, for fear of Roger King of Sicily, who fancied that he himself had claims on Antioch ; so he made his way through Italy disguised as a common

traveller walking on foot, or riding on pack-horses. He reached Syria about March, 1136, but not even then would his difficulties have been at an end, but for the craft of the Patriarch Ralph, who persuaded Alice that Raymond was destined to be her own husband, and thus secured him a free entry into Antioch.

In the following year (1137) Pons of Tripoli was defeated and slain by the Vizir of Damascus. Zangi seized the opportunity, burst across the Orontes, and laid siege to Mons Ferrandus. The young Count Raymond I. appealed for aid to his uncle Fulk. Antioch was at the same time threatened with an attack by the Emperor, John Comnenus. Fulk determined to meet the nearer danger; but his guides misled him, and in a narrow and pathless district of the mountains he was utterly defeated by Zangi (July, 1137). The young Count was taken prisoner, whilst Fulk with a few companions was shut up in Mons Ferrandus. Generously regardless of his own danger the prince of Antioch hurried up at the news; the Count of Edessa followed, and before long the patriarch appeared with the Holy Cross. Zangi therefore offered the king a free exit, if he would surrender the castle, promising on his part to release the count. Fulk accepted these terms, and the allies went back to their own lands.

Meantime John Comnenus¹ had invaded Cilicia

¹ John came, of course, to assert his suzerainty over Antioch, and it may be the rest of Syria. It was on his return from this expedition that Nicephorus Briennius—Anna Comnena's husband, who figures so largely in Sir Walter Scott's "Count Robert of Paris," as the lover of the Countess—died. He was a man of letters as well as a military

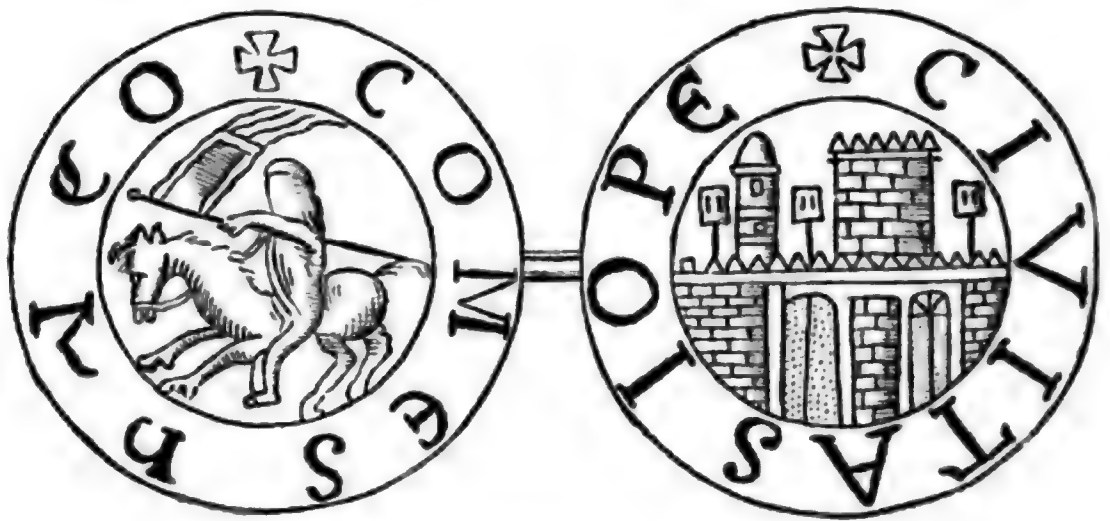
with a large army ; Tarsus, Adana, Mamistra, and Anazarba had fallen before him, and now he would have captured Antioch also, had not Raymond come to terms and promised to do him fealty. Next spring the Emperor, the Prince of Antioch, and the Count of Edessa took the field together. The united armies laid siege to Cæsarea on the Orontes ; but as the Latin princes spent their time in playing at dice instead of in fighting, John abandoned the war in disgust and withdrew to Antioch. Entering the city in state he demanded that the citadel should be placed in his hands. Joscelin begged leave to consult the people, and spread the news throughout the city. The angry citizens flew to arms, and in alarm at the uproar the Emperor withdrew his demand, and retired to Cilicia. Four years later in 1142 John was recalled to Syria by the news of Zangi's success : he pitched his camp high among the hills of Amanus, whence he could look down on Antioch, and sent to demand the surrender of the city. Raymond by the advice of his council refused ; if the city fell back into Greek hands, it would soon be lost to Christendom as had so often happened before. The approach of winter compelled the Emperor to retire to Cilicia, whence he sent messengers to Fulk announcing his intention to visit the Holy City on a pilgrimage. What might have happened next year is uncertain ; but fortunately for the Latins a hunting accident caused John's death in April, 1143, and leader of repute, and left a history of his own times unfinished. Anna took up her pen to complete the work thus broken short. The novel is, of course, wrong in representing her as reading her history aloud to Alexius and her husband in 1096-7. She was then probably a child of ten ; certainly she was not over seventeen years of age.

Manuel his son and successor for the time abandoned his father's projects in Syria.

A few words will suffice to sketch the later fortunes of Raymond. Manuel did not long leave him unmolested, and compelled him somewhat reluctantly to visit Constantinople and renew his oath of allegiance. Afterwards Raymond played a prominent part in the Second Crusade, to the failure of which his folly or vices in some degree contributed. In June, 1149, whilst on an expedition for the relief of Enneb near Hazart, he was induced against his better judgment to pitch his camp in a marshy spot shut in by hills. His fears were justified, for the Turks surrounded the Frankish camp that night and Raymond himself was slain. Of all the princes in the East none left a more illustrious name than he. A Greek legend tells how, when he visited the Temple at Jerusalem in disguise, his mighty stature and warlike bearing revealed him to the priests. Long years after his death an English monk, who had once served in his army told William of Newburgh that the Turks dreaded Raymond as equal to two hundred of their own soldiers. By his death Antioch was left to the rule of his widow Constance and her little son Bohemond III.

Within the strict limits of his own kingdom, the chief trouble of Fulk's reign was a domestic one. Hugh II., Count of Jaffa, had married Emelota, the niece of the Patriarch Arnulf, and widow of Eustace Grener. He thus became one of the greatest nobles of the kingdom, whilst his comely person, high birth, and military vigour left him without a peer in the

realm. People whispered that he was paying too much attention to the queen; others in jealousy accused him of harbouring rebellious projects against the king. At length his own step-son, Walter, Lord of Cæsarea, accused him of high treason in the royal court. Hugh challenged his accuser to single combat, but before the day came fled for refuge to Jaffa. This conduct was taken as a proof of guilt, and the court condemned him in his absence. Hugh in indignation took ship for Ascalon, and demanded



SEAL OF HUGH, COUNT OF JAFFA.

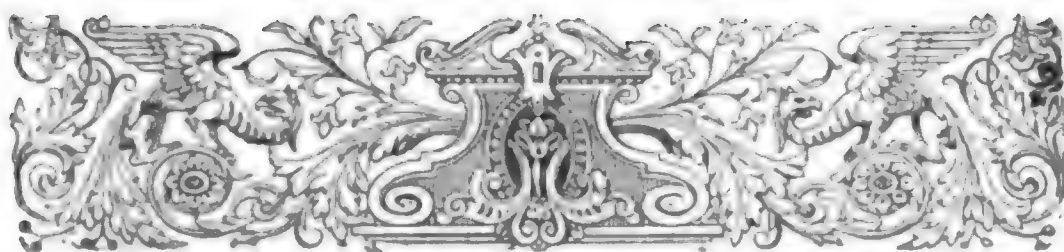
help from the Egyptians against his lord. Heartened by such an alliance the men of Ascalon renewed their predatory raids, whilst Fulk prepared to besiege Jaffa, and many of Hugh's vassals, Balian of Ibelin among them, threw off their allegiance to the count. However the Patriarch William soon made peace; Hugh was to submit to three years' exile, but before he could leave the kingdom he was stabbed whilst playing dice outside an inn in Jerusalem (1132 A.D.). Rumour at once declared that his assailant had been

suborned by the king. Fulk to clear himself had the unhappy wretch ruthlessly tortured but to no purpose. Hugh recovered, and going over-sea died in Apulia. This was not the only scandal in which the queen was concerned ; but Fulk was at length reconciled to her, and lived on such friendly terms with her as to be accused of uxoriousness.

The course of events on his eastern border increased Fulk's power by making him a patron instead of an enemy of Damascus. The famous Ismailian Bahram had so won the favour of Tughtakin, that the atabek entrusted him with the strong fortress of Banias or Cæsarea Philippi. There he was succeeded by his adherent Ismail, whilst on Tughtakin's death an Ismailian vizir became all-powerful at Damascus under his (Tughtakin's) son Buri. The heretical vizir, hating his fellow countrymen, offered to betray Damascus to the Franks ; but the plot was discovered, the traitor beheaded, and six thousand of his supporters massacred in Damascus alone (September, 1129). Ismail in wrath or terror surrendered Banias to the Franks and took refuge in Jerusalem. Three years later, when Fulk was in the thick of his contest with Hugh of Jaffa, Shams-e'l-Muluk, son of Buri, and atabek of Damascus, recovered the fortress. But the atabek was a weak and effeminate ruler, who offended his subjects by offering to surrender the city to Zangi. The prince's mother then had her son murdered, and when Zangi appeared before Damascus he was repulsed by one of Tughtakin's Mamluks called Anar. Anar became vizir for another of Buri's sons,

and when in 1139 Zangi again pressed Damascus hard, he turned in despair to the Franks, promising in return for their aid to help them to recover Banias. The bribe took, and Zangi, fearing to meet the double attack, withdrew. Anar then joined the Franks in besieging Banias in May, 1140. Timber was brought from Damascus, and before long a huge siege castle was erected, so lofty that in the chronicler's quaint words "the folk of Banias seemed to fight with angels rather than with men." The siege was not, however, ended till Anar's envoys found their way within the walls, and induced the emir to surrender by the promise of a pension at Damascus. Banias was restored to its old lord, Renier Brus, and was made the see of a Latin bishop.

Fulk died on November 13, 1143. He had spent the autumn at Acre, where one day as he rode in the country his followers started a hare. The king joined in the sport, seized a lance, and rushed in pursuit. His horse stumbled, and as Fulk lay on the ground the heavy saddle struck him on the head. He was carried back to Acre, where he lingered for three days and then died. Fulk was buried in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, on the right hand near the entrance. His death caused great mourning—the more so perhaps since his two sons were but children—Baldwin, aged thirteen, and Amalric, aged seven.



XIII.

ZANGI AND THE FALL OF EDESSA.

(1130-1149.)

"A cry that shivered to the tingling stars."

TENNYSON.

FULK had been a successful ruler of his little kingdom, and had well maintained it if he had not indeed extended its power. Yet his reign had witnessed a slow though momentous change that was pregnant with disaster for the Franks. One by one the Mohammedan lords on the Orontes and Euphrates had acknowledged the supremacy of the Viceroy at Mosul, and abandoned their mutual discords. This unification of the power of the Mussulmans, which was the first step towards stemming the tide of Latin conquest, was mainly the work of one man, Zangi, the atabek of Mosul.

Imad-ed-din Zangi was the son of a favourite counsellor of Malek Shah, who became lord of Aleppo, and fell fighting for his master's son. Zangi was but ten years old at his father's death,

and fought his first campaigns against the Franks in the service of Maudud, with whom he was present at the great battle near Tiberias, when he rode up to the very gate of the city and struck it with his lance. Afterwards he entered the service of Mahmud, who made him his agent at Bagdad and Irak, and on the death of El-Borsoki promoted him to be governor of Mosul (1127 A.D.).

At this time the Mohammedans were in the very depths of despair. "The Franks," says an Arabic writer, "were spread far and wide ; their troops were numerous and their hands extended as if to seize all Islam. Day after day their raids followed one another ; through these they did the Mussulmans much mischief, smiting them with desolation and ruin. Thus was the happy star of the Mussulmans darkened, the sky of their puissance cloven in twain, and the sun of their prosperity dimmed." . . . "The Frankish possessions stretched from Mardin and Chabakhtân to El-Arish on the Egyptian frontier, with hardly a break, except for a few strong cities, such as Aleppo, Emesa, Hamah, and Damascus. Their incursions were pushed as far as Diar-bekr, and the district round Amida ; they spared neither those who believed in the unity of God nor those who denied it. From Upper Mesopotamia to Nisibis and Ras Ain they robbed the folk of money and of goods ; at Harran they weighed down the inhabitants with scorn and oppression. In their misery men longed for death. Commerce was interrupted, and the roads to Damascus save that which passed by Rakka and the desert left

deserted. Even those towns not actually conquered had to pay tribute in return for their freedom. Frankish agents visited Damascus itself, passed the slave markets in review, and set free all Christian captives from Asia Minor, Armenia, and elsewhere." It was Zangi's destiny to change all this ; to inspire his people with courage ; to lead them to their first successes, and thus to pave the way for his son's conquest of Egypt, and for his third successor's conquest of Jerusalem. To Mohammedans of a later generation it seemed as though Zangi were God's special servant chosen by Him to accomplish the protection of His people.

Zangi's first conquests were against his Mohammedan rivals ; for he could not attack the Franks till he had vindicated the authority of Mosul over the lands east of the Euphrates. After establishing himself firmly in Mosul he captured first Jezirat - ibn - Omar, and then Nisibis and Sinjar. After this he determined to secure his position on the Orontes, and turned his attention towards Aleppo.

At this time Aleppo was so weak that its inhabitants paid half their revenue to the Franks down to a mill hardly twenty paces from the town. Zangi entered on possession of Aleppo in June, 1128, next year he took Hamah, and in 1130 began his warfare with the Franks by the conquest of Athareb, a frontier fortress which, says Ibn El-Athir, "held the Mohammedans as it were by the throat." According to the later legend when King Baldwin heard of the siege he called his council together. Some thought-



he had to contend against a rival Dubais, who sought to become Emir of Mosul. Two years later the disputed succession to the sultanate involved him in a series of conflicts which occupied most of his time for twelve years to come. In 1133 he was besieged for three months in Mosul, and it was not till 1143 that he finally made his peace with Mahmud's brother Masud.

By that time Zangi was the most powerful chief in Islam. After many failures he had made himself supreme on the Tigris, whilst as lord of the Orontes, he was ready to take the field against the Franks. The course of events soon gave him a favourable opportunity for the great work which he had so long contemplated—the recovery of Edessa.

Zangi's greatest opponent had been Joscelin de Courtenay, Count of Edessa, a kinsman of Baldwin du Bourg, who had endowed him with the rich fief of Tell-basher. Afterwards, for some offence, he was deprived of his lordship, but in 1118 Baldwin gave him back his old fief, and made him Count of Edessa also. From this moment his life was one of restless activity, his ravages extended southwards to Aleppo and Manbij; and eastwards as far as Nisibis, Amida, and Rakka. His name became a terror in Mohammedan lands, so that an Arabic writer calls him, "A Satan among the infidels." After a life of war and turmoil he lost his life as a warrior should in warfare. As he lay on his sick-bed he learnt that the Sultan of Iconium was besieging Cresson.¹ His

¹ Now Keçoun in the Taurus, to the east of Marash, and near the modern Behesni.

son was too cowardly or too sluggish to venture out against so vast a host, and Joscelin, angered at such pusillanimity, had himself carried to the war on a litter. The Sultan retreated at the rumour of his coming; the dying count returned thanks to heaven for having made him a terror to the infidel even in the gates of death. This was about 1131; the count was succeeded by his son, Joscelin II., a warrior of whom even Christian writers have but little good to say. Joscelin II. had something of his father's valour, but was given to wantonness and luxury, and though capable of vigorous action at times, preferred a life of ease to one of war. So he abandoned the hardships of Edessa for the comfort and pleasure of Tell-basher. The other Latin warriors followed his example, and Edessa was left to the unwarlike Armenians, and a few Latin merchants. The town was strongly fortified, but for security its peaceful inhabitants trusted to ill-paid mercenaries. "Thus," says William of Tyre, "Joscelin lost the whole region his father had ruled so well."

The defenceless state of Edessa gave Zangi his opportunity. After a siege of twenty-eight days, the town was captured on December 14, 1144. A promiscuous slaughter ensued, which raged till Zangi gave orders to sheath the sword. But even then he spared the Armenians only; all the Frank prisoners were butchered before Zangi's eyes, and their wives and children carried into captivity. The citadel held out for a few days, till want of water forced it to surrender. A garrison was placed in the conquered town, and Zangi passed on to capture

the other Frankish towns of Upper Mesopotamia.

Zangi did not live to reap the fruits of his great conquest. For two years later, in September, 1146, as he was besieging Jaber, some of his own Mamluks stabbed him while he lay asleep in his tent. One who was there told the father of Ibn El-Athir how he entered the tent and found his lord still alive. "On catching sight of me he fancied I was come to give the last blow, and lifted his forefinger as if to beg for mercy. As for me I stopped short, crying out, 'Oh, my master, who has done this?' He had no strength to answer, and at that very moment he breathed his last." Of Zangi's three sons, Nur-ed-din succeeded him at Aleppo, and Sayf-ed-din at Mosul.

Zangi's conquests paved the way for the future successes of Nur-ed-din and Saladin. He was the first Mussulman chief to win any permanent success against the Franks; and under his rule the Orontes valley became united against the invader. The contrast between the country as he found it, and as he left it, cannot be better stated than in the words of one who himself remembered the misery of the days before his coming. Ibn El-Athir's father had seen Mosul in ruins so that a traveller might stand in the centre of the town without seeing a single occupied house; under Zangi it became one of the most prosperous of Mohammedan towns. Zangi had reduced the Ortokid¹ princes to his rule, established

¹ The descendants of Ortok (*see* p. 21), who had established themselves at Hisn Keifa, Mardin, and other places in Upper Mesopotamia.

order at Aleppo, and made his authority paramount at Hamah, Emesa, and even at Damascus. He had taken many Frankish strongholds; last of all he had made the conquest of conquests when he wrested Edessa, "the eye of Upper Mesopotamia," from the invader. The Franks, who, at his accession, took tribute from Aleppo, and ravaged as far as Mardin and Nisibis, were driven back, and forced to act on the defensive, while prosperity once more began to smile upon the Mohammedans.

There were many noble features in Zangi's character; he was a valiant soldier, an able general, and a wise statesman; his worst fault was a tendency to trickery and falsehood. As a ruler his subjects marvelled at his care for all matters, great or small, and the untiring activity, which seemed to make him know things almost before they happened. To his subordinates he was a severe disciplinarian: "There must be but one tyrant in my lands," he used to say. He was indeed feared with a mortal terror: once he found a boatman sleeping at his post, the man awoke from his slumbers to meet the gaze of the atabek, and the sight so overcame him that he fell down dead.

The immediate result of Zangi's great conquest was to rouse the princes of the West to undertake the Second Crusade. The story of that enterprise will be told in another place, but the later fortunes of Count Joscelin and of Edessa form the fitting sequel to the events just described.

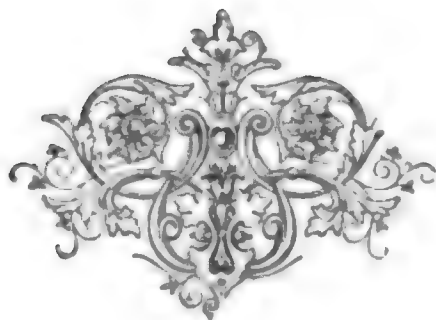
In November, 1146, at the invitation of the Armenians of Edessa, Count Joscelin made a night

attack whilst the Turkish garrison slept. The city was taken with little difficulty, but the citadel held out till Nur-ed-din came to their assistance. Joscelin then determined on retreat, and the citizens, rather than face the vengeance of Nur-ed-din, resolved to share his fortunes. As they filed through the gates the Turks from the citadel fell upon them in the rear, whilst Nur-ed-din's army barred all progress in front. The slaughter was terrible ; only those Armenians escaped whose bodily vigour or swift steeds enabled them to keep up with the Frankish host. Among the slain was Baldwin of Marash, one of the few Frankish chiefs, who had won the love of their Armenian subjects ; Joscelin himself escaped to Samosata.

Somewhat later, probably towards the end of 1149, during a fresh attempt on Edessa, Joscelin fell into the hands of Nur-ed-din's viceroy at Aleppo. Nur-ed-din had a deadly grudge against the count, who had sent the armour of Nur-ed-din's squire to Masud of Iconium, hinting that this gift should soon be followed by that of the atabek himself. By Nur-ed-din's orders Joscelin was blinded, and left to languish in a dungeon at Aleppo, till his death nine years later.

Joscelin's captivity was speedily followed by the loss of all that remained of his once prosperous county. In the expressive words of William of Tyre, Edessa was ground between the upper and nether millstone. Masud of Iconium had taken Marash in September, 1149, and made further conquests during the next few years. By a bargain

more nominal than real, the Franks handed over their last possessions in Edessa to the Grecks, Joscelin's wife and children taking refuge at Antioch. It was not long before the Greeks lost these acquisitions to Nur-ed-din, and in 1154 that prince put the crown to his father's work by the capture of Damascus. Henceforth Aleppo and Damascus were subject to one lord, and the first effectual step towards the conquest of the Latin kingdom was accomplished.





XIV.

THE SECOND CRUSADE.

(1146-1149.)

“Poi seguitai lo 'mperador Currado,
Ed ei mi cinse della sua milizia
Tanto per bene oprar gli vienni a grado.”
DANTE, *Paradiso*, xv.

(“Then I followed the Emperor Conrad, and he belted me of his soldiery, so high in his favour did I come by good works.”)

THE fall of Edessa was a keen reproach to the princes of the West, who, as Otto of Freisingen complains, were wasting their strength in internecine slaughter whilst the very existence of the Holy Land was threatened by the pagans. The evil tidings were brought by some Armenian bishops to Pope Eugenius at Viterbo; but though his letters to Louis VII. and the nobles of France, and his renewal of the old privileges granted to Crusaders by Urban II. had their due effect, the eloquence of the great St. Bernard of Clairvaux was by far the most potent agent in bringing about the Second Crusade.

Bernard was now in the very height of his fame, being about fifty-four years old. He had long taken a special interest in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and had corresponded with Queen Melisend. His uncle was a Knight Templar, and eventually Grand Master of that order, for which Bernard himself drew up a code of rules. The third son of a Burgundian noble, he had devoted himself from boyhood to holy living and study, stedfastly resisting all the efforts of his elder brothers to divert his mind to secular pursuits. More than this, he induced his haughty brothers one after another to forsake the world, so that at last the youngest, Nivard, was left alone in his father's house. His eldest brother, Guido, saw the lad playing with his comrades, and thinking sadly of an almost extinct house, bade him remember that he was now sole heir of their father's lands. "Heaven for you, and earth for me," cried Nivard, "that is not a fair division ;" and a little later he too followed his brothers' example. At twenty-three Bernard became a monk at Citeaux under Stephen Harding, who presently made him abbot of the newly founded monastery of Clairvaux. His fame for sanctity and learning so increased that when Innocent and Anacletus were contending for the Papacy it was Bernard's influence that decided the French prelates in favour of the former claimant. Nor was he less eminent in the intellectual than in the practical world ; he refuted the heresies of Abelard and of Gilbert de la Porrée, and reformed the still more dangerous Henrician apostacy in Southern France. With his marvellous eloquence, strong practical turn

of mind, and religious enthusiasm he was the very man to be the apostle of a new Crusade.

The weight of Bernard's influence enrolled in the service of the Cross two princes of the first rank—Louis VII. of France and Conrad III. of Germany. Louis was now about twenty-five years old. With



SEAL OF LOUIS VII.

his father, Louis the Fat, the house of Capet had begun to show some signs of real kingly power, and by his own recent marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine the young Louis had brought that important duchy under the direct rule of the French king. Louis VII., like his great grandson Louis IX., was

a man of pious disposition. Two considerations of religion quickened him to undertake the Crusade : first, his brotherly anxiety to perform the pilgrimage vowed by his dead brother Philip ; secondly, his remorse for his sacrilege at Vitry, where, during the war with Theobald of Champagne, he had set fire to the church and so caused the death of thirteen hundred unoffending people.

Conrad III. was the grandson of Henry IV. and nephew of Henry V. He was in Palestine when his uncle died in 1125, and on his return found the throne occupied by Lothair, Duke of Saxony. With his brother Frederic, Duke of Swabia, he rebelled against the new king ; but after a time a reconciliation was effected by Bernard of Clairvaux. In 1138 he succeeded to the throne of Germany ; but his reign was much troubled by a feud between Leopold of Austria and Welf of Bavaria ; and at the very moment when he promised to join in the Second Crusade he was surrounded by difficulties in Bavaria, Poland, Hungary, and Lorraine.

In the spring of 1146 a great council was held at Vézelay, where Louis took the cross from Bernard's hands, and as there was no room within the fortress showed himself to the people, with the cross upon his breast, from a wooden tower erected in the plain outside. Bernard, by his oratory, so moved his hearers, that he had to tear up his own robes in order to satisfy their demand for crosses. From Vézelay Bernard passed into Germany, preaching as he went ; miracles dogged his steps ; for the blind saw, the deaf heard, and the lame walked when Bernard

signed them with the Holy Cross. At Christmas he came to Spires where the king was holding his mid-winter council. Conrad had declared that he had no mind for the Holy War; but in a sermon on Christmas-day Bernard boldly renewed his call. In another sermon two days later he pictured the great king standing before the judgment-seat of Christ, Who asked: "Oh, man, how have *I* failed in ought of my duty towards *thee*?" Then as Bernard dwelt on Conrad's riches and power, the king at last burst into tears and declared himself ready to do the Lord's service wherever the Lord should call him. Hardly had Conrad spoken when the whole concourse took up the cry of "Praise to God." Bernard was not the man to lose his opportunity. He signed the king upon the spot, and taking down a banner from above the altar, entrusted it to Conrad to carry in the army of God.

Louis meantime had made great preparations, and after some negotiations with Roger of Sicily, had decided to journey by land, much to that prince's disgust. At Whitsuntide, 1147, the Pope gave the pious king his pilgrim scrip, and placed in his hands the famous banner of St. Denys, "under whose protection the kings of France were always victorious." The French mustered at Metz, where they were joined by the English and Normans under Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux. Louis made an elaborate code for the governance of his host, as to which Odo of Deuil remarks, "I will not set it down on paper since it was not kept."

Conrad, with whom went his nephew Frederick,

the future emperor, had started from Ratisbon without waiting for Louis, at the end of April, 1147. His vast army kept little or no military order, and after entering the Eastern Empire its progress was hardly more than a drunken rout. Provisions were seized without payment, and since Conrad could give no redress the Greeks retaliated by cutting off the drunken stragglers. Whilst Conrad lay encamped between Adrianople and the Byzantine capital, a sudden flood in the river Melas swept away his tents and drowned thousands of his men. Manuel offered his sympathy, and anxious to be rid of his unwelcome guests urged them to cross the Bosphorus without delay. But Conrad was bent on seeing the wonders of Constantinople, and urged on for the capital; there he encamped in the suburbs, but though the national jealousy broke into open war he did not dare to attack so strong a city. After much bickering the Crusading host at length crossed the Bosphorus, and Conrad then humbled himself so far as to beg guides of the Byzantine emperor.

The journey through Asia Minor was one long disaster. Greek and French writers alike charge Manuel with treachery; Nicetas says that he had ordered chalk to be mingled with the flour supplied to the Crusaders, and cheated them by the use of base coin; now he also stirred up the Turks against them, whilst his guides first misled and then abandoned them. The Crusaders found themselves with no alternative between famine and death, or retreat. Slowly and painfully they retraced their steps, whilst the Turkish hordes pressed close upon



their rear. Odo, as he calls to mind how the swarms of unarmed pilgrims clogged the progress of the host, laments that the Pope, when he forbade them to take dogs or falcons with them, had not ordered the weak to stay at home, and the hale to exchange their staves for bows. Conrad was himself wounded twice by arrows ; and perhaps barely one tenth of his followers found their way back to Nicæa.

Meanwhile Louis had been following close in Conrad's footsteps. Odo of Deuil, who was in Louis' company, complains that "the Germans who preceded us had disturbed everything, and on this account the Greeks fled from our army." Everywhere there were tokens of Greek distrust ; the city gates were closed, and provisions let down from the walls by ropes, with baskets into which the purchasers had to place their price.

Louis, like Conrad, would tarry in Europe to see Constantinople. Had he been of an adventurous disposition he might have anticipated the Fourth Crusade. For Roger of Sicily was at war with Manuel, and there were not wanting French nobles to counsel immediate war with the Emperor, who was said to have concluded a twelve years' peace with the Turks. "The walls of the city," urged the Bishop of Langres, "are very weak ; the people are a feeble folk ; the Emperor has never scrupled to make war upon the Christian princes of Antioch ; were Constantinople once fallen there would be little need for further activity." Louis, however, refused such treacherous advice and made friends with Manuel. The two princes, says Odo, "became as brothers," and

Manuel acted as Louis' guide when he visited the churches of Constantinople.

But when at last the Bosphorus was crossed, difficulties arose. Manuel would furnish no guides till Louis and his barons did him homage; the French king conceded the point, and then started for Nicæa. Here he heard of Conrad's disaster, and, grieving for his misfortune as though it were his own, went out to meet the Emperor. The combined armies agreed to bear one another company along the coast; after a toilsome march they reached Ephesus, where messengers from Manuel overtook them with the news that the Turks were gathering to oppose their progress.

This news determined Conrad to return and winter at Constantinople. Louis, however, continued his march, and, after spending Christmas in the valley of Decervion, pushed on over the snow-covered hills, and across the swollen stream towards Laodicea. The passage of the Mæander was triumphantly forced, and the French marched through Laodicea in high spirits. But only two days beyond that town the Crusaders met with their greatest disaster. A precipitous range of hills, "whose summit appeared to touch the heavens, whilst the torrent at its base seemed to descend to hell," barred their way. By a fatal error the van, under Geoffrey de Rancogne and Amadeus of Savoy, the king's uncle, instead of halting on the ridge, descended to pitch their tents on the southern slope. The Turks, and even Greeks, who thronged the heights above, sent down a hail of arrows, which swept the sumpter-horses into the

abyss below. The pass was choked by an unarmed crowd, which, cut off in front and in the rear, was mercilessly massacred. Louis, with a noble disregard for his own life, strove to come to their assistance ; but not having proposed to cross the pass till next day, he had only a few nobles with him, and was hopelessly outnumbered. "I," says Odo, "who, being a monk, could do nothing but call upon the Lord, and urge others to fight, was sent to carry this news to the camp." Geoffrey in vain endeavoured to return, whilst Louis, hampered with the crowd of panic-stricken pilgrims, could do nothing in the rocky way, where the heavy horses and long lances of his knights were of no avail. From the safe security of the hills the Turks still poured down the deadly storm of stones and trunks of trees. Louis himself only saved his life by seizing on to the roots of a tree, and so scaling the summit of a rock. There he kept his assailants at bay, until, not knowing who he was, they drew off at dusk to seek an easier prey.

Next morning a doleful spectacle appeared. It seemed the death-blow of the whole Crusade : "The flower of France had withered away before it could ripen into fruit at Damascus." The loss of baggage reduced many of the rich men to poverty, and the clamour against Geoffrey de Rancogne rose to such a height that he would have been hanged had not the king's uncle shared his fault. Louis did what he could to reorganise his army, and, resuming the march, reached Attaleia on February 2nd.

From Attaleia Louis made his way to Antioch by sea ; before starting he agreed with the Greek

governor for the safe conduct of the mass of the pilgrims by land to Tarsus. Needless to say, the Greeks betrayed their trust. The very Turks proved kinder, for, taking pity on the sufferings of the Crusaders, they gave them bread to eat. "Many of the Christians forsook their religion and went over to the Turks. Oh! kindness, more cruel than Greek treachery, for giving bread they stole the true faith." . . . "God," continues Odo, "may pardon the German Emperor, through whose counsel we encountered such misfortune, but how shall He spare the Greeks, whose cruel craft slew so many in either army?"

It was early in March, 1148, that Louis reached Antioch, where Raymond, his wife's uncle, welcomed him kindly, hoping that the French Crusaders would help him to conquer Aleppo and Cæsarea. Louis was, however, anxious to reach Jerusalem, and refused the proposal, which was practicable enough, as well as one of similar tenour from his own cousin, the other Raymond of Tripoli.

Conrad meantime had reached Acre by sea, and after a great council had been held it was decided to march against Damascus. From the place of muster at Tiberias the host, with the Holy Cross at its head, marched across Jordan; first went the barons of the land under King Baldwin, next the French, and last the Germans. The mud wall that surrounded the famous gardens of Damascus offered no bar to the advance of such an army. But the thick orchards with their narrow footpaths, and their growth of fruit and herbage, formed a far better protection to the

city. Everywhere through the length and breadth of this vast stretch of green and trees the ambushed Saracens opposed the invaders' progress ; or penned up in lofty buildings, which here and there rose up like stone islands out of a sea of green, shot down their arrows from above. At last, after long fighting, the woods were cleared, and the Christians, wearied out with heat and thirst, made for the river, only to find a fresh army drawn up against them. "Why do we not advance," cried Conrad from the rear, and learning the cause, burst through the French battalions to the van. There, in true Teutonic fashion, he and his knights leapt off their war-horses, and, closing up behind their shield-wall, soon swept back the enemy within the city. "The siege now began in earnest, and would have been brought to a successful issue," says William of Tyre, "had it not been for the greed of the great princes, who commenced negotiations with the citizens." At the advice of traitors the camp was shifted to the south-west, where, so ran the rumour, the wall was too weak to withstand the feeblest onset. But here the Crusaders found a more deadly enemy than strong fortifications ; for in their new position they were cut off from the river, and deprived of the orchard fruits ; and through lack of food and leadership despair fell upon the host, until men began to talk of retreat. There was jealousy, likewise, between the Syrian Franks and their Western allies, and out of this too fertile source of evil Anar, the Vizir of Damascus, was not slow to reap profit for himself. He pointed out to the former the folly of helping their brethren to seize Damascus, the cap-

ture of which would be but the prelude to the seizing of Jerusalem also. His arguments, supported as they doubtless were with bribes, brought about the abandonment of the siege. A proposal to besiege Ascalon was also defeated by the jealousy of the Syrian Franks, and after a while Conrad sailed home in disgust.

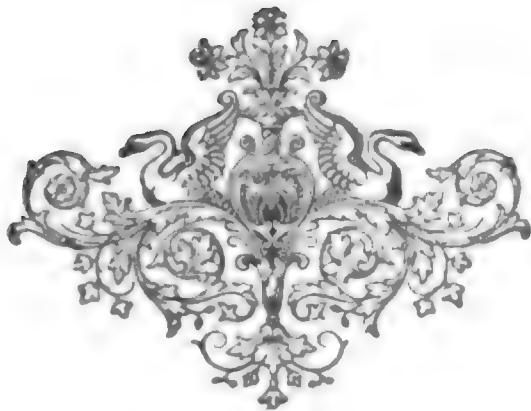
Louis stayed in Palestine till Easter, 1149, and then he too went home by sea. Despite his own misfortunes he never lost his interest in his Eastern brethren. Time after time the later kings of Jerusalem appealed to him for aid. In his latter years he sent Geoffrey Fulcher, the Templar, to visit the Holy Places on his behalf; with one letter Geoffrey sends home the royal ring with which he had in the king's name touched each sacred shrine. In 1151, after news reached France of the death of Raymond of Antioch, Louis' great minister, Suger, though he had urgently opposed the king's own Crusade, would have organised another on his own account had not death cut him off in the midst of his plans. Next year Louis divorced his wife Eleanor, at too long an interval for us to suppose that his action was in reality, as alleged, for her misconduct on the Crusade. Yet Eleanor was beyond all doubt in some degree concerned in the intrigues which led to the final failure of the expedition. Scandal connected her name with that of her uncle, Raymond of Antioch, and though that prince may have only sought to find through her influence some means for diverting the Crusading host to his own aggrandisement, his conduct certainly excited the jealousy of

Louis. Raymond's disappointment, whether in love or in war, and Louis' suspicion, were not unimportant factors in the ruin of the expedition. Other tales of a more fabulous character make Eleanor ride, like another Penthesilea, at the head of a band of Amazon ladies, and represent her as the heroine of amours with Saladin, then a mere boy of thirteen.

The miserable termination of the Second Crusade excited in Western Europe a feeling of humiliation and wrath, which vented itself on Bernard as the prime mover in the enterprise. To Bernard himself the disaster came as the bitterest of blows. "We have fallen on evil days," he writes, "in which the Lord, provoked by our sins, has judged the world, with justice indeed, but not with His wonted mercy. . . . The sons of the Church have been overthrown in the desert, slain with the sword, or destroyed by famine. We promised good things, and behold disorder! The judgments of the Lord are righteous, but this one is an abyss so deep that I must call him blessed who is not scandalised therein."

Disastrous as the Second Crusade was for the fortunes and fame of those who had taken the chief part in its inception and performance, it was of little more service to the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. It did not materially weaken the Mohammedans, nor substantially strengthen the Syrian Franks, whilst the seeds of mutual distrust that were now sown between the latter and their Western brethren were to continue to bear bitter fruit. One episode alone serves to brighten this dark page of history. A North European fleet, chiefly composed of English, conquered Lisbon from

the Moors, and thus rendered a lasting service to Christianity. It is with pardonable pride that our English chroniclers dwell on the contrast between this achievement of a humble band of pilgrims, and the disaster which attended the great and splendid host, that had gone forth under the leadership of emperor and king to be swept away like a spider's web.





XV.

LOSS AND GAIN.

(1143-1169.)

"O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? Put up thyself into thy scabbard, rest, and be still. How can it be quiet, seeing the Lord hath given it a charge against Ashkelon, and against the sea shore?"—JEREMIAH xlvii. 6, 7.

§ 1. *Baldwin III. and Ascalon.*

ON Christmas Day, 1143, six weeks after his father's death, the youthful Baldwin III. was crowned and anointed by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. For some years the land was ruled by his mother Melisend—a woman "well-skilled in all secular matters, and so far above her sex as to be able to put her hand to great deeds."

But young as he was Baldwin soon showed signs of the warlike stock from which he had sprung, and in the second year of his reign undertook a somewhat rash and hazardous expedition across the Jordan. Anar, the Vizir of Damascus, had a quarrel with the Governor of Bostra in the Hauran, who offered to surrender the city to Baldwin. The temptation was too

great for Latin honesty to resist, and the forces of the kingdom were mustered at Tiberias. It was in vain that Anar offered to buy the invaders off, Baldwin declared that his honour was at stake, and led out his army to the plain of Medan. Here the Franks were surrounded at night by the enemy ; retreat was impossible, and with the knights at their head the army slowly made its way to Adhirah or Adratum,¹ the city of Baldwin d'Etampes. Three days later they sighted Bostra from afar, but that very night came the news that Nur-ed-din's troops had been admitted to the city. There seemed to be no course but to retreat with what speed they could. Some advised that the king at least should secure his own safety, and that of the Holy Cross, by riding off on John Goman's horse, the fleetest and strongest in the host, but this Baldwin refused as unworthy of a king.

Morning broke and showed Nur-ed-din issuing from the city at the head of a huge army, to join the Turks, who hung on the Christian rear. The retreat began, but without any fear or precipitancy in the "iron people" of the Franks. The sick and even the dead with arms in their nerveless hands were set upon camels and packhorses to give the appearance of strength where none existed. At first the Franks held their own, but when the smoke from the adjoining thickets that had been fired by the Saracens was blown in their faces by the wind, their sufferings became unendurable. "Pray for us," cried the soldiers, as they raised their blackened faces to the Holy Cross, which was borne by Robert, Archbishop of Nazareth.

¹ The modern Edra ; Bostra is now Bosrah.

Robert turned the sacred relic towards the flames, and as he did so the wind seemed to shift and carry the smoke back upon the foe. Thus the Franks obtained a respite, but they had no guide, and the way by which they were returning was unfamiliar. From this fresh strait they were again miraculously delivered; for there went before them on a white steed an unknown knight with a red banner in his hands; like an angel of the Lord he led them by easy stages to unsuspected waters, and in three days conducted them across the waste from the Cave of Roab to Gadara.

At first Baldwin and his mother ruled conjointly without any jealousy. But when the young king was grown to manhood, busy flatterers persuaded him that such dependence was unworthy. Melisend had appointed as constable of the kingdom Manasses de Herges, her father's sister's son. Manasses' haughty bearing angered the great nobles and the young king, who accordingly resolved to deprive his mother of all authority. So at Easter, 1152, Baldwin refused to let his mother share in the ceremony of his coronation at Jerusalem, and demanded one half of the kingdom for himself. After much discussion the king was assigned Tyre and Acre with the coast, his mother Jerusalem and Nablûs. But this did not content Baldwin, who soon afterwards expelled Manasses from the kingdom, seized Nablûs, and besieged his mother in Jerusalem. The citizens opened the gates to the king, and Melisend, after a few days' resistance in the Tower of David, was forced to capitulate. Nablûs was restored to her, but from this time

she led a retired life till her death on the 11th of September, 1162.

For fifty years Ascalon had been as an open sore in the side of the Franks. Now that Baldwin was master of his kingdom, he determined on a great effort for its reduction. Four years previously he had rebuilt Gaza, and put it in the hands of the Templars ; this fortress, with the previous ones at Gibelin, Ibelin, and Blanchegarde, ringed Ascalon in upon the south, the east, and the north.

For so great an enterprise all the forces of the land were called up, and on the 25th of January, 1153, the siege was began. Gerard of Sidon was stationed off the harbour with a fleet to prevent all succour from Egypt. For six months the town was besieged without effect, the defenders keeping careful guard, and by night hanging glazed lamps along the walls that gave light as in the day, and prevented any attack under cover of the dark. When Easter brought its usual complement of pilgrims, Baldwin, by an arbitrary exercise of his kingly power, called up all, pilgrims and sailors alike, from the ports, and forbade any vessels to sail for Europe. The ships themselves he bought, and of their timbers constructed wooden castles and the various warlike engines of mediæval warfare.

After a time a fleet was sent from Egypt to the succour of the town. Gerard of Sidon fled in terror from his post, whilst the townsfolk gathered fresh courage, and would have burnt the wooden castle near the eastern gate, had not a sudden wind driven the flames back upon the city wall. Then was their

device turned to their own destruction, for the fire secured such a hold that it could not be subdued. At daybreak the sound of a mighty crash roused the sleeping host to discover that a great part of the wall had fallen. The Templars, headed by their master, Bernard de Tremelay, eager to secure the city for themselves, rushed recklessly into the breach. There refusing all other help, they were cut off from retreat, and the master with forty of his knights fell victims to their greed or to their valour. The citizens then repaired the breach by a temporary defence, whilst the Christians turned back to their tents almost ready to abandon the siege. Baldwin himself was in favour of retreat, but at last the other party, led by the patriarch and Raymond, Master of the Hospitallers, prevailed. Once more the trumpets sounded to arms, and after a terrible fight that lasted all day the Christians were victorious. The men of Ascalon now sued for terms, and on the 12th of August were suffered to depart for Egypt with their wives, their children, and their goods. The Christians, with the Holy Cross at their head, then entered Ascalon, which was bestowed on the king's brother, Amalric, who from this time appears in charters as the Count of Ascalon.

Four years later, in 1157, the arrival of the veteran Crusader, Theodoric of Flanders, with his wife Sibylla, the king's half-sister, encouraged Baldwin to an enterprise in the north. The moment was propitious, for Nur-ed-din lay sick, as it seemed, unto death, but the usual jealousies among the leaders destroyed the opportunity. Siege was laid to Cæsarea on the

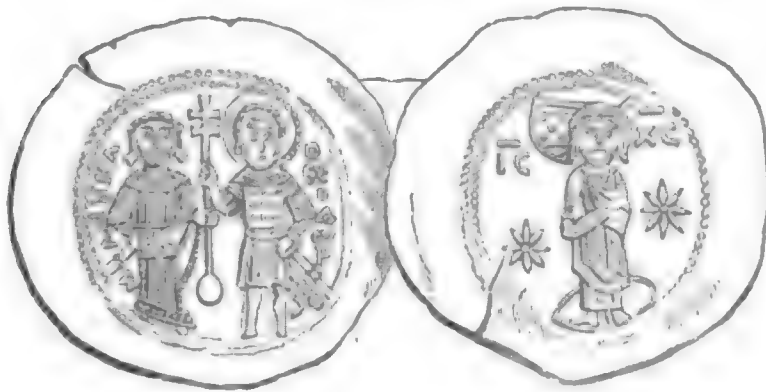
Orontes, a fortress which Nur-ed-din had lately captured from its lord a cousin of the famous Saracen warrior and poet, Ossama, whose autobiography has been recently and strangely recovered. The Crusaders soon forced their way into the town, and might easily have mastered the citadel had not quarrels broken out in their ranks.¹ Baldwin, supported by the great lords, designed the city for Theodoric of Flanders; but Reginald of Châtillon, a French adventurer, whom Constance of Antioch had taken for her second husband, claimed it as part of his principality, and declared that whoever possessed it must do homage to him. This was more than the proud spirit of the Flemish count could bear: he had never done homage save to kings. At last, unable to agree among themselves, they broke up the siege and returned to Antioch. Early next year the Crusaders took Harenc, which was entrusted to Reginald of St. Valery. Theodoric and Baldwin then went south, and after some further achievements Theodoric returned home, reaching Arras in August, 1159.

In the previous year Baldwin, desirous to secure a closer alliance with Constantinople, had sent envoys to beg a member of the Imperial family for his bride. Manuel consented, and despatched his niece Theodora, a girl of thirteen, with a splendid dowry of one hundred thousand besants, not to speak of bridal gifts worth forty thousand more. Theodora reached Tyre in September, 1159, and a few days

¹ It is doubtful whether the siege was about Christmas, 1157 or 1158; but the latter date seems more probable.

later was crowned at Jerusalem. Shortly afterwards Manuel returned the compliment by asking for a French bride. His envoys rejected Melisend, the sister of Raymond of Tripoli, in favour of the superior beauty of Maria of Antioch. The rejection of his sister so enraged Raymond that he turned the twelve galleys, which he had prepared for his sister's escort, into pirate barks, and laid waste the mainland and islands of the Empire, sparing neither age nor sex.

In the summer of 1159 Manuel appeared with a



COIN OF MANUEL.

vast army in Cilicia. He came so suddenly that Thoros, the Armenian prince, could barely escape from Tarsus to the mountains. Reginald, who had been scheming with Thoros against the Greeks, presented himself humbly at Mamistra. Barefooted and bare-armed, with a rope round his neck, he fell prostrate before his offended lord, and so "turned the glory of the Latins into shame." Manuel was pleased to be reconciled, and proceeded towards Syria. Near Antioch he met Baldwin, who also showed due humility, sitting on a lowly seat beside the Imperial

throne. Manuel then entered Antioch in triumph, Reginald holding his horse's bridle, and Baldwin, stripped of all regal ornaments, riding at his side. The presence of so enormous an army alarmed Nur-ed-din, who promised to release all his Christian captives. "On these conditions," says the Greek historian, "the Emperor stayed his hand;" but the forbearance was more probably dictated by the news of a conspiracy at Constantinople.

After Manuel's departure, Nur-ed-din took Marash and Cresson from Kilij Arslan. Baldwin seized the opportunity to ravage the territory of Damascus, but Saladin's father, Ayub, who was governor of the city, bought him off by a bribe of four thousand besants. About the same time (November 23, 1161), Reginald of Antioch fell into an ambushade near Cresson, and was carried prisoner to Aleppo. Nur-ed-din then extended his ravages to Tripoli and Harenc, and was only checked from going further by the approach of Baldwin.

Baldwin came to Antioch in the autumn of 1162. According to the custom of the time, he took some pills from Barek, the Count of Tripoli's doctor, to fortify his constitution against the winter. A feverish dysentery ensued, and getting no better, he proceeded first to Tripoli, and then to Beyrout, where he died, February 10, 1163, in the thirty-third year of his age. His body was carried to Jerusalem and buried in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with his ancestors. Wherever the corpse was brought, says William of Tyre, there was mourning such as was never shown for any prince in history. The very

dwellers in the hills came down to share in the funeral procession as it slowly wound on its eight days' march from Beyrout to Jerusalem. Even the Saracens sympathised, and Nur-ed-din, when advised to seize the opportunity for an inroad, refused with noble scorn: "We ought to pity this people's righteous sorrow, for they have lost a prince whose like is not now left in the world."

Baldwin was tall of stature and largely built, comely featured and of a florid complexion, with prominent eyes, yellowish hair, and a somewhat full beard. William of Tyre praises him for his attention to the church services, but admits that before his marriage he had been licentious. He had many of the qualities most useful for a ruler. He was affable to all men, and would jest with his friends in public; more than this, he could bear a joke at his own expense. He was kind-hearted and generous, but somewhat careless as to how he supplied his pecuniary needs. He had a quick intellect and a good memory. His knowledge of the customary law of his realm astonished his own nobles, who came to him for advice on legal difficulties. Above all else he was *commode litteratus*, by which we may infer that he knew Latin. What time he could spare from public business he used to devote to reading. History was his favourite study; he delighted to read about the deeds of ancient kings, and loved to converse with learned clerks and wise laymen. Both nobles and people loved him; for he was patient in hardships, and a wary leader in war, who never lost his presence of mind even in the most adverse circumstances.

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§ 2. *The Struggle for Egypt.*

The history of Egypt during the twelfth century is nothing but a record of waning power and bloodshed. The Caliph was overshadowed by the vizir, whose authority was tempered by assassination or rebellion. In 1154, Abbas, the vizir, and his son, Nasr-ed-din, at the instigation of the poet-statesman Ossama, murdered their master, and made his infant son Caliph; but a speedy retribution came upon them at the hands of Es-Saleh [Talaï], Governor of Upper Egypt, and Abbas and his son were driven into the Syrian desert, where the Templars took Nasr-ed-din prisoner. The captive prince was on the point of declaring himself a Christian, when his captors, by a double act of treachery and greed, sold him to his enemy, Es-Saleh. The new vizir after a short reign of six years was stabbed by his emirs in 1161; and his son was quickly overthrown by another competitor, Shawir, the Governor of Said. Shawir found a dangerous rival in the Arab Dirgham, and was forced to take refuge with Nur-ed-din. There had thus been three vizirs in one year.

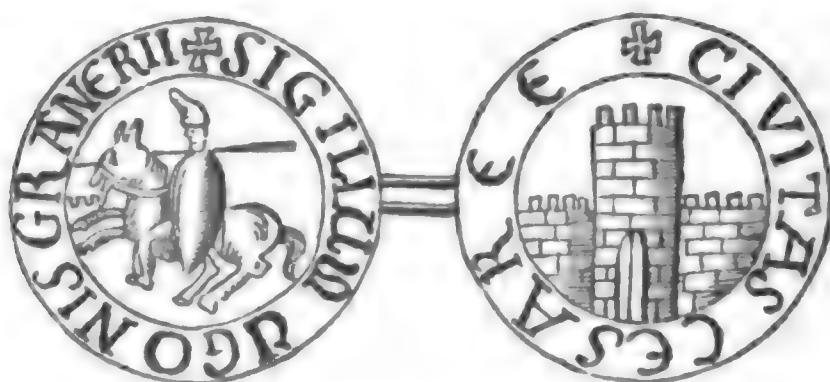
The relations of the Franks with Egypt at this time are very obscure; but there are reasons for thinking that the Caliph of Cairo paid annual tribute to Baldwin III. In September, 1163, Amalric made Dirgham's refusal to continue this payment a pretext for declaring war. Dirgham, beaten in battle, saved his land from conquest by letting in the Nile; and Amalric, unable to contend with nature, drew back into Palestine. Next year Shawir obtained from Nur-ed-

din an army under Shirkuh the Kurd. Dirgham hastened to make terms with Amalric, but before the Franks could come to his aid, Shirkuh was at Cairo and his opponent dead.

The presence of Shirkuh soon proved burdensome to Shawir, who in his turn appealed to Amalric. The Frankish king readily accepted the invitation, and besieged Shirkuh at Pelusium in July. After a three months' siege, the news of Nur-ed-din's invasion of Northern Syria made Amalric offer favourable terms, which Shirkuh, ignorant of what was taking place, accepted.

But Shirkuh, though defeated for the moment, was too enamoured with the wealth of Egypt to entirely abandon his designs; he bided his time till, in 1167, his preparations were ready, and he once more started for the Nile. But Amalric was before him, and had already compelled Shawir to renew his submission and increase the tribute, in return for the promise of protection against his dangerous foe. To make his position more sure, the king required that this bargain should be confirmed by the Caliph, for which purpose he despatched Hugh of Cæsarea and Geoffrey Fulcher, the Templar, as his ambassadors. Under the guidance of Shawir the two envoys were introduced to the palace of the Caliph. As they passed between marble columns, under golden ceilings, and over floors of rich mosaic, the rude Frank soldiers marvelled at a display such as neither Europe nor their own country could produce. Their astonished eyes gazed on marble fishponds with pellucid water, birds of strange songs and marvellous

plumage, beasts that seemed to belong rather to the world of art and dreams than that of waking life. At length, in the presence chamber, a pearl-embroidered curtain rose, and revealed the Caliph seated on a golden throne. El-Adid promised all that the envoys asked, but when desired to pledge his honour with his hand, hesitated for a moment before he proffered his gloved hand to Hugh. The rude knight blurted out: "Truth has no covering; princes when they pledge themselves should have no



SEAL OF HUGH OF CÆSAREA.

secret thoughts." The Caliph, with a forced smile, accepted the challenge and drew off his glove.

After some desultory operations and the arrival of reinforcements from Palestine, Amalric achieved a partial success, which compelled Shirkuh to retreat. The Franks overtook the Turks at Babein. Some of the emirs were for declining battle, but one turned the scale by a few stinging words, in which he bade the cowards stay at home with the women; Nur-ed-din had sent them to fight, and fight they must. The battle which ensued was indecisive; though Amalric was victorious in his part of the field, Shirkuh withdrew in safety towards Alexandria.

Amalric then determined to lay siege to this important city, the defence of which had been entrusted by Shirkuh to his nephew Saladin. Hard pressed by the Franks without, and in fear of the unfriendly citizens within, Saladin soon found it necessary to appeal to his uncle. Shirkuh himself had meantime been endeavouring, without success, to capture Cairo, which was held by Hugh of Ibelin. He was therefore ready to come to terms, and an arrangement was made for the surrender of Alexandria, and the complete evacuation of Egypt by the invading Saracens (Aug. 4, 1167). After this success, Amalric returned to Palestine; his triumph indeed seemed complete, for a Frankish guard and agent were established at Cairo, and Shawir had to pay a yearly tribute of one hundred thousand dinars.

Soon after his return, Amalric married on the 29th of August, 1167, as his second wife, Maria, a grand niece of the Emperor Manuel.¹ The Emperor, by pointing out to his ally the weakness of Egypt, and its consequent danger from Nur-ed-din, roused him to fresh thoughts of conquest. Amalric's own greed and poverty made him lend a ready ear to the temptation, and before his envoy, William of Tyre, could return from Constantinople, he had determined on a fresh invasion. Contemporary rumour alleged that Gerbert Assallit, master of the Hospital, advised this breach of the peace, in the hope of benefit to his debt-stricken order, and despite the opposition of the Templars.

¹ His first wife was Agnes, daughter of Joscelin II. of Edessa; but ecclesiastical influence compelled the king to divorce her early in his reign.

The campaign began in October, 1168 ; Pelusium was stormed and sacked on 3rd of November, and ten days later Amalric appeared before Cairo ; the Frankish fleet was brought up the Nile, and the city would have surrendered had not Amalric loitered on the march so long. Shawir had, meanwhile, appealed to Nur-ed-din, and now by false promises of money to be paid, deluded the avaricious king, until the approach of Shirkuh in December. Amalric marched back to meet his new enemy in the desert, but Shirkuh slipped by unnoticed, leaving the Franks to return home from their bootless campaign.

The withdrawal of Amalric sealed the fate of Egypt ; Shawir found his Turkish ally more dangerous than his Frank foe ; a futile conspiracy by the vizir gave Shirkuh a plausible excuse for beheading the man whom he had come to aid, and establishing himself in his place. Shirkuh held the position he had coveted so long for less than three months, and dying on March 23, 1169, was succeeded by his nephew the famous Saladin.

Meanwhile Manuel and Amalric had concerted a joint campaign for the following autumn ; a Greek fleet was to join with a Latin army in besieging Damietta. Had the design been accomplished the city must have fallen ; but the ships were becalmed, and the consequent delay gave Saladin time to regarrison Damietta. The siege was however commenced, and prosecuted with vigour if with little success ; the Greek fleet could not force the boom which blocked the river from the sea, whilst above the town the water gave easy access to reinforce-

ments; thus the numbers inside increased, till the besiegers were in greater peril than the besieged. "There crept a murmur through the people, and almost all were of one mind, that our toil was wasted, and that it would be safer to return home than to die by hunger or the sword." So orders were given to raise the siege, and the one formidable armament undertaken by the Greeks and Latins in conjunction came to a disastrous end.

William of Tyre, who was absent that year from Palestine, says that the king and nobles attributed their failure to Greek fraud. Whatever the truth of their complaints, it is certainly clear that mutual distrust prevented the allies from taking full advantage of their opportunities.

The conquest of Egypt by the lieutenant of Nur-ed-din was important for Islam, inasmuch as it led two years later to the suppression of the Fatimite caliphate, an event which was soon followed by the death of the hapless prince El-Adid. Yet more important was the fact that the wealth of the Nile was now at the disposal of the lord of Aleppo and Damascus, who from his ports of Damietta and Alexandria could attack the yearly pilgrim fleets, and thus as it were sever the main artery of the Christian kingdom. The full effects of the conquest were not, however, to be felt as yet, for Saladin was but an unruly vassal. Still the time was only deferred when the valleys of the Orontes and Nile would own but one master in fact and in name. When that day arrived no human power could well have saved the kingdom of Jerusalem from its fate.



XVI.

THE RIVAL KINGS—NUR-ED-DIN AND AMALRIC.

(1163-1174.)

“ The fierce joy that warriors feel
In foemen worthy of their steel.”
SCOTT.

ZANGI'S death had secured a respite for the kingdom of Jerusalem, through the division of his dominions, and the not unnatural jealousy of his sons. Nur-ed-din at Aleppo regarded his elder brother with a feeling of suspicion, which Sayf-ed-din's generous conduct with some difficulty dispelled. On Sayf-ed-din's death in 1149, there was again some danger of open war between Aleppo and Mosul. But by the mediation of Jamal-ed-din the Vizir, who pointed out that whichever was victorious, the real advantage would rest with the Franks, a compromise was arranged under which Mosul was left to a third brother Kutb-ed-din till his death in 1170.

Nur-ed-din's character was marked by craft and greed, yet he was one of the greatest princes that ever ruled in Syria. The Christians themselves

acknowledged his valour and success ; to the Moham-medans of this century and the next he was a model of every virtue. " Though so great a persecutor of Christians," writes William of Tyre, " he was a just ruler, wise, and religious, so far as the traditions of his race permitted." It was for his justice above all that his subjects loved him ; he would take no unjust tax from his vast dominions, but like any private man lived of his own ; when his wife complained of her poverty, and slighted a gift of three shops in Emesa as insignificant, " I have nought else, for all I have I hold only as treasurer for the faithful," was his reply. He once left his game of ball to appear before the cadi at the suit of a private person, and when the decision was given in his favour, resigned his claim in favour of his opponent. His justice enticed strangers to his dominions, one of whom, after his death, having appealed to Saladin in vain, went in tears to the tomb of Nur-ed-din. The popular sympathy forced Saladin at last to make recompense ; the man then wept again, and when Saladin asked his reason, replied that he wept for a ruler who could do justice even in the grave.

Though himself a skilful warrior, and like his father careful of his soldiers' rights Nur-ed-din would permit no plundering. Yet his followers loved him, and stood firm in battle, for they knew that if they perished their master would be true to their children. When some of his soldiers grumbled at his bounty to the dervishes, he rebuked them saying, " These men have a right to live at the public expense ; I am grateful to them for being content with only a

part of what they might justly claim. So, too, when an emir slandered a learned doctor from Khorassan, Nur-ed-din replied, "If you speak ill of him, I shall punish you severely, even though you tell the truth. His good qualities are enough to cover his faults, whereas you and your like have vices many times greater than your virtues."

Nur-ed-din was a great builder, and provided for the re-fortification of the chief cities of Syria, especially after the earthquake of 1169. He raised mosques everywhere, and founded hospitals in various towns. Many years after, Ibn El-Athir, disgusted with his paid physician sought advice from the hospital at Damascus; he would have paid for the service done him, but his gift was refused, with the remark, "Doubtless you are rich enough to pay, but here no one is too proud to accept the gifts of Nur-ed-din."

The Mohammedan law as regards food, drink, and dress was carefully observed by Nur-ed-din, who unlike previous rulers enforced the same obedience on his subjects. His court was marked by a strictness of etiquette, which did not suffer any one to sit in his presence, except Ayub, the father of Saladin. Very different was that of Saladin, where a visitor found himself unable to make the Sultan hear through the babble of so many voices all talking at once; "At Nur-ed-din's court," he exclaimed, "Nur-ed-din's sight alone made us as motionless as if we had a bird perched on our heads; in silence we listened when he spoke, and he in turn lent attention to our speech."

One amusement alone did Nur-ed-din permit himself—namely, the game of "ball on horseback," a

pastime which appealed to him as a rider of unusual skill. When reproached for this, he replied: "I do not play to amuse myself, but for needful recreation, since a soldier cannot always be fighting. Moreover, while playing at this game, we have our horses ready against a sudden attack by the foe. Before God this is my only reason for playing." "Rarely," says Ibn El-Athir, "has a prince made of his very amusements an act of high devotion."

There was much of high religious feeling in Nur-ed-din's character, and this feeling permeated his whole life of active warfare against the Christian intruder. When told how his brother had lost an eye in fighting for the Holy Cause, Nur-ed-din refused to offer his condolence, "for could my brother but see what Allah hath in store for him in Paradise, he would willingly lose his other eye in such a cause." Nor was Nur-ed-din any more regardful of his own safety. One day a friend rebuked him for his carelessness, bidding him consider what would become of Islam should its chief defender fall. "Who," was Nur-ed-din's noble reply, "who is Mahmud (*i.e.*, himself) that you should speak thus of him. Our country and religion have a defender better than me, and that defender is God."

In his earlier years Nur-ed-din could venture only on foraging raids. But gradually his power grew, and in 1154, as we have already seen, he captured Damascus.¹ Good fortune attended him, for Joscelin of Edessa had already become his prisoner, and a few years later in 1161 Reginald de Châtillon, prince of

¹ See above, p. 206.

Antioch, whilst engaged in a plundering expedition to the west of the Euphrates, fell into an ambushade and was taken prisoner to Aleppo. The young Bohemond then assumed the rule of his principality. Nur-ed-din conceived that the occasion was favourable for an attack, and in 1163 invaded the county of Tripoli. A force of Aquitanian pilgrims recently arrived under Geoffrey Martel, together with the Templars under Gilbert de Lacy, and a body of Welshmen under Robert Mansel, opposed the Turks with such success



SEAL OF REGINALD DE CHÂTILLON.

that Nur-ed-din himself barely escaped with his life. In the following year Nur-ed-din's turn came ; whilst many Franks were absent in Egypt he laid siege to Harenc ; Bohemond of Antioch and Raymond of Tripoli forced him to raise the siege, but in the subsequent engagement were defeated and carried prisoners to Aleppo. It was the news of this disaster that compelled Amalric to concede such favourable terms to Shirkuh.

There is no need to trace the progress of Nur-ed-

din's power during the next few years. But in 1170 the death of Kutb-ed-din of Mosul gave Nur-ed-din an opportunity to interfere in that quarter to the advantage of his own power. Saladin was, however, already threatening to prove a dangerous rival, and would lend his nominal lord no aid against the Franks, lest their subjection should be but the prelude to his own. The danger at last forced Nur-ed-din to contemplate an invasion of Egypt. In this strait Saladin's father recommended his son to adopt a policy of submission, pointing out in private that humility would avert the intended invasion, and that destiny meanwhile would run its course. This policy had its due effect, and Nur-ed-din found sufficient employment in warfare with the Franks and the Sultan of Iconium until his death on May 15, 1174.

The death of Nur-ed-din was followed speedily by dissensions in Syria. His son and successor, El-Malek Es-Saleh, was a boy of eleven, whose weakness led his cousin of Mosul to conquer at his expense. In these troubles Saladin saw his opportunity; on November 28, 1174, he entered Damascus, and a month later, having captured Emesa and Hamah on his way, laid siege to Aleppo, from which a threatened invasion by the Franks soon forced him to withdraw. The intervention of Sayf-ed-din of Mosul led only to his own defeat, and almost to the final displacement of Es-Saleh, who, however, continued to rule over a diminished territory till his death at the end of 1181.

We must now return to consider the last years of the reign of Amalric. Throughout his reign that prince had felt that his chief hope of support lay in

a close alliance with Constantinople, and his return from his last Egyptian expedition was shortly followed by a visit to the Byzantine capital. Manuel received him nobly, "as was due to the king of Jerusalem and the advocate and defender of the venerable scenes of our Lord's passion and resurrection." Etiquette forbade even a king to sit in the Emperor's presence when he received in state, but after Amalric had entered the royal chamber, curtains fell suddenly and excluded the greater number of the courtiers. Manuel then rose from his golden throne, embraced his guest, and set him on a lowly seat hard by. But though the Emperor lent a ready ear to his visitor's projects for the easy conquest of Egypt, and distributed gifts with splendid magnificence, he went no further, and Amalric returned home a disappointed, if a richer, man.

The events of the previous year had probably moved Amalric to thus seek the aid of the Emperor. In June, 1170, a great earthquake had well-nigh ruined many cities of Northern Syria. Antioch, Tripoli, and Tyre, as well as the Mohammedan cities of Hamah, Emesa, and Aleppo, all shared in the disaster. The earthquakes continued during three or four months, and imposed upon the warring races a short period of peace, for "each man was occupied by his private misfortune, and while harassed by his own grief, forbore to set troubles for another." In the following December Saladin took advantage of the prevalent weakness to attack Darum, a fortress which was held by the Templars. Amalric hurried up in time to save the citadel, but not the town.

Saladin, however, managed to slip past him to Gaza, and there, too, succeeded in sacking the town and mercilessly slaying the defenceless citizens and country folk who had congregated for safety. The citadel was kept safely by its warden, Milo de Planci, who wickedly refused its shelter to the Christian fugitives. With this measure of success Saladin was content to go back to Egypt, whilst Amalric busied himself with the restoration of his fortresses.

The last days of Amalric were embittered by the ambition of the Templars. The castles of that order hemmed in the mountainous territory of the Assassins, from whom the knights exacted a yearly tribute. In the hope of escaping this impost the chief of the Assassins offered to turn Christian ;¹ Amalric readily

¹ The name Assassin or Hashashin means hemp-eaters, and was applied to the sect from the use of a drug prepared from this plant, during the initiation of members or to nerve them for any extraordinary effort. The sect owed its origin to a Persian named Hasan ben Sabeh who, after a life of unprincipled adventure, became an Ismailite, and for a time settled in Egypt. Eventually in 1090 he established himself at Alamut south of the Caspian, where his successors maintained themselves till overthrown by Hulagu in 1256. Hasan's influence was political rather than religious ; his teaching enforced a blind obedience to the grand master's behest, and for nearly two centuries his followers were the terror of east and west. Early in the twelfth century the Assassins began to multiply in Syria. By purchase or conquest they became masters of a ring of fortresses east of Tortosa among the mountains of Lebanon. Their first prior in Syria died in 1169, and it was his successor Sinan who sent this embassy to Amalric. Sinan seems to have introduced fresh tenets into his creed ; he threw off the authority of his nominal lord at Alamut, and in later days is said to have declared himself an incarnation of the Deity. He died in 1192. Eighty years later the Assassins of Syria were reduced to political subjection by Bibars, but a scanty remnant of the Ismailites still hang round the ruins of their old fortresses.

acceded, and promised to recompense the knights out of his own purse. The Templars, however, distrusted his goodwill or his power, and at the instigation of Walter de Maisnil, "an evil man with one eye," slew the envoys of the Assassins on the borders of Tripoli. Such a crime enraged the whole kingdom, but Odo de St. Amand, the Master of the Temple, claimed the right to punish his knights as he choose, and protected the murderers. Amalric could not brook such defiance; with the assent of his council, he seized the offenders by force and sent them in chains to Tyre; probably he would have pursued the matter further had it not been for his own sudden death.

When Nur-ed-din died in May, 1174, Amalric, unlike his great and generous rival, had no compunction about invading a kingless realm; he accordingly laid siege to Banias, but allowed himself to be bought off by Nur-ed-din's widow, and withdrew to Tiberias. There he was seized with a dysentery, but would not take to his bed or suffer himself to be carried in a litter; on horseback he rode through Nazareth and Nablûs to Jerusalem. His illness increasing he desired the Greek and Syrian physicians, who were in attendance, to give him a purging draught, and when they refused had resort to the more compliant but less skilful Latin doctors. For a time he seemed to improve, but the disease returned with fresh violence, and on July 11, 1174, Amalric died in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

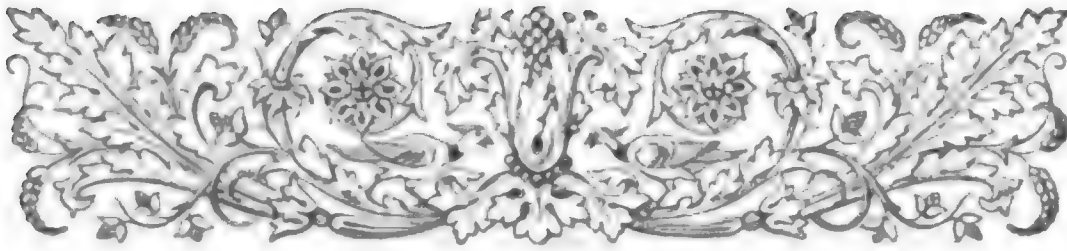
Amalric was of middle height, and somewhat corpulent, but of comely features and a presence which proclaimed his rank. He had bright eyes and

an aquiline nose, with golden hair and a full beard. In manner he lacked the gracious affability which had endeared his brother to all classes of his subjects, and would rarely enter into familiar conversation. Neither was he so well educated as Baldwin had been, but his understanding was quick, and his tenacious memory made good use of his scanty leisure. History was his favourite study, and his liberality supplied William of Tyre with manuscripts for the compilation of his great work on Arabic history, now unfortunately lost. His serious disposition gave him no taste for plays or dice, though he was passionately fond of hawking. Though regular in religious observances he seems to have been something of a sceptic, and perhaps a disbeliever in the immortality of the soul. In his private life he was very licentious and in his public much given to avarice; this latter failing he excused on the plea that if a prince saved he was less likely to rob his subjects, and better equipped against a sudden emergency; certainly, when his realm was in peril, he spared neither his purse nor person, and even in private matters was often liberal, as when he subscribed largely to ransom his cousin Raymond of Tripoli.

With all his faults Amalric had many of the qualities of a great ruler, and his death at this moment was a serious blow to the kingdom of Jerusalem. So valorous and so politic a king would doubtless have been able to reap some advantage from the weakness of the heir of Nur-ed-din, and the ambitious rivalry of Saladin. Would but the princes of the West have forgotten their private feuds, and

supported the great but futile expedition that William of Sicily sent against Alexandria this self-same year ; would but the Eastern Franks and the Greeks have cordially united for once, there is no telling what successes might have resulted. But there was now no hand that could unite for one purpose the scattered forces of Christendom. Armies that might have shattered the realm so slowly and laboriously built up by Zangi and Nur-ed-din, were dissipated in predatory raids and desultory enterprises. The Sicilian fleet sailed back from Alexandria after a purposeless siege of a week ; Manuel turned his arms against the Sultan of Rûm and met with signal disaster ; the forces contributed by Western Europe were not the chivalry of two kingdoms, but the scanty following of an English earl and a Flemish count. The opportunity was lost and never returned. The death of Amalric was the knell of his kingdom.





XVII.

THE RISE OF SALADIN.

(1174-1185.)

"Solo in parte vidi 'l Saladino."

DANTE, *Inferno*, iv. 129.

("Alone and apart I beheld Saladin.")

THE successor of Amalric was his son Baldwin, a boy of barely thirteen, who through his mother, Agnes of Edessa, inherited the blood of the house of Courtenay as well as of that of Anjou. His father had taken the greatest care for his education, and entrusted him, when only nine years old, to William of Tyre, as one of a little group of noble youths to whom the great historian imparted some of that Western lore with which his own mind was so copiously stored. Baldwin did not fail to do his tutor credit; he had a quick apprehension and a retentive memory, and like both his father and uncle was an eager lover of history. He was of comely form, much resembling his father both in manner and appearance, and even in his youth gave promise of rare abilities should he reach maturer age. But, despite the good qualities,

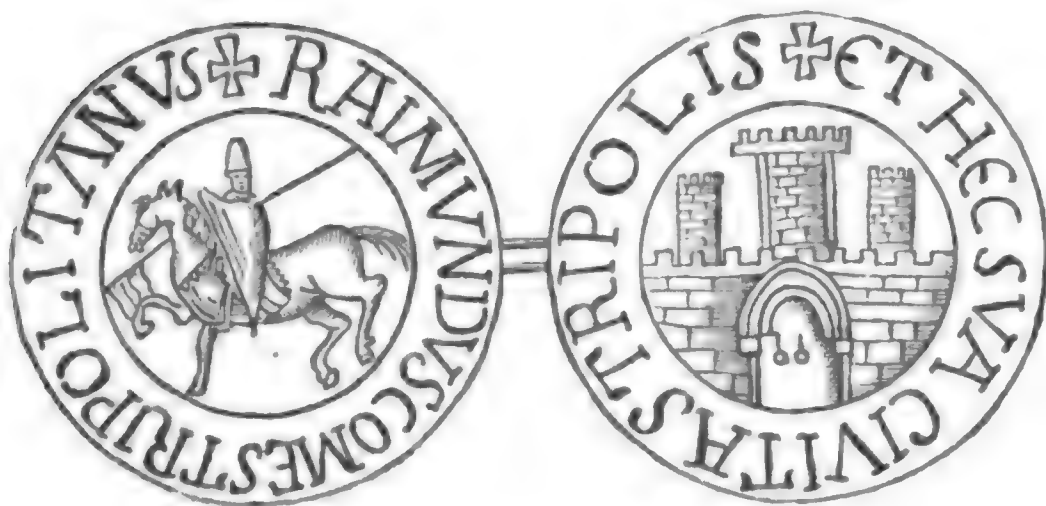
which have made him one of the true hero kings of history, his friend and tutor could not look on him without sympathy and tears, for Baldwin was a leper.

He was still a child when the first symptoms of the fell disease appeared. When playing with his comrades the lads would test one another's endurance by running their nails into each other's arms. Baldwin alone would give no sign of pain ; this indifference, which was at first taken as a sign of strength of will, proved to be due to the absence of any power of feeling in his right hand and arm. Later on he became a hopeless leper ; and though he was for a time carried even on warlike expeditions in a litter, he was at length compelled to renounce his royal duties and appoint a regent. After a short but heroic life harassed with continual misfortune he died when only twenty-three, leaving his kingdom on the verge of ruin.

The influence which Milo de Planci had possessed under Amalric pointed to him as the guardian of the young king. But the great barons could not brook the rule of a stranger from Champagne, and turned to Raymond II. of Tripoli as their head. Raymond was the most powerful and wealthy noble in the realm, and claimed the guardianship of the king as his next of kin, and as a debt of gratitude that he owed to Amalric. The dispute was still unsettled, when the murder of Milo at Acre in the autumn of 1174 removed the chief obstacle to Raymond's ambition.

Raymond, who was now about thirty years old, was descended not only from the hero of the First Crusade, but also, through his mother, from Baldwin

II. His character must be judged by the subsequent events of his life; but this much may be remarked, that he had won the esteem of William of Tyre, who may almost be said to write as a partisan whenever the Count of Tripoli is in question. In person Raymond was slightly built, with sharp visage and flashing eyes; in character he was prudent and cautious, though he could be vigorous in an emergency. To his own hereditary county he had added



SEAL OF RAYMOND II. OF TRIPOLI.

by his marriage with Eschiva, widow of Walter of Galilee, the possession of the great stronghold of Tiberias.

The weakly health of the young king made the choice of a husband for his elder sister Sibylla one of the first necessities of the time. The choice fell on William of Montferrat, a kinsman of Philip Augustus and Frederick Barbarossa, who was married to his bride in the autumn of 1176, and received with her the cities of Jaffa and Ascalon. The marriage

was of short duration, for in the following June William fell ill and died, leaving his wife with child.

Just after this misfortune the young king's cousin Philip of Flanders arrived at Acre in August, 1177. With a great show of humility and disinterestedness he refused the proffer of the guardianship of the realm. He had come to the Holy Land not to seek power, but to do the Lord's will. He would obey any duly constituted regent, as if he were his own liege lord, or lend his ready aid for an expedition to Egypt. The value of these professions was too soon apparent. When Reginald de Châtillon, who after a long captivity had been released from his Saracen gaol, was nominated as the king's proctor and general, Philip testily declared that there was no need of such an officer, and that a man should be chosen who could bear all the authority for the proposed expedition, and would be fit to rule Egypt as its king if successful. When so obviously selfish a suggestion was rejected, Philip, shifting his ground, urged that a new husband should be found for Sibylla. This untimely proposal proved to spring from one of Philip's followers, the Advocate of Bethun, who had offered to surrender all his patrimony to the count, if he could secure Baldwin's two sisters for the wives of his own sons. Such an offer was rejected by the council off-hand as dishonouring to themselves and the king. But Philip soon found a fresh subject for the display of his ill-humours. Manuel had sent an embassy to urge the immediate despatch of the Egyptian expedition; when Philip's opinion was sought, he pleaded his

these arguments, but it was generally felt that the count's utterance of them lacked sincerity. To the council it appeared hard to abandon the expedition when a Greek fleet actually lay at Acre, but they felt that there was no choice in the matter. Scarcely had they made this resolution when Philip declared his willingness to go to Egypt, or wherever the council wished. The Greeks were still willing to proceed, if the count would only take an oath to act honourably and openly. This natural stipulation did not, however, commend itself to Philip, and the Greek envoys, feeling further negotiation to be useless, departed homewards. Thus through the obstinacy or timidity—William of Tyre does not scruple to say the bad faith—of the Flemish count, the Eastern Christians lost their last opportunity of striking what might have been a fatal blow at the power of Saladin.

Men suspected that Philip's conduct had been influenced by Bohemond of Antioch in the hope of aggrandisement to his own power. But if so, the prince's hope was vain, for though Philip went north in October, 1177, his aid was no more valuable in that quarter than elsewhere. The time was opportune enough, and the Frankish army laid siege to Harenc with good prospects of success. But the allurements of gambling and the luxurious pleasures of Antioch, that lay so close, proved fatal to military discipline, and the siege was raised with no more to show than an uncertain bribe. After this inglorious campaign Philip of Flanders sailed home from Laodicea at Easter, 1178, "leaving behind him a memory that was in no wise blessed."

Meantime the withdrawal of so many of its defenders to the north had left the kingdom open to the attacks of Saladin on the south. His troops scoured the country at their will ; Ramleh and Lydda were sacked and burnt, and for the first time for five-and-twenty years the Holy City itself was threatened. The more experienced warriors advised Baldwin not to risk a battle, but with a few followers he hurried up to Ascalon. There he was joined by the Templars from Gaza, but even then he had only 370 knights to meet a host of six-and-twenty thousand, which included a thousand Mamluks in yellow tunics, the special guard of Saladin's person. Nevertheless, the Franks went out bravely on November 25th to meet their foe. According to Saladin's own account the Christians charged just as he was executing a strategic movement ; another contemporary Arabic account says that the Mohammedan host was surprised whilst watering ; but all writers admit that Baldwin achieved a glorious victory. The Turks were utterly routed, and Saladin himself barely escaped upon a swift camel with scarcely one hundred horsemen.

In the following autumn Baldwin erected a fortress on the Upper Jordan, which was named Castle Jacob, from a tradition that its site was the scene of the patriarch's meeting with Esau. In April, 1179, after entrusting his new castle to the Templars, the king led an expedition into Saracen territory. The army scattered in all directions in search of plunder, till Baldwin was left alone with only a few followers in a rocky gorge. Here he was surprised by the Saracens, and though Henfrid of Toron brought his

young lord safe out of danger, it was at the cost of his own life ; for a few days later his wounds proved fatal to the gallant constable, whom even Moham-medans admired for his courage and warlike skill. In June Saladin retaliated by an invasion of the kingdom. The Franks mustered to meet him in force, but the rashness of the Templars under Odo de St. Amand converted a promising opportunity into a disastrous defeat. Odo himself and many nobles were taken prisoners, and two months later Saladin's victory was crowned by the capture of Castle Jacob. The double disaster was aggravated by the long-continued drought, which during five years had impoverished the territory of the Franks. The king's sickness, which grew worse yearly, added to the troubles of the time, and to guard against future mishaps a fresh husband was now found for Sibylla in the person of Guy de Lusignan. In the face of such dangers Baldwin felt it prudent to beg for a truce ; Saladin welcomed the proposition, and in 1180 peace both by land and sea was established for two years. Such an agreement was a heavy blow to Christian pride ; for the first time since the Franks set foot in Palestine was a treaty drawn up on equal terms without any special advantage being secured for the Christians.

There was now peace for a period of two years. The Franks were, however, troubled by internal dissensions. Raymond of Tripoli, though nominally protector, never entered their land, and Baldwin fell more and more under the influence of the count's enemies, and, above all, of his mother and uncle,

Joscelin the Seneschal. An open breach with Raymond was only prevented through the intervention of those wiser nobles who saw in the count the most trusty defender of the kingdom.

Meantime the course of events favoured Saladin. After a brief raid into Tripoli, which was not included in the truce, he had withdrawn to Egypt, and prepared to meet the threatened attack from Sicily. About this time Sayf-ed-din of Mosul and Es-Saleh of Aleppo both died, and left their dominions to Masud, a brother of the former. Masud's counsellors urged him to take advantage of the defenceless state of Damascus during Saladin's detention in Egypt. Their advice was rejected by the prince, who would not break his treaty with Saladin; but a little later Masud gave Aleppo to his brother Imad-ed-din in exchange for Sinjar, a bargain which excited the alarm of the lord of Egypt.

Other circumstances besides the peril of Damascus determined Saladin to return to Syria. The danger to Egypt had passed away with the diversion of the Sicilian fleet to the Balearic Islands and its subsequent destruction. The truce, moreover, was nearly at an end, and there were not a few causes of dispute between Baldwin and Saladin. Reginald of Châtillon had captured some Arab merchants, for which the Sultan retaliated by the detention of one thousand five hundred pilgrims, who had been wrecked near Damietta. Baldwin, despite the warnings of Count Raymond, made an ill-managed and futile attempt to intercept Saladin on his way across the desert. Meanwhile, as Raymond had foreseen, the Syrian

emirs took the opportunity to invade Galilee, and, as they returned home with their spoil, inflicted a yet more disastrous blow on the Christians. In the region of Soad (or "Black Country") beyond Jordan the Franks had converted some caves in the face of a precipitous rock into an almost impregnable fortress. This stronghold, through the carelessness of its lord, had been left in charge of unwarlike Syrians. Either by force or by fraud the Saracens captured its lower stages, and thus compelled the other portion to surrender. According to the Arabic historian, this victory broke the arm and power of the Franks.

Saladin now led an army across the Jordan, and, after attacking Beth-Shan without success, went on towards Belvoir. The Franks had mustered at Tiberias, and, on advancing to Forbelet, suddenly found themselves surrounded by the enemy. Old men declared that they had never seen such a host of infidels since the Latins first came into Syria. The Saracens were twenty thousand men ready for battle, the Christians had only seven hundred horsemen. "Saladin and his chiefs," writes William of Tyre, "had but one mind, namely, to hem us in, so that none could escape. Yet by the mercy of God did our men, bearing themselves bravely, issue the better from the conflict; and that though many, whose names for very shame we will not write, withdrew themselves from the toils of war." Only a few Christian knights were slain, but the Saracens were so disheartened by their losses that they at once recrossed the Jordan. The Franks then went back to the fountain of Sepphoris.

In August, 1182, on the arrival of his fleet from Egypt, Saladin crossed the Lebanon and laid siege to Beyrout. The news of this fresh attack came to the Franks at Sepphoris, and at the same time they received intelligence that Saladin's brother, El-Adel Sayf-ed-din — known to Crusading chroniclers as Saphadin—had appeared before Darum. Baldwin had not sufficient forces to meet the double attack. After taking counsel with his nobles, he decided to grapple with "the more dangerous disease." No time was lost, and within seven days thirty well-appointed galleys were ready at Tyre and Acre. The fleet reached Beyrout to find the harbour already clear; for Saladin, after commencing the assault with vigour, had suddenly changed his mind and ordered a retreat. An invitation from the Governor of Harran had afforded him the opportunity for more important conquests further east.

For the next few months Saladin was conquering beyond the Euphrates. He passed the great river and called the Mohammedan princes to his side; Edessa and Nisibis were taken and given to his friends, while Masud fell back before him on Mosul. News came that the Franks had been plundering in the neighbourhood of Damascus. But Saladin would not turn back: "If the Christians destroy our villages, we will take their towns." So he rode on to Mosul. "As he looked upon the city," writes the Arabic historian, "his heart was filled with fear; for he saw how walls and parapets were crowded, so that there was not one part that had not its warrior." The Caliph had sent envoys to mediate between the

combatants. Saladin offered to surrender his late conquests in return for Aleppo ; but Aleppo was not Masud's to give. However, Saladin found Mosul too strong for capture, and after taking Sinjar he turned west to besiege Aleppo. Imad-ed-din had no means of defence, and soon consented to resign Aleppo in return for Sinjar, Nisibis, and some other places. "Thus," says the Arabic writer, "he sold Aleppo for the vilest price, and gave away a stronghold of the greatest importance in exchange for some little towns and cultivated fields." The people of Aleppo cried shame upon him, declaring he was only fit to be a washer of clothes. This conquest (June 12, 1183) marks the consolidation of Saladin's power ; he was now beyond all dispute the head power in the Mohammedan world, and might bend his undivided energies towards the great work of his life—the expulsion of the Franks from the Holy City.

Saladin's absence had given Baldwin an opportunity of attacking Damascus and its neighbourhood. In the autumn of 1182 one plundering expedition penetrated to the very suburbs of the city, and on its return recaptured the mountain fortress in Soad. In December a great council was held at Cæsarea, where it was decided to make a fifteen days' expedition towards Bostra. The Franks under the command of Count Raymond crossed the Jordan at the ford of Jacob, and plundered the Saracen territory to within a few miles from Damascus.

And now the news of Saladin's successes began to make men fear the ruin of the Latin realm. "For," says William of Tyre, "his departure had

given us grave matter for thought ; we were right anxious lest he should return yet stronger than before." In February, 1183, there was a great council at Jerusalem ; king and nobles were alike so poor that they could not perform their proper duties ; a scheme was therefore devised for the general taxation of all classes ; the money so obtained was not to be used for the common needs of the realm, but to be stored at Jerusalem and Acre as a provision against some great emergency.¹ With the news of the fall of Aleppo, the alarm grew yet wilder ; the Christians, realising their weakness, began, to strengthen their fortifications especially round Beyrout. Bohemond of Antioch also came to the king at Acre with an appeal for aid ; he was granted three hundred horsemen, but soon afterwards made a truce with Saladin ; about the same time he sold Tarsus to Rupin of Armenia, as that city was too distant and costly for defence.

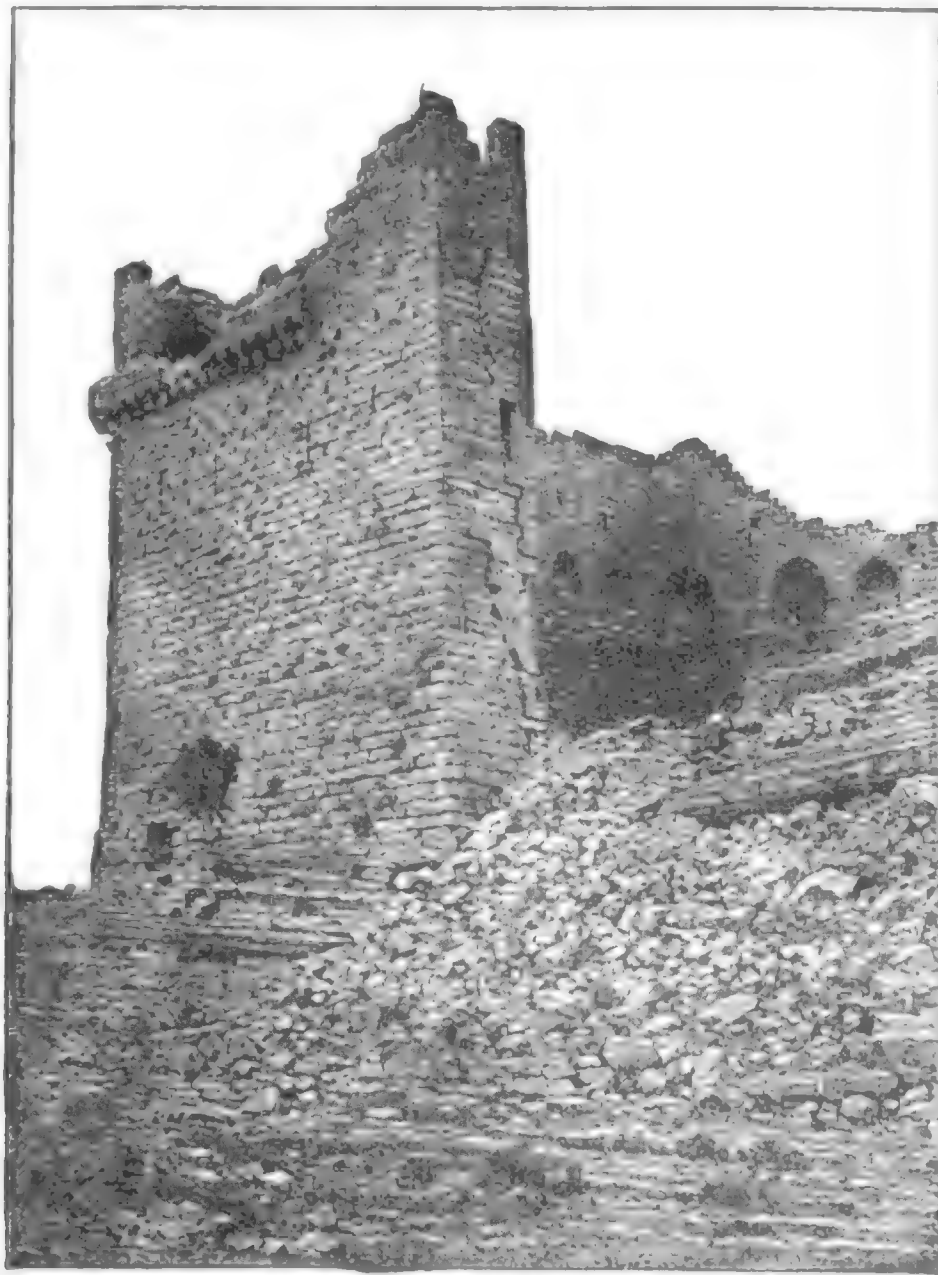
After the conquest of Aleppo, Saladin once more crossed the Jordan to Beth-Shan (September 29, 1183). Baldwin had mustered his forces at Sepphoris, but, being too ill to lead them in person, entrusted the command to his brother-in-law, Guy de Lusignan. Saracen freebooters ravaged the whole region round ; they forced their way—for the first time—to the Greek monastery on Mount Tabor, destroyed Forbelet, and from the hills above Nazareth looked down upon the city of our Lord's childhood. When the Italian merchants on the coast heard of the invasion they put off their intended voyage, and hurried up to join the

¹ See above, p. 128.

king's army. Never, so old men said, had Palestine seen so vast an array of Crusaders ; there were one thousand three hundred knights and over fifteen thousand well-armed foot ; among them were great nobles from Europe : Henry, Duke of Louvain and Ralf de Maleine¹ from Aquitaine, together with the lords of the land, Guy de Lusignan, Reginald de Châtillon, Baldwin and Balian of Ibelin, Reginald of Sidon, Walter of Cæsarea, and Joscelin de Courtenay. But this splendid opportunity for crushing Saladin was lost through internal jealousy ; the lords of Palestine refused to obey Guy de Lusignan, whom they despised as a man "unknown and of little skill in military matters ;" they trumped up excuses for inaction, and after eight days the Saracens went back home. A month later Saladin laid siege to Reginald of Châtillon's strong castle of Kerak. Reginald had just married his stepson, Henfrid IV. of Toron, to the king's younger sister, and the castle was crowded with jesters, minstrels, and others come to help in the wedding festivities. The place was, however, too strong to be taken even by the combined forces of Saladin and his brother El-Adel, who joined him from Egypt ; so when the Franks advanced to raise the siege, Saladin withdrew to Damascus. Next year he made another unsuccessful expedition against Kerak ; on his way back he burnt Nablûs, and set free the Mohammedan prisoners in Sebaste. This was his last engagement

¹ This was probably Ralf de Mauleon, father of the Crusading poet-warrior, Savary de Mauleon, who played a conspicuous part in English history under John.

for some years in Palestine. In the summer of 1185 he was warring against Mosul ; in the end, after some negotiations conducted by Baha-ed-din the historian,



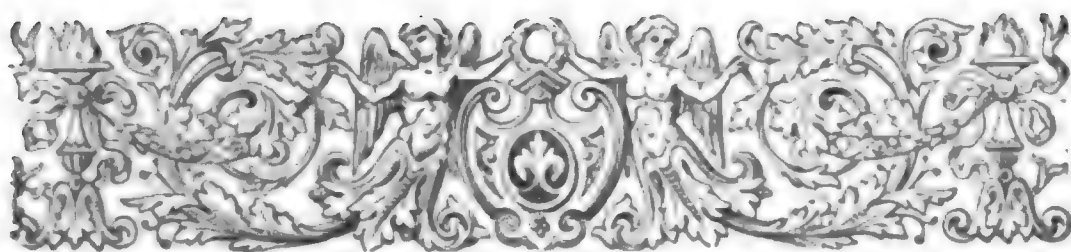
RUINED TOWER OF KERAK.

Masud of Mosul came to terms with his rival.

Saladin was now lord supreme of all the Moham-
medan princes. He might reckon on being followe

to war by the various princes of the house of Zangi, who ruled at Sinjar, Mosul, and Mardin; perhaps also by Kilij Arslan of Rûm; certainly by all the Ayubite princes whom he had established in the valleys of the Orontes and Nile. Saladin's policy had led him to keep all the great cities of Egypt and Syria in the hands of his own family. Thus his kinsmen, Taki-ed-din, Izz ed-din, and Nasr-ed-din held Edessa, Baalbec, and Emesa; his sons, Ez-Zahir and El-Afdal, were lords of Aleppo and Damascus, and his brother, El-Adel, ruler of Egypt. All along the frontier there lay a line of strong generals or princes ready at any moment for a foray into Christian lands. The Mohammedans only waited to exchange their tactics of defence or desultory raids for one of active warfare, till the lord of Syria and Egypt, the overlord of Mosul and Rûm, should give the word for a general coalition to drive the Christian invaders out of Syria.





XVIII.

THE FALL OF JERUSALEM.

(1183-1187.)

“Vae terris ubi rex est puer.”

Ecclesiasticus.

THE position of the Christian kingdom was now one of extreme peril. The king was sick unto death, and there was no hope for the land save in aid from abroad, which aid was slow to come. Louis VII. of France, so long the hope of the Latin East, had been dead three years, and Philip Augustus, his son, was hardly of the stuff from which Crusading heroes were made. Henry of England had more than enough to occupy him in his home troubles; yet for many years past he had sent annually large sums of money to the great orders at Jerusalem, there to be stored against his own intended coming. The kings of France and England had more than once talked of a Crusade; and Frederick the Emperor, after the conclusion of his papal and Italian disputes in 1179, had also meditated an expedition to the East.

But all these things were mere projects ; internal dissensions, mutual distrust, and perhaps unsteadiness of religious zeal kept the great European lords at home.

Meanwhile the kingdom of Jerusalem was in a state of rapid decay. The young king had appointed his brother-in-law, Guy de Lusignan, his proctor in the year 1183, retaining for his own use only the city of Jerusalem, and an income of ten thousand besants. Popular rumour, as represented by William of Tyre, declared that Guy was totally unequal to his high office. Certainly the nobles, jealous of an alien's power, did the new ruler homage with reluctance, and the majority of them, whether honestly or not, urged the superior claims of Raymond of Tripoli. Matters came to a climax when the great muster of the Christians, under Guy's leadership, effected nothing, and when Guy refused, very illiberally, to entertain Baldwin's desire to exchange Jerusalem for Tyre. As a consequence it was decided in a great council held at Jerusalem that Baldwin's little nephew, his sister Sibylla's son by her first husband, William of Montferrat, should be solemnly anointed king. The story cannot be better told than in the quaint words of one who may himself have been present at the ceremony. "When the matter was thus settled, the king bade crown the child. So they led him to the Sepulchre and crowned him. And because the child was small, they put him into the arms of a knight to be carried into the Temple of the Lord, to the end that he might not appear to be of less stature than the rest. This knight was a stalwart

man and tall, having to name Balian d'Ibelin, one of the barons of the land." The ceremony took place on the 1st of November, 1183.¹

The revolution which thus transferred the crown to the infant Baldwin V. seems to have been the work of the hereditary nobles of the land, and was chiefly brought about by Baldwin of Ramleh and his brother Balian of Ibelin. The regency was offered to Raymond of Tripoli, who accepted the office on condition that he should hold it for ten years. To guard against suspicion the strongholds were placed in the charge of the two great orders, while the care of the young king's person was entrusted to his great uncle, Joscelin de Courtenay. On the other hand, Raymond received Beyrout, to indemnify him for any expenses that he might incur.

Meanwhile Guy de Lusignan held sullenly aloof. The king further proposed to dissolve his sister's marriage, and with this intention summoned Guy to Jerusalem at the beginning of 1184. The count, however, withdrew to his own city of Ascalon, and, together with his wife, refused to obey the royal summons. Baldwin then came to enforce his orders in person; but the gates were barred before him, and the walls crowded with the citizens, who looked calmly on whilst the king in vain demanded entrance. Baldwin had to withdraw to Jaffa, and shortly afterwards summoned a great council at Acre; there the internal dissensions of the kingdom

¹ Ernoul, who is here quoted, fixes the coronation in 1184. William of Tyre as certainly puts it in 1183. Perhaps there were two coronations, though this is not likely.

became plain. The masters of the Temple and the Hospital fell on their knees before the king and begged him to pardon his brother-in-law ; when their petition was refused they left the court and city in anger. Guy, on his part, made the breach wider by plundering some Arabs who were under the royal protection. From all that follows it would seem that there were two parties in the state ; on the one side the native nobles, on the other the aliens ; at the head of the former was Raymond of Tripoli, chief of the latter was Guy de Lusignan or Reginald of Châtillon. Raymond and his party seem to have believed in the impossibility of active resistance to the Saracens. It may be that they were only abiding their time till the coming of a new Crusade should justify them in taking the offensive once more ; but so far as the evidence of contemporary writers, both Christian and Arabic goes, they were actually in communication with Saladin, and anxious for a truce which might ensure them their own in safety. Prominent in this party were Bohemond of Antioch, Reginald of Sidon, and possibly the two brothers, Baldwin and Balian of Ibelin.

The party of the aliens was possibly moved by a more genuine religious enthusiasm. Guy de Lusignan may perhaps have been influenced by merely selfish aims ; but selfishness can hardly be predicated of the masters of the Temple and Hospital, and possibly not of Heraclius the Patriarch ; family affection may, however, account for the part played by Joscelin de Courtenay. The members of the two great orders had not entered on their Eastern life in search for

ease or luxury; their vows bound them before all else to fight the pagan, and to extend the boundaries of the Lord's kingdom; the very thought of passing long years without striking a blow for Christ was to them insupportable; thus their constant clamour was for war, and in this they were well supported by Reginald de Châtillon. The long years of his captivity in a Saracen prison had made that noble the bitterest of foes, and he never lost a chance of striking a blow at Saracen trader or soldier; his reluctance to hold his hand whether in peace or war was to lead a few years later to the ruin of the kingdom.

At that same council of Acre, where the quarrel of these two parties had been made so manifest, it was determined to appeal to the sovereigns of Europe for help. Heraclius the Patriarch and the two Grand Masters were entrusted with the mission to the West. Pope Lucius III. gave them letters to assist their plea, and they bore the keys of the Holy Sepulchre together with the royal banner of the kingdom to Henry II. at Reading. In the spring of 1185 almost all the barons and knights of Henry's dominions from the Cheviots to the Pyrenees took the cross, and the kings of England and France likewise promised their support. Yet, nevertheless, the patriarch went home a disappointed man with only barren promises where he had looked for material aid.

The character of Heraclius is a curious problem. He is said to have been a native of Auvergne, and became Archbishop of Cæsarea about 1175; on the death of the Patriarch Amalric in 1180 his was one of the two names submitted to Baldwin IV. by the

canons of the Holy Sepulchre. His competitor was none other than the great historian of the Latin kingdom in the East, William of Tyre. It was rumoured at the time that William, on hearing of the canons' choice, offered to relinquish his own claims, if by so doing he might exclude his rival; he had read in ancient chronicles, so he was reported to have said, that as one Heraclius had been the saviour of the Holy City, so another one would be its ruin, the Archbishop of Cæsarea, he continued, was the man to whom this ancient prophecy pointed. The king, however, under the influence of his sister's prayers appointed Heraclius. William then appealed to Rome, whither he went to prosecute his cause in person; success was already crowning his efforts, when he died, as it was whispered, of poison administered by his rival's envoys. This was not the only scandal that attached to Heraclius' name; he lived in open immorality, and kept his mistress at Jerusalem in such state that strangers deemed she was at least a baron's wife. Much of this is probably legend, though legend of only a slightly later date; yet it seems to show in what sort of esteem the patriarch was popularly held.

Baldwin IV. died in 1185, whilst Heraclius was still in the West.¹ Raymond secured an immediate popularity as regent by concluding a four years' truce with Saladin. There is no telling how long he might have preserved the kingdom had it not been that as in the days when the Greek princes were sieging Troy there was strife among the chiefs.

¹ Or possibly late in 1184.

There is something of an epic ring in the history of the ruin of the Latin kingdom of the East as we read it in the pages of the Continuator of William of Tyre.

Gerard de Rideford, a French knight, came to Palestine to make his fortune. Doubtless he looked to win such a prize as that of Reginald of Châtillon, who gained the hand of the widowed princess of Antioch, or of Fulk of Anjou, who received a kingdom with his wife. At last his opportunity came and he asked for the hand of the heiress of Botron, a lordship in the county of Tripoli. But Raymond rejected his petition, and married his ward to a rich burgher from Pisa, who was said to have bought his bride for her weight in gold. Gerard, who had all a French knight's scorn for an Italian usurer, quitted Tripoli in wrath. He joined the Templars, and by 1185 had become Grand Master of the order. But he still sought an opportunity to avenge the wrong which rankled in his breast. At last his chance came. In September, 1186, the child king died at Acre, and was carried by the Templars to Jerusalem for burial. Gerard formed a plot with Count Joscelin, and they took Heraclius and Reginald of Châtillon as their partners; Sibylla was hastily summoned to Jerusalem, the city gates were shut, the walls were manned with troops, and no one was suffered to come in or go out.

Raymond, suspicious that something was wrong, had sent a man-at-arms in disguise to discover what was happening. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre the spy heard Reginald bid the assembled people take

Sibylla for their queen, and the multitude with one voice declare they would have no other ruler than the daughter of Amalric and the sister of Baldwin. Two crowns had been brought from the royal treasure house. One was now placed by the patriarch on the head of the new queen with these words : " Lady, you are but a woman, wherefore it behoves that you have a man to stay you in your rule ; take the crown you see before you, and give it to him who can best help you to govern your realm." On this Sibylla called her husband, and as Guy knelt before her set the crown on his head, saying, " Sire, take this crown, for I know not where I could bestow it better." It was rumoured that as the Grand Master of the Temple took the new king by the hand he was heard to say : " This crown is well worth the marriage of Botron."

If Raymond of Tripoli had harboured any designs on the crown it was now too late. The utmost he and the barons assembled with him at Nablûs could do was to set up a king of their own in the person of Henfrid of Toron, the husband of King Amalric's second daughter, Isabella or Melisend. Henfrid, however, fearing the greatness thrust thus suddenly upon him stole away the same night to Jerusalem. There he presented himself before Sibylla, who, in anger at his absence from her coronation, would not return his greeting. He stood before her, says the quaint old chronicler, scratching his head like a shamefaced child, and muttering something about their wanting to make him king by force. The queen caught up his words, and understanding their

drift, granted him her pardon, and despatched him to do his homage to the king.

Most of the Frank lords now recognised Guy's coronation as an accomplished fact, and did homage. Two alone remained implacable: Baldwin of Ramleh, who, renouncing his fiefs, fled in defiance to Antioch; and Raymond of Tripoli, who remained on his lands, sullenly nursing his discontent, and if rumour may be trusted intriguing with Saladin. It was apparently about this time that Reginald of Châtillon, notwithstanding the truce, swooped down on a Saracen caravan on its way through his lordship of Kerak. It boots not to inquire whether Saladin's sister was one of his captives; for Saracen writers fully bear out the words of the Frank chronicler: "The taking of this caravan was the ruin of Jerusalem;" Saladin forthwith sounded the tocsin for the Holy War.

By the advice of the Master of the Temple, Guy now summoned his host to Nazareth, with the intention of besieging Raymond in Tiberias. The count on his part seems to have called upon Saladin for aid, which, if we may trust Ernoul, Saladin was prepared to give. Civil war was, however, averted by the prudence of Balian of Ibelin, who pointed out the danger of forcing Raymond into an alliance with Saladin, and volunteered his aid to effect a reconciliation. But Raymond demanded with firmness the repayment of his expenses as regent, and so the winter passed away with nothing done.

Easter had come and gone, and Saladin was mustering his forces. The royal council advised

peace with Raymond ; “ for Guy had already lost the wisest knight in the land, Baldwin of Ramleh ; if he lost Count Raymond too, he was indeed undone.” Balian was accordingly sent to Tiberias with the two Grand Masters. On reaching Nablûs, Balian stayed there to transact some business, whilst his companions rode on to Faba, or La Féve. At evening Balian left Nablûs, and rode as far as Sabat, where he turned aside, and tarried at the bishop’s house till the warder’s horn proclaimed the day. In the morning after hearing mass, he proceeded on his journey. This slight delay prevented his being present at the battle of Nazareth, and perhaps caused the downfall of the kingdom. On reaching Faba Balian found the castle and the tents before its walls alike deserted, whilst the castle gate stood open ; in amazement he bade his servant Ernoul, to whom we owe our knowledge of these eventful years, dismount and enter. Ernoul went shouting up and down without reply, till at last he found two sick men in a room ; they told him that the Grand Masters had arrived the previous day, but had departed at once on hearing how a body of Saracens had crossed the Jordan.

According to the romantic story of the Frank chronicler, El-Afdal had begged Count Raymond to grant him a day’s excursion across the Jordan. Raymond’s position was too delicate for him to venture on a refusal. He bargained only that El-Afdal should harm neither town nor house, and return the same evening. So on the morning of May 1st, El-Afdal crossed the Jordan to plunder and to slay. The watchmen from the towers of

Nazareth saw the valleys filled with the Saracen host, and roused the city to arms. The news reached the two Grand Masters at Faba ; with their followers, and forty royal knights from Nazareth, they rode out to meet the foes, seven hundred against seven thousand. The issue was disastrous : the Master of the Hospital and sixty of his knights were slain, whilst of the Templars only two besides Gerard de Rideford escaped.

This was the further news which Balian shortly heard. He rode in haste to Nazareth, and summoned all the knights at Nablûs to come to its defence ; next day with the Master of the Temple he went on to Tiberias. In the presence of such a catastrophe all private hate was hushed ; Raymond agreed to a reconciliation and to a meeting with Guy. As soon as the king saw his late rival approaching he sprang from his horse to greet him, and when Raymond bent his knee before him, raised him up and embraced him warmly. A general muster was then ordered to take place at the fountain of Sepphoris, midway between Acre and the Sea of Galilee. In view of the emergency, the Master of the Temple put at Guy's disposal the treasure which the King of England had sent him year by year, and with this money soldiers were hired who bore King Henry's arms upon their shield.

In July, when the host was gathered, the Countess of Tripoli sent word that Saladin was besieging her in Tiberias, and that she could hold out no longer. A council was summoned, and Raymond addressing the king said : " Sire, I would fain give you good

advice, if you only trust me ; but I know full well that none will believe." When bidden to speak freely, he recommended that Tiberias should be left to its fate. There was no water on the road, and to attempt its relief would be to court certain destruction. " If I lose wife, retainers, and city, so be it ; I will get them back when I can ; but I had rather see my city overthrown than the land lost." This noble speech carried conviction with it, and at midnight the council broke up. Then Gerard de Rideford once more found his opportunity, and coming to the king's tent urged him to reject the counsel of the " traitor count." " The king durst not refuse him, for that he had made him king, and delivered to him the great treasure of the King of England." The fatal order to march at dawn proved too well the truth of Raymond's forecast ; some three miles from Tiberias, in a rocky and waterless spot, the Christians were hemmed in by the Saracens ; unable either to advance or to retreat, they were forced to pitch their camp. Next day (it was Saturday, July 4, 1187) found them disheartened and disorganised ; faint with the heat and with thirst they could offer no effectual resistance ; by evening their army was routed, their king a prisoner, and the Holy Cross the spoil of the infidel.

The principal captives were led to the tent of Saladin. Among them were Guy, his brother Geoffrey, and Reginald of Châtillon. By the Sultan's orders a cooling draught was handed to the king, who drank and passed the cup to Reginald. " Know," said Saladin, through an interpreter, " that it is you

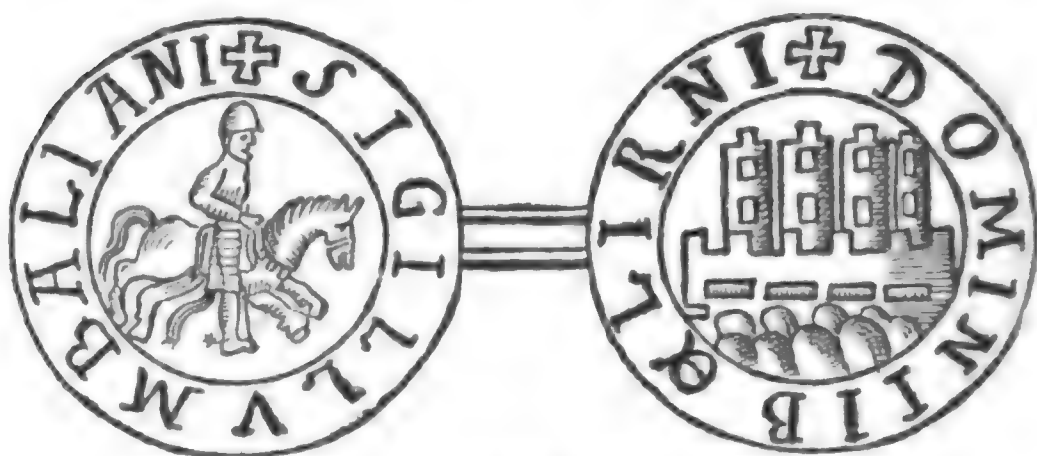
and not I who have given him to drink." Then the Sultan called for a sword, and with his own hand cut off Reginald's head ; thus he fulfilled his oath, and revenged the plunder of his caravan.¹

The great battle of Hattin was the death-blow to the kingdom of Jerusalem as it had existed in the days of Baldwin III. and Amalric. At one stroke it had lost the chief of its leaders and the majority of its defenders ; Raymond, it was true, escaped from the battle, but only to die of despair fifteen days later at Tyre ; of the other great lords Balian alone was alive and free. In such a strait the Christians seemed powerless to resist their victorious foe ; within little over two months Saladin had secured almost every stronghold of importance from Beyrout to Ascalon. A few scattered fortresses, such as Safed and Kerak by the Dead Sea, held out till next year ; but when Ascalon had fallen on the 5th of September only two of the great cities still remained in Christian hands—Tyre in the north and Jerusalem in the south. The safety of the former was due to Conrad of Montferrat, the defence of the Holy City was the work of Balian of Ibelin and the Patriarch Heraclius.

Balian had escaped from Hattin to Tyre. Thence he sent to Saladin, begging leave to conduct his wife and children to Jerusalem ; if that leave was given he would only stay a single night in the city. Saladin courteously granted the desired permission. The citizens, however, would not let Balian depart ; Heraclius also declared that it would be a greater sin

¹ A more probable story, however, relates that Reginald was slain by Saladin's orders, but not by his own hand.

to keep such a promise than to break it,—“It will be great shame to you and your heirs after you if you leave the city of Jerusalem in her perilous straits.” “Then did Balian promise to stay, and all that were in the city did him homage, and took him to lord.” The peril of the city was in truth extreme; only two knights were to be found within the walls, and they were fugitives from the great battle. In his emergency Balian knighted sixty of the burgesses, and stripped the silver roofing of the Holy Sepulchre to



SEAL OF BALIAN OF IBELIN.

provide himself with money. From all the district round the people came flocking into the city, till they had filled every house, and many were encamped in the open streets.

At last, on September 20, 1187, Saladin appeared before the walls. The history of this eventful siege cannot here be told in detail. Its hero was Balian, though the French chronicler gives to Heraclius a meritorious part; it was the patriarch who, according to this account, persuaded the warriors to take thought of the defenceless women and children when

they proposed to hazard all on one desperate onset on the foe ; it was Balian, however, whose skill kept the walls whilst he could, and who at last persuaded Saladin to accept a ransom of ten dinars for every man, five for every woman, and one for every child under seven years of age. It is impossible to reconcile the French account of the collection of the ransom of the poor with the reproaches hurled on the selfish citizens by the author of the Latin treatise, "*De Expugnatione Terræ Sanctæ*"—an author who was actually wounded during the siege. Much legend has no doubt found its way into the accounts of the fall of the Holy City even as they have been preserved for us by contemporary writers ; but there is one story too characteristic to be altogether omitted. After every effort had been made to purchase the relief of the poorer Christians, after a tax had been levied in every street, and the King of England's treasures at the Hospital thrown into the common fund, there yet remained a large number for whom no ransom could be paid, and who were thus doomed to perpetual slavery or death. In pity for their sad condition, Saladin's gallant brother El-Adel or Saphadin went to the Sultan, and, reminding him how the city had been conquered by his help, begged to have a thousand slaves for his portion of the spoil. Saladin inquired for what purpose he desired them. "To do with them as I will," was the reply. They were accordingly handed over to El-Adel, who promptly set them free. Then came the patriarch making a like request, and received seven hundred. After him Balian of Ibelin was granted five hundred more.

Then said Saladin: "My brother has made his alms; the patriarch and Balian have made theirs. Now would I make mine also." Accordingly at his bidding all the aged folk in the city were liberated: "This was the alms that Saladin made of poor folk without number."

So on October 2, 1187, Jerusalem was once more in the hands of the Moslem, and the greatest aim of Saladin's life was accomplished. It was for this, as he himself said, that when called to the government of Egypt at the age of thirty he had relinquished the use of wine, and all the pleasures of his youthful life. Forty-three years previously Zangi had turned the tide of Christian success by capturing Edessa. After Zangi's death, so ran the story in the East while Saladin was yet alive, a Mohammedan devotee beheld the great atabek living at his ease in the very fairest part of Paradise, and asked him how he came to occupy so honourable a place. "God," was the reply, "has pardoned all my sins for the conquest of Edessa." If this was the reward of Zangi, what recompense might not the liberator of the Holy City look forward to at the hands of Allah? "Jerusalem," Saladin once sent word to Richard I., "is as much to us Mohammedans as it can be to you Christians, and more. It is the place whence our prophet made his night ascent to heaven, and it will be the gathering place of our nation at the Great Judgment." No wonder, then, that there was joy in Islam when the Temple was again in Mohammedan hands, and when, on the following Friday, after the golden cross that shone above the sacred dome had been taken down,

the prayers of the Faithful once more went up to Allah from Mount Moriah. "Thus," says the Arabic historian, Saladin's bosom friend and confidant, "thus did God suffer the Mussulmans to retake the town for the anniversary of the nightly journey of their prophet ; a certain sign that this people is the only one whose doctrine is agreeable to Him."





XIX.

THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

“ For manners are not idle, but the fruit
Of loyal nature and of noble mind.”

TENNYSON, *Guinevere*.

THE political and social life of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was almost the counterpart of the political and social life of the great kingdoms of Western Europe. In particular it resembles the great monarchy which the same French race built up at almost the same time in our own land, and there is a curious parallelism between the charters of the Norman and Angevin kings of England, and those of the French and Angevin kings of Jerusalem.¹ With the political organisation of the land we have already dealt, and here we shall concern ourselves with the social life and habits of the Latin settlers and their subjects.

To begin at the top of the scale, the life of the Frankish nobles in Syria no doubt closely resembled

¹ In a charter of Hugh of Ibelin we even get the Syrian equivalent for the formula of the so-called Exeter Domesday, “*Die quo Rex Edwardus vivus fuit et mortuus.*”

Empress, were knighted at fifteen and sixteen respectively. To this ceremony there was at an early date attached a religious significance. In a curious romance of the thirteenth century *Hue de Tabarie* is made to set forth to Saladin all the mysterious qualities of the rite. The order of knighthood, Hugh tells his captor, is open to no unbeliever ; to confer it on such a one were like trying to stifle the stench of a dunghill with a silken mantle. Still Saladin perseveres in his desire to receive the honour, submits to the bath, and is clothed in the white garments of chastity ; over them is cast a red cloak, typical of the blood to be shed in defence of Holy Church. Then the Sultan is shod by his instructor with black shoes, symbolical of the earth from which he sprang and to which he must return ; the white belt round the loins, the gold spurs on the heels, and the sword at the side, have each their appropriate significance of chastity, obedience, and justice.

Romance and history also help us to a picture of the knight's accomplishments. Like Richard of Normandy he could fence, manage his falcon, chase the deer, and slay the boar. Like Huon of Bordeaux he could serve at dinner, break a horse, wield a lance, and at chess and tables fear no antagonist. Other graces, too, should he possess ; so Doon of Mayence was bidden by his father to be courteous in bearing, attentive to religion, liberal to the poor ; to be modest in the display of his accomplishments, and not to pretend to a skill or knowledge which he did not possess.

For his amusement outdoors, the knight had

hunting, hawking, and tournaments ; indoors he had chess, tables, and the *jeu des dames*, but above all else the minstrel's song. With the Crusaders the favourite themes of minstrelsy were the "Song of Antioch," and the achievements of Godfrey. The minstrel was dependent on the liberality of his hearers, which sometimes provided but a poor reward ; so the jongleur in "Huon of Bordeaux" sings :—

" Silence for the song I tell,
For, by God, 'tis chanted well ;
Fair the tale and nobly set,
Still I get no guerdon yet,
Better largesse, good my friends,
Or full soon my story ends,"

and when this appeal fails to produce a due effect, the minstrel playfully invokes the curses of the fairy king—Oberon—the semi-hero of his poem :—

" By deity of Oberon the great,
I here declare you excommunicate.
Yea ! every man of you who will not join
Loosing his purse to give my wife a coin."

On the other hand, if the minstrel roused the enthusiasm of his hearers he reaped a rich reward. In the same romance the old minstrel bids Huon "Take service with me, and thou shalt see folk give me mantles so many that it will go hard with thee to carry them all." Even the noblest warriors were not above practising the art, and Richard I. could bandy verses with the Duke of Burgundy and the Dauphin of Vienne. The greatest of the troubadours, like Bertrand de Born and Pierre Vidal, were friends of

princes like Richard of England and Alfonso of Aragon.

Of other indoor recreations tables corresponds



KNIGHT CHESSMAN.

to backgammon, and the *jeu des dames* to draughts. But the chief was chess, which figures in grave historical pages as well as in almost every mediæval romance. We find the Crusaders amusing them-

selves with this game during the long siege of Antioch in 1098, and in the "Chanson de Roland" Charlemagne and his paladins are depicted as whiling away their leisure beneath the walls of Cordova with chess and tables. The game itself is of Eastern and perhaps Indian origin, but may have been known in the West as early as the ninth century, for tradition speaks of a set of chessmen—preserved at Paris till the last century—as one of the gifts of Harun-el-Rashid to Charles the Great. Historically, however, it does not appear till two centuries later, when it was so popular that Peter Damiani lamented its prevalence among the clergy; fifty years later still it was one of the amusements forbidden to the Templars. A little treatise on chess problems dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century, but mediæval interest in the game was not purely scientific, for the players had commonly some stake, thus Charlemagne plays for his kingdom, and Huon of Bordeaux for his own life and the hand of the Sultan's daughter.¹

¹ Mediæval chess boards and men were so heavy that an angry player could use them as a weapon of revenge, as did Renaud of Montauban when he slew Charlemagne's nephew Bertolais. The pawns in a set discovered about 1831 on the Island of Lewis were over two inches high. The squares were generally gold and silver, the men red and gold. The pieces had much the same power as now, but the queen could only move one square, and that diagonally, being thus the weakest piece on the board, and the bishop only two squares. The queen was often called "fierce" or "vierge," from the Persian *varzin*, the bishop "alfil" or the elephant, and the castle "roccus," all names that point to an Eastern origin. In elaborate sets the pawns were all different, and bore the names of farmer, blacksmith, butcher, merchant, physician, innkeeper, warder, and gamester or ribald. But the commoner sets seem to have been of conventional shapes somewhat like those now in use.

A more distinctly gambling, and therefore perhaps more popular, game was tables, which was a favourite amusement with Baldwin III., and our own King John, the record of whose losses at tables to his favourite, Roger de Lacy, is preserved. Gaming was a great vice during the whole period and had to be specially forbidden by Louis IX., who when on his voyage from Egypt to Acre, caught his brother, the Count of Anjou, playing tables, and threw the board into the sea; however, the count played openly at Acre, and got much credit for generosity by the bestowal of his gains on the needy. A strange story is that of the exiled Englishman who in his passion for play lost all to his very shirt at Acre; unable to show his face among Christians, he wandered into the far east and at last took service with the Tartars as an interpreter, and was sent by them to negotiate with the princes of Europe.

The peculiar amusement of the mediæval knight was the tournament. Tournaments do not become prominent in our English chronicles till the reign of Henry III., but on the Continent date back much earlier, and since they were forbidden to the Templars in their original statutes, must have been common about 1130; at the end of the century they were the favourite occupation of the young King Henry, son of Henry II. Tournaments were also popular in the East, and the great jousts held in Cyprus in 1231, to celebrate the knighting of Balian of Ibelin, led to the war of that year. It was no doubt by the Crusaders that this sport was introduced to the



FREDERICK II. AND HIS FALCONER AND HAWKS.

Byzantine Greeks, and won the fancy of the chivalrous Manuel Comnenus, who at Antioch unhorsed two Latin warriors with his own hand. A more primitive amusement was the quintain, which consisted of a hauberk and shield hung on a post, at which the players tilted, the proof of skill being to pierce both shield and armour or even overthrow the post. On the fondness of the Frankish nobles for the chase somewhat is said elsewhere.¹ Above all other sport they delighted in hawking, and a whole chapter of the Assize of Jerusalem deals with the law relating to falcons.

Turning to the more serious business of life we find one of the first difficulties of the Crusaders was due to the necessary intercourse with a people of strange manners and stranger speech. Yet even in the earliest days of Crusading history we meet with instances of familiarity with the Arabic tongue. It was one of the many accomplishments of Tancred, and the Christian interpreter who was sent to Corbogha was a knight called Herluin, perhaps a Norman, who, like Tancred, had learnt the language in Southern Italy. A generation later the office of dragoman seems to have been held as a kind of feudal fief, and under Fulk and Baldwin III., we read of a William Dragomannus, who owned a house at Jerusalem. Later still it was customary for Saracen children to be brought up among Christians, and Christian children among Saracens. Doubtless this custom softened the asperity natural to rival creeds and races, and so the great Christian nobles of

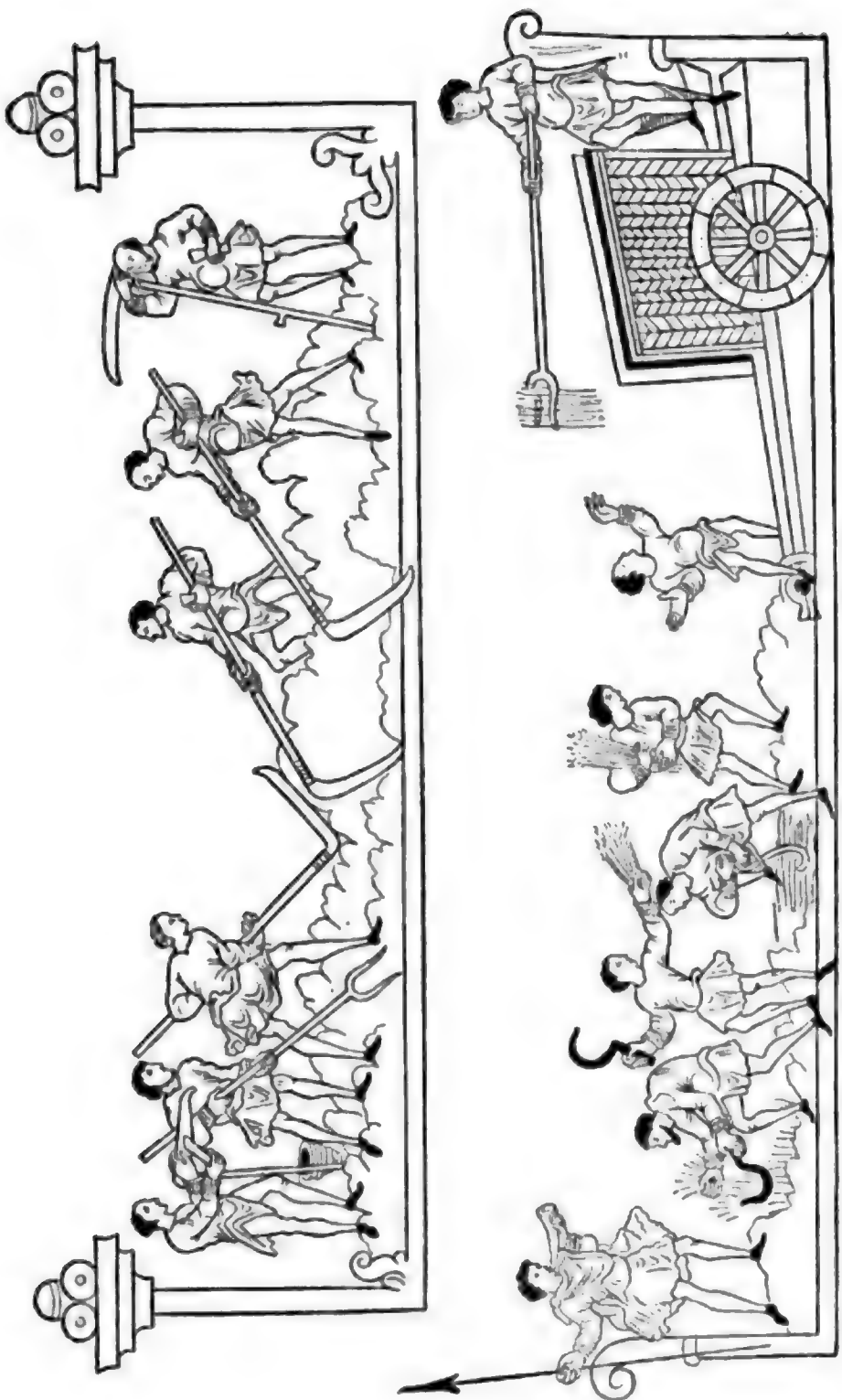
¹ See below, pp. 358-9.

Palestine became friendly with their Saracen neighbours. Of this familiarity we find abundant examples; Henfrid of Toron once owed his safety when on a plundering raid to the friendship of a Saracen emir; Hugh of Cæsarea could treat with the Caliph of Cairo in his own tongue. One great lord, possibly Reginald of Sidon, had so keen an interest in Saracen literature, that he had a special clerk to interpret it to him. Reginald of Châtillon again is stated expressly to have spoken the Saracen tongue, a faculty that he probably acquired in the long years of his captivity. But with all the intercourse between the two races there seems to have been little close acquaintanceship on either side with the literature or learning of the other. Among the Christians, however, one name is pre-eminent for knowledge of all languages, namely, that of William of Tyre, who wrote his Mohammedan history—now unfortunately lost—entirely from Arabic sources as a counterfoil to his history of his own land, which was compiled from Christian authorities.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Frankish nobility of Syria was lacking in luxury and culture; more probably for their age they were in advance of their Western cousins. The Latin conquest was followed by the erection of numerous castles, churches, and monasteries, many of which, by their solidity and magnificence, bear witness to the skill of their builders, and the facility with which they had learnt from their Byzantine and Saracen contemporaries. The necessities of the climate and the example of the natives led to much luxury and splendour. In the towns where military defence was not of the first

importance, the residences of the nobles and even of the wealthy citizens were built round open court-yards, cooled by fountains playing in marble basins, and decorated by the skill of Greek and Arab artists. In their dress also, the Franks, when not engaged in warfare, imitated the luxury of their enemies, and often adopted the flowing robes of the East. So when in 1192 Saladin made Henry of Champagne a present of a tunic and turban, the Christian prince replied: "You know that we are far from despising the tunic and turban; I shall certainly make use of your presents."

The great nobles of Syria must have depended for their wealth, very much as did their Western cousins, on their rural possessions. The country as distinguished from the towns was divided into *casals* or villages, inhabited by "Syrians," "Bedouins," or, as they are otherwise styled, *rustici*, who paid a quarter or a third of the net produce of their harvests to their lord, with perhaps extra payments of fowls, eggs, cheese and the like, at the great festivals. As in England the land was roughly measured into "plough-lands" (*carrucae*), or as much as a single man would plough in a year. The cultivation of the land was subject to strict rules: the land tilled for corn one year was used for beans or some similar crop the next; in some cases the amount of seed to be used for each plough-land was definitely fixed. The population of the casals was not very numerous, and was perhaps stationary or even declining; there seem to have been rarely more than twenty men (heads of families) in a single casal, with a holding of from one



HAYMAKING AND HARVESTING.

to two and a half plough-lands a-piece. The *rustici* were attached to the land, and were sold along with the estate.¹ They were regarded with a certain amount of scorn and suspicion by their Frankish lords, who, whilst admitting that they were "needful for the land," found them useless for military service except in small numbers as light-armed archers. Perhaps they were rightly charged with being but lukewarm in their attachment to the Franks, and ready to sell information to the Saracens. There is very little evidence as to the monetary value of the casals; but we know that when Hugh of Ibelin had to raise his ransom money in 1160, he received seven thousand besants for several large casals, and when Julian of Sidon sold some forty casals to the Teutonic knights about a century later, he received from twenty-three thousand to twenty-four thousand besants.

Passing away from the great lords and their country dependents we come to the town population, the foreign merchants, the Syrian Franks or *Pullani*, and the foreign settlers. The foreign trade was mostly in the hands of the great Italian cities, and, above all, of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. The Genoese made their appearance at the Port of St. Simeon during the siege of Antioch in 1098, and by maintaining communications with Cyprus and the Greek Empire, furnished the Crusaders with supplies on their march to Jerusalem. Baldwin I. promised them one-third of all the money they helped to earn, and a quarter in every town they helped to acquire. Bohemond gave them

¹ A common formula of sale is "*casalia cum omnibus villanis et pertinentiis.*"

a footing in Antioch, but they were specially powerful in the county of Tripoli, where Bertram gave them one-third of his capital itself. Much, however, of their first acquisitions were afterwards lost; but at a later time they had a quarter at Acre and were very powerful in Armenia, where they had their own viscount and court of justice. The Pisans like the Genoese appear during the progress of the First Crusade, and enjoyed the patronage of their compatriot, Dagobert, who afterwards became Patriarch of Jerusalem. They were established at Antioch in 1109; in 1156 the Pisans in Syria were under a viscount, but we find a Pisan consul at Antioch in 1170; they had also a quarter at Acre, and establishments at Jaffa, Tyre, Tripoli, and Laodicea.

By far the most important of the trading communities was that of the Venetians, who, however, were later on the scene than their rivals of Genoa and Pisa. A Venetian fleet appeared at Jaffa in 1100, and many privileges were granted by Geoffrey and Baldwin I. But the great triumph of Venice was the taking of Tyre in 1124, when they assisted in the capture of the city with a fleet of one hundred and thirty vessels under the doge, Domenicho Michaeli. This achievement was the occasion of their obtaining special privileges, which gave them the pre-eminence in the kingdom of Jerusalem itself; they were promised a yearly pension of three hundred besants, a payment which later kings, from Fulk onwards, found it convenient to disallow; they were also to have a church, street, bath, and oven, in each of the king's towns, and in those of his nobles, with the right to

use their own measures, not only in their private transactions, but even in sales to other people ; in purchases they were bound to use the royal measures. In the principality of Antioch and county of Tripoli the Venetians obtained but little footing. In 1183 we find the Venetian communities under the rule of viscounts, but in the next century there appears an official styled the "Bailiff of Syria," who resided at Acre or Tyre. In other towns there were consuls, who were responsible for the good order of the community.

Amongst other Italian cities the first place belongs to Amalfi, which had traded with Syria from the early years of the eleventh century. Of non-Italian cities Marseilles was alone conspicuous.

There was much commercial rivalry between the merchants of the various cities, and especially between those of the three great cities. From the Third Crusade onwards the dissensions of the Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese, were the cause of much open bloodshed, and were no slight factor in determining the final downfall of the kingdom.

Probably at the head of all the Syrian Franks in social position stood those who could pride themselves on their pure Western blood, and they are perhaps the "Franci" whom the author of the "Itinerary of Richard" distinguishes from the Syrians. But numerically they must have been far less important than the half-castes, or *Pullani*. These latter represent, if we may trust Suger, those who were born of a Syrian father or mother ; James de Vitry, on the other hand, defines them as the

offspring of the early conquerors by the Apulian wives, for whom they sent over in the first days of the kingdom ; practically, however, the word means simply the Eastern Franks. Gradually they gave themselves up to all the corruptions of the climate, and became lazy frequenters of the baths, luxurious, wanton, quarrelsome, and litigious ; they took up Eastern habits and adopted an effeminate dress. Their womenkind were subjected to an harem-like isolation, and hardly allowed to venture out to church, so that private altars were erected in their chambers, at which wretched and ignorant chaplains officiated ; but though only allowed to visit church once a year, these ladies contrived to go to the public baths three times a week, and in their seclusion gave themselves up to all the superstitious practices of the East.

Lastly come the foreign settlers, who were only too often the offscouring of the West, evil-livers, who were glad to escape the consequences of their crimes by pretended pilgrimages to the East. In Syria they soon fell back into their old ways, and became brothel keepers, tavern haunters, and gamblers, " monstrous men," says James de Vitry, " who fled from the West to the Holy Land, changing indeed their sky, but not their mind." Such was the natural fruit of papal dispensations, and an unbounded belief in the efficacy of pilgrimages. But as a contrast to these worthless folk were the industrious and frugal Italian traders, sober of life, but lavish of words, who maintained their own freedom and laws under their own leaders : " a folk very necessary to the Holy Land,"

especially in naval affairs, who endured an Eastern climate better than others because of their moderation in food and drink. Side by side with them were the wilder Germans, Bretons, Frenchmen, Englishmen—extravagant, sensuous, gluttonous, wine-bibbers, but, for all that, devout in their religion, and much given to alms and arms.

Thus there was in Syria a strange conglomeration of races and creeds: "from every quarter of the world, of every tribe and tongue, from every nation under heaven, did devout pilgrims flock to the Holy Land." Jerusalem itself was exempted from all food taxes by the generosity of Baldwin I., so that the poorest pilgrims might find abundant provision there. Jerusalem gloried in the two places of special devotion, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on Mount Zion and the *Templum Domini*, or Temple of the Lord, on Mount Moriah. But there was no lack of other places of devotion. At Hebron was the tomb of the patriarchs, hardly more than fifteen years before the fall of Jerusalem there was living at Bethlehem an old knight, who told Ali of Herat that fifty years before as a boy he had himself penetrated to the chamber in the rock and seen the bodies of the great father of the Hebrew race and his earliest descendants. Nazareth boasted of the House of our Lord; Tortosa of the famous Church of our Lady, the first altar according to Eastern tradition that was ever reared in her name—to which the pious Joinville made a pilgrimage; Tyre of the tomb of Origen; Bethlehem of the stall where Christ had lain, and the cave of St. Jerome; Antioch of the Cathedral

of St. Peter ; Edessa of the tombs of St. Thomas and St. Thaddeus, and of the renowned sepulchre of the holy king Abgar.

Nor was religion the only attraction in Palestine ; the merchants were no less important than the pilgrims. The harbours from Ascalon to St. Simeon were thronged with the vessels of every nation of Europe ; pre-eminent above them all was Acre. Other towns were the seats of special industries ; Antioch was famous for its silken cloths ; Tripoli for its cotton and silk factories ; Beyrout for its iron works ; Tyre for its glass and pottery, and for its dye works ; Tiberias for its carpets ; Nablûs for its oil and soap. The land itself produced fruits of all kinds, which were exported to Italy if not further west ; so that John of Salisbury relates how at a banquet in Italy he was regaled with the delicacies of all lands, from Constantinople and Cairo to Barbary and Tripoli. Chief among these fruits were the lemon, the bitter orange, and the citron, and, above all, the sugar-cane, which the early Crusaders found so refreshing on their weary march to Jerusalem ; less strange were the figs and cucumbers and melons. But many of the delicacies which James de Vitry enumerates must have been brought by caravan from more distant lands.

From time immemorial the ginger and musk of China and Thibet had come by way of India and Ceylon to the ports of the Persian Gulf, thence to be carried by caravans over Western Asia. From Bagdad the caravans made their way by the Tigris and Euphrates to Rakka, Edessa, and Harran, and

thence to the great Mohammedan cities of Hamah, Aleppo, and Damascus, and so to the Christian ports on the coast. The caravans from Damascus to Egypt passed through the lordship of Montreal, and the tolls were so rich a source of revenue that Baldwin III. specially reserved them when he granted the lordship to Philip of Nablûs. It was the exactions of Reginald of Châtillon on these caravans that caused his feud with Saladin, and so led to the ruin of the kingdom. Of the trade on the coast Acre was the centre, and it is astonishing to read the long list of merchandise that here paid toll to the kings of Jerusalem ; in it we find pepper, citron, cloves, lemons, aloes, sugar, cardamon, the wines of Nazareth and Sepphoris, and all the manufactured products of Christian Syria itself.

It must, however, be remembered that the trade route of the Euphrates and Syria was subordinate to that of the Red Sea and Egypt, in so far as concerns the commerce between India and China and the nations of Europe. Still the Venetian Marino Sanuto, writing soon after the fall of Acre, states that, whilst the heavier goods came by way of Egypt, the lighter and more costly wares were brought by caravan to Acre, Antioch, and elsewhere. It would seem that the land-borne spices were reckoned to have a rarer relish than those that had suffered from the long journey by sea, and the rough handling incidental to frequent transhipments.

It was into the midst of this feudal and military realm, into the midst of this busy mart of agriculture, manufacture, and trade ; into this land which was

the focus of the devotion, the curiosity, the ambition, and the greed of every nation from Ireland to India, and from Norway to North Africa, that in 1187 Saladin burst with such appalling velocity and such fatal effect. Like a castle of cards or a fortress on the sands the whole kingdom of Jerusalem shuddered, collapsed, and fell ; three months sufficed to work its ruin from the confines of Armenia to the borders of Egypt, and from the Jordan to the Mediterranean ; in the spring it seemed full of life and vigour, in the autumn it lay prostrate in utter destruction. The causes of this sudden fall may here fitly detain us.

William of Tyre, regarding the events of his own day with the eyes of a priestly if philosophic historian, would have us attribute the misfortunes of his land primarily to the sins of its people. The Latins of the East had forsaken God ; God in His turn was now forsaking them ; the old fervour was gone, no longer were the princes of the West ready to make their whole life a pilgrimage, as had done Godfrey of Bouillon or Theodoric of Flanders. More weight is to be laid on the historian's second cause : the degeneracy of the Frankish race under an Eastern sun in the midst of Eastern luxury ; even Arabic writers noted this and tell us that in the latter half of the twelfth century, the individual Saracen was far more nearly a match for the individual Christian than he had been fifty years earlier. Most important of all is the fact that during this century the valley of the Orontes passed from the divided rule of a score of petty lords under the supremacy of one

Sultan. When the Sultan further became lord of Egypt and carried his conquering arms to the Euphrates and the Tigris, it was evident that the star of Islam was once more in the ascendant. The Mohammedans took fresh courage under their victorious leader, and in their turn embarked on a holy war against the enemies of their faith.

But there was another cause at work to which historians have perhaps paid too little attention. Long and repeated minorities of the kings gave the opportunity for internecine strife to arise among the nobles. Even in the narrative of William of Tyre we can trace signs of two factions, the one of the nobles, and the other, so to say, of the king's friends; it was the same struggle that led in England many years later to the Barons' War. The old-established nobility of Syria were careless of fresh conquests; their ancestors had won vast estates, pleasant lands, and boundless wealth through the expenditure of blood and toil; they themselves were of a weaklier brood, and asked only to be allowed to pluck the grapes that ripened in the vineyards that their fathers had planted and tilled and dressed. Hence under such a leader as Raymond of Tripoli, sick of warfare, sick of toil, longing for ease and delighting perhaps in the nobler graces of civilisation—in art and literature and science—the Syrian nobles were eager only for a peace that would let them live their pleasant life as seemed good to them—free from care, free from danger, free from war. Perhaps Raymond thought also that under the altered condition of things

—now that Islam was one, and gradually closing in upon the doomed kingdom—this was the wisest course to pursue ; better so to speak by the payment of tribute to preserve what they had, than by open war to risk the loss of all.

Over against this peace party may be set the party of the foreigners and the great military orders who, under the leadership of Reginald of Châtillon, looked at matters from a very different point of view. Perhaps they were eager to carve out new principalities for themselves ; perhaps they longed merely for the excitement and distinction of war with the infidel ; or, as is more likely still, they had a truer insight into the drift of affairs. They saw that for a little kingdom situated as theirs was—hemmed in by hostile powers to the north and south and east, and with all capacity for expansion cut off by the sea on the west—there was only one sound policy. The sword must keep what the sword had won ; not to advance was to recede, not to conquer to be conquered. Hence their rivalry with Raymond ; hence Raymond's friendship with Saladin ; hence Saladin's enmity with Reginald. This feud between the new men and the old, the strangers and the foreigners, is but faintly reflected in the pages of William of Tyre ; for his is as purely a court history as is that of his contemporary Robert de Monte, who, dedicating his work to Henry II., barely mentions the quarrels between the king and Becket. But on turning from William to his continuator Ernoul, we see the truth at once ; we feel that we are no longer reading sober history but a party pamphlet. Glanc-

ing back in this light at the pages of William of Tyre, we become dimly conscious that the greatest of all historians that the world had seen since Tacitus, who was as great in action as he was great in thought, is himself but the spokesman of a political party ; an historian whose presentation of facts, as distinct from the facts themselves, is little more to be trusted than would have been a history of North's ministry from the hands of Burke, or a life of Pitt from the pen of Fox.





XX.

THE THIRD CRUSADE—THE GATHERING OF THE HOST.

(1188-1191.)

“Say, Muse, their names, then known, who first, who last,
At their great emperor’s call as next in worth,
Came singly.” MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, i.

THE news of the fall of Jerusalem reached Europe about the end of October, 1187. It is hard at this distance of time to realise the measure of the disaster in the eyes of the Western world. It was not merely that the Holy City had fallen ; that all the scenes of that Bible history which constituted emphatically the literature of mediæval Christendom, had passed into the hand of the infidel. It was all this and something more ; the little kingdom of Jerusalem was the one outpost of the Latin Church and Latin culture in the East ; it was the creation of those heroes of the First Crusade whose exploits had already become

the theme of more than one romance; it lay on the verge of that mysterious East with all its wealth of gold and precious stones and merchandise, towards which the sword of the twelfth-century knight turned as instinctively as the prow of the English or Spanish adventurer four centuries later turned towards the West. If the sword had won much, much yet remained for it to win; Aleppo the chief town of Northern Syria, Damascus the garden of the world, Alexandria the storehouse of the East—all these and other prizes fired from time to time the ambitions of those who aspired to rival the successes of the two Baldwins, of Raymond and Reginald, or of Fulk and Guy; while for those who fell in battle and lost the prize of temporal power, there was secured an eternity of happiness in heaven. Thus Palestine inspired alike the imagination, the enterprise, and faith of Western Christendom.

No wonder that both religious enthusiast and knightly adventurer were stirred to the very utmost at the tidings of Saladin's victory. Pope Urban III. was alleged to have died of grief for the loss of the Holy City. Unfounded though that report was,¹ we know with what profound emotion the news was received in the papal court, where the cardinals laid aside their luxury, and pledged themselves to take the cross and beg, if need be, their way to Palestine. Nor was the feeling less profound in the lands beyond the Alps; it was not, we may be sure, any peculiar

¹ Urban died on October 20, 1187, before the fall of Jerusalem could have been known in Europe.

grief which made Abbot Samson of Bury St. Edmund's (familiar to all readers of Carlyle's "Past and Present") wear sackcloth next his skin, and leave off animal food from the time when he heard that the Holy City was in the hands of the infidel.

One of the first acts of the new Pope, Gregory VIII., was to bid the princes of Europe lay aside their private quarrels and unite for the service of Christ in a new Crusade. First to take the Cross in November, 1187, was our own Richard, then Count of Poitou; two months later, on January 21, 1188, the kings of France and England were reconciled by the Archbishop of Tyre, and both received the cross at his hands; their example was quickly followed by the Count of Flanders. The three princes agreed that white, red, and green crosses should be the badges of their respective followers.

Nor was the enthusiasm confined to words; the famous Saladin-tax in England, and perhaps in France also, bound every man, on pain of excommunication, to contribute a tithe of his means for the contemplated expedition; to all who would pledge themselves to personal service, special privileges were offered. In England the Crusade was preached by Baldwin of Canterbury himself; in his journey through Wales the archbishop was accompanied by the famous Giraldus Cambrensis, who made this the occasion of his "Itinerary." The foremost preacher in France was Berter of Orleans, the echo of whose eloquence has come down to us in the song which bears his

name.¹ Many nobles in both countries followed the example of their kings, but before long the feud between Henry and Philip broke out again. Time after time the expedition was postponed, and it was nearly three years after the fall of Jerusalem, when Henry himself was dead, that the chivalry of France and England were led over sea by their feudal lords to share in the siege of Acre.

The kings of the Spanish peninsula were too busy with the infidel at their own gates to go and fight for the Faith at the other extremity of the Mediterranean. In Italy, however, William of Sicily was first of the great princes to act ; when the Archbishop of Tyre, in his black-sailed galley, brought the news of Hattin, William had forthwith diverted to the relief of the Holy Land the fleet which he had collected

¹ The first verse of this song, with its refrain, runs as follows :—

“ Juxta threnos Jeremiæ
 vere syon lugent viæ,
 quod solemni non sit die
 qui sepulcrum visitet,
 vel casum resuscitet
 hujus prophetiæ.
 Contra quod propheta scribit,
 quod de syon lex exhibit
 numquid ibi lex peribit,
 nec habebit vindicem,
 ubi Christus calicem
 passionis bibit.
 Lignum crucis
 signum ducis
 sequitur exercitus
 quod non cessit
 sed præcessit
 in vi sancti spiritus.”

for an attack on Constantinople. This armament, under its great admiral, Margaritus, saved Antioch from Saladin, helped to preserve Tripoli, strengthened Conrad at Tyre, and recovered Jaffa. William was preparing for a fresh expedition when his death, and the troubles which ensued put an end to the design.

A yet more potent sovereign had already pledged himself for the second time to the service of the cross. Forty years had passed since Frederick Barbarossa had borne his part in the Second Crusade, and now as a man of nearly seventy he renewed the promise of his youth. The troubles of the great Emperor's reign had come to an end, and it had seemed that he might now close his life in peace ; but all thoughts of rest were banished by the news of the fall of Jerusalem, and Frederick, though last to take the cross, was first to take the field. Whilst Richard and Philip were banded together in treason to their father and fellow-Crusader, the aged Emperor was already toiling through Hungary and Bulgaria on his way to the East. In the previous year his envoys had obtained from Isaac Comnenus the promise of ample provisions, but the promise of the Greek proved as worthless as ever. Not, indeed, but what Isaac may well have looked on this new enterprise with alarm. Bright, though perhaps misty, visions of a Latin Empire in the East long floated before the eyes of Western Europe. William of Sicily had actually been preparing for such an attempt, and later legend tells how Richard of England hoped to crown the glory of his life by the conquest of so rich a prize. In 1188 the world was full with whispers of a coming change ;



strange prophecies were told to ready ears, and many hoped that in Frederick they might find the yellow-haired king of the West before whom the golden gate of Constantinople was to open ; might he not also be destined to fulfil that other prophecy, and drive back the last remnant of the unconverted Turks beyond the withered tree.

On May 11, 1189, Frederick's great army started from Ratisbon. In Hungary he was received hospitably, but on entering Bulgaria in July he began to experience the nature of Greek promises. Markets were ill provided, and the natives dogged the line of march to cut off stragglers or in the hope of plunder. At Philippopolis on the 24th of August there came the news that Isaac had made a league with Saladin, and contrary to all right and custom thrust the German ambassadors into prison. Isaac's promises were clearly valueless, and Frederick accordingly sent word to his son Henry at home to hire all the ships he could in Italy, and send them to Constantinople in readiness for its siege in the following March.

Isaac presently took alarm, released the envoys and came to terms. The German army then went into winter quarters at Adrianople ; in February, 1190, they started once more, and soon after Easter, which fell this year on the 25th of March, crossed the Bosphorus and entered Asia. At Laodicea they reached the dominions of Kilij Arslan, who, by his envoys had promised Frederick good guidance and stores of food. It was, however, soon evident that Kilij Arslan was no more to be trusted than Isaac ; no food was brought for sale, and as the army toiled

along the rocky ways that led to Iconium their steps were dogged by the hostile Turks. When at length, on the 18th of May, the Crusaders appeared before his city, Kilij Arslan, declaring that it was not he but his son who was to blame for the past, came to terms and opened to the Crusaders an abundant market.

From Iconium Frederick passed on towards Cilicia. Leo, the Prince of Armenia, sent him envoys with promises of all support and goodwill. But on the 10th of June while the army was struggling over the rocky hills that separated Cilicia from Lycaonia they were startled by the news of the Emperor's death. Desirous to avoid the labours of the recognised path which wound up the rocks above the river Saleph, Frederick had determined to make a short cut ; with his attendants he came down to the river side ; the day was hot, and willing to shorten his journey, and at the same time cool his heated limbs the Emperor attempted to swim the rapid stream ; the swirl of the waters sucked him down, and so "he, who had oftentimes escaped from greater dangers, came to a pitiful end." His followers sadly carried his body to Tarsus, where they buried the intestines with great reverence ; his bones were taken to Antioch and interred in the Church of St. Peter.

Thus perished the noblest type of German kingship—the Kaiser Redbeard, of whom history and legend have so much to tell. Tradition was soon busy with his death. Men could not believe that he was gone away for ever from his own land : like Arthur, he was but in hiding for a time, and would return in some hour of supreme necessity to save the empire which

he had ruled. The spot which witnessed his destruction was fabled to have been marked out by fate from remote antiquity, and a rock near the river's fount was alleged to bear the ominous words — "HIC HOMINUM MAXIMUS PERIBIT" ("Here shall perish the greatest of men").

After Frederick's death the German host divided into two. One body went to Tripoli; the rest, under the Duke of Swabia, made their way to Antioch, where they stayed for some time, recruiting themselves after their labours, and assisting the prince of that city in his warfare.

It was not till June, 1190, that Richard and Philip Augustus were ready to commence their journey. The two kings met at Vézelay, and proceeded in company to Marseilles, whence Philip sailed in a Genoese fleet for Sicily, and landed at Messina on the 16th of September. Richard had ordered his fleet to meet him at Marseilles, but the English Crusaders, mindful of the exploit of their forefathers nearly half a century before, stopped on the way to help Sancho, of Portugal, in his warfare with the Moors. It was the 14th of September before they reached Marseilles.

Meanwhile Richard, impatient of delay, had started in a single galley. Slowly he sailed from port to port along the western shores of Italy, varying his journey from time to time by a ride on shore. At last, on the 23rd of September, he joined his main fleet, and entered Messina in state and pomp amidst the blare of trumpets, whilst the Frenchmen and Sicilians on the beach marvelled at the splendour of his coming.

The two kings stayed on in Sicily for six months.

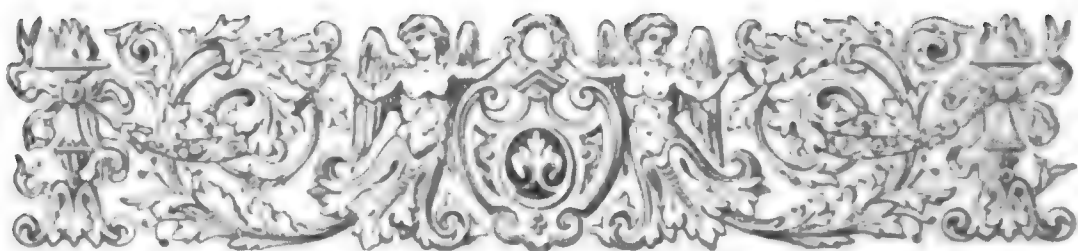
The winter was passed in unseemly wrangling ; Tancred, the new ruler of the island, was an illegitimate grandson of Roger I. ; he had seized the person and property of his predecessor's widow, Joanna, and she, as Richard's sister, naturally turned to her brother for protection. An ill-advised quarrel soon gave Richard a pretext for an attack on Messina ; "Quicker than priest could chant matins," says the old chronicler, "did King Richard take the city." Such prompt action brought Tancred to his senses and though Richard did not get the golden table and chair, which he claimed as part of his sister's dower, he received what was perhaps more useful, namely, forty thousand ounces of gold.

If the taking of Messina proved Richard's military prowess, his castle of Matte Griffin, or Check Greek, showed him as the skilful engineer ; and the great Christmas feast, when he gave his guests the golden goblets which they used, displayed his generosity. Now also, though late, he recognised his sin against his father, and showed the sincerity of his sorrow by submitting to public penance. In the presence of all his prelates he confessed his sin, and "from that hour once more became a God-fearing man."

On the 30th of March, 1191, Richard's mother, Eleanor, brought to Messina her son's destined bride, Berengaria of Navarre. That same day Philip had sailed for Palestine, but Richard did not start till eleven days later. The English fleet, which numbered more than one hundred and eighty vessels, was scattered by a great storm two days after it set sail. Richard himself put in at Crete ; but some of his ships were

wrecked on the coast of Cyprus, and the crews thrown into prison by order of Isaac Comnenus, the ruler of the island. A little later the ship which carried Berengaria and her future sister-in-law, Joanna, reached Limasol. Somewhat doubtfully they accepted Isaac's invitation to land next day, Monday, the 6th of May; but that same afternoon the sails of the main fleet appeared on the horizon, and on the following morning the king himself arrived. Richard was not the man to suffer tamely the wrongs which had been done to his followers; when Isaac refused redress, the English king determined to use force; a short campaign of three weeks sufficed for the conquest of Cyprus, and Isaac was imprisoned in chains of silver.

At Cyprus Richard married Berengaria, and after a month's stay in the island sailed, on the 5th of June, for Palestine, in the company of Guy de Lusignan, who had come to meet him with many of the great Syrian nobles. On his way Richard encountered and sank a great Saracen vessel laden with provisions for Acre, and after two days entered the harbour of that city in triumph. "For joy at his coming," says Baha-ed-din, "the Franks broke forth into public rejoicing, and lit mighty fires in their camps all night long. And seeing that the King of England was old in war and wise in council, the hearts of the Mussulmans were filled with fear and dread."



XXI.

THE THIRD CRUSADE—THE SIEGE OF ACRE.

(1189-1191.)

“Corpses across the threshold ; heroes tall
Dislodging pinnacle and parapet
Upon the tortoise creeping to the wall;
Lances in ambush set.”

TENNYSON, “*A Dream of Fair Women.*”

WE must now turn back to record the fortunes of the Christians in Palestine during the interval between the fall of Jerusalem and the arrival of the main host of the Crusaders under the kings of France and England.

Guy de Lusignan had been set free towards the beginning of July, 1188, but not until he had promised to abandon his claim on the kingdom. From this engagement he was soon released by the clergy, who assured him that there was no binding force in such an oath. Near Tortosa he met his wife, and with her proceeded to Antioch at the invitation of Bohemond. The year passed in anxious expectation of succour from Europe. But by the following

spring Guy had assembled a little army, and feeling sufficiently strong to take the initiative, marched southwards to Tyre. Conrad refused him admission to the city, declaring that God had entrusted it to his care, and he would keep it; if the king sought a resting-place let him find it elsewhere. After four months' vain delay near Tyre, Guy marched on to Acre with an army which now numbered seven hundred knights and nine thousand foot, gathered from every nation in Christendom. With this little force he set down to besiege that great and strong city on the 28th of August, 1189.

Acre lies on an inlet of the Mediterranean which



COIN OF GUY DE LUSIGNAN.

bears its name; a tongue of land running southwards into the sea serves as a partial protection for the harbour; at its extremity rose the famous "Tower of Flies,"¹ which, together with a chain, helped to guard the harbour; to the east the city overlooked a fertile plain. The harbour of Acre was the best in the kingdom properly so called, if not along the whole coast of Syria, and the town itself was the chief emporium of Frankish trade. In recent years it had been gradually supplanting Jerusalem as the royal residence, and had become the recognised landing-

¹ So called, if we may trust the chroniclers, because it marked the spot where heathen sacrifices had of old attracted swarms of flies.

place for pilgrims from the West. "Acre," says an Arab writer, who visited it some five years before this time, "is the column on which the Frankish towns in Syria rest. Thither put in the tall ships which float like mountains over the sea. It is the meeting-place of crafts and caravans: the place whither Mussulman and Christian merchants muster from all sides."

At a little distance from the walls a small hill rises above the level of the plain; here Guy pitched his tent, whence he could look forward over the city for the sails of his expected friends. But to the east a less pleasant sight soon met his gaze, as one after another the Saracen contingents hastened up to hem in the Christian army between the river Kishon and the sea; before long the Christians were themselves besieged, and their numbers were so few that they could not prevent the Saracens from passing almost at their will to and from the town.

The siege had hardly commenced when the first ships of the autumn passage began to arrive. First came the Frisians, closely followed by a contingent from Flanders and England. Then came the hero of the siege, James of Avesnes, a warrior proud and turbulent in his own land, but in the eyes of his fellow Crusaders the model of all chivalric virtues—in counsel as Nestor, in arms as Achilles, in faith as Regulus. Other arrivals were Robert of Dreux, grandson of Louis VI., and his brother Philip of Beauvais, the warrior prelate of the expedition; the Counts of Brienne and Bar, and the Landgrave, Louis of Thuringia, whose influence induced Conrad of Mont-

ferrat to lend his aid to an enterprise, from which he had as yet held sullenly aloof. By mid-September the Christians perhaps numbered nine thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, and were able to establish an effectual blockade. Saladin therefore determined on an attempt to break through their lines, and in the early dawn of September 14th, a sudden onset from both the city and the camp proved successful ; despite their valour, the Christians could not prevent the passage of the loaded camels into Acre, nor the escape of one of Saladin's sons from the beleaguered town.

Three weeks later Guy retaliated by an attack on the Sultan's camp ; the Saracens gave way before the charge of the Franks, who were already plundering Saladin's tent, when a sally from the town cut off the Christians in the rear, and called Geoffrey de Lusignan to his brother's aid, from the camp which he had undertaken to guard. In vain did the Templars offer a stout resistance to the new attack ; twenty of their knights were slain, and among them Gerard de Rideford, the Grand Master. Gerard died a hero's death ; his comrades urged him to seek safety in retreat ; "God forbid," was his reply, "that men should say of me to the shame of our order, that to save my own life I fled away leaving my fellows dead behind me." Nor was Gerard alone in his gallantry ; Guy himself, in the true spirit of chivalry, rescued his enemy Conrad from the imminent danger of death, whilst James d'Avesnes owed his safety to the self-sacrifice of one of his knights. In the end the Christians lost the day, but they gained, never-

theless, a substantial advantage, for the Saracens were so exhausted, that Saladin gave orders to fall back on El Kharruba, about twelve miles south-east of Acre.¹

The Christians turned this respite to the best use ; in order at once to secure their own position, and to complete the blockade, they dug a deep trench outside their camp from sea to sea, and strengthened it with a wall of earth. Night and day they toiled at the task till all was finished. Young and old, men and women, all joined in the labour, and the Christian historian records with enthusiasm, how when one woman was mortally wounded in the midst of her labour, she adjured her husband to let her dead body be flung into the mound, that thus she might further in death the work for which she had sacrificed her life.

The winter passed away without any important result, though the Egyptian fleet succeeded in re-victualling the town on October 31st, and two months later drove the Christian vessels to seek shelter at Tyre. Saladin occupied himself with preparations for mustering a large army ; Baha-ed-din was sent on an embassy to summon the lords beyond the Euphrates, and to beg aid of the Caliph ; both missions proved successful, and in April, 1190, the various contingents began to arrive. Meantime

¹ This probably refers only to part of Saladin's army. Previously the main host had been encamped on the hill of A'iadiya, about four and a half miles south-east of Acre. This retreat was occasioned chiefly by Saladin's ill-health ; but none the less does the Arabic contemporary historian—wise after the event—blame the hero of Islam.

Conrad had brought back the fleet from Tyre, and, in return for a compact, by which he was to have Tyre, Sidon, and Beyrout, lent his hearty aid. But though the Christians could now confine the Saracen fleet at Acre, they still could not prevent the entry of provisions from time to time. The siege was nevertheless prosecuted with vigour from the land side ; three great towers of wood were constructed, and fitted with engines ; when manned by five hundred men a-piece, they were brought to bear on the walls. Perhaps the town would have fallen save for the energy of a young charcoal-burner of Damascus ; but by his direction certain ingredients were mixed together in pots, which on being hurled against the towers set them ablaze ; thus they were all destroyed, and the confusion of the Christians was increased by an attack from the Saracen camp, which was maintained during eight days.

After this many of Saladin's best troops were called away to oppose the Germans near Antioch. This circumstances perhaps encouraged the Christian common folk, contrary to the will of their leaders, to sally out on July 25th against the foes surrounding them. The wrath of the chiefs was powerless against the lust for spoil, which stirred the crowd to madness ; for a moment the suddenness of the attack made it successful, and the rude host was soon rifling the tents of El-Adel. But the Saracen soldiery quickly mustered to arms, and the Franks, who had no thought except for the plunder, woke up to find their retreat entirely cut off. Hardly one would have escaped but for the valour and self-devotion of an

English clerk, Ralph of Hautrey, Archdeacon of Colchester. The Christians themselves admitted a loss of over five thousand men, and Baha-ed-din, who rode over the plain after the battle, declares that he had to cross "waves of blood," and that he could not count the number of the dead.

The next few months were passed in comparative quiet, but were marked by the coming of the first large contingents of the French and English hosts; the former under Henry of Champagne and Theobald of Blois, the latter under Ranulf Glanville, Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, and his destined successor, Hubert Walter, then Bishop of Salisbury. About the same time the Germans arrived from Tripoli, under Frederick of Swabia; but of the vast host which started from Ratisbon, scarcely five thousand were now left.

Count Henry brought with him ten thousand men, and he was at once appointed to command the army in place of James d'Avesnes and the Landgrave, who had so far held the office by turns. The attack from the land side still met with but indifferent success, but at sea the blockade was so strictly maintained, that famine began to press hard on the besieged. Saladin, however, maintained his communications with the town, through the agency of a messenger named Eissa. This man would creep down to the shore at dark, carrying in his belt letters and money for the payment of the troops; thence plunging into the waters he would strike out for the harbour, often diving beneath the very keels of the Crusaders' ships. At last one of his journeys proved fatal, and a few

days later the citizens of Acre found his dead body on the sand with his belt still untouched. "Never before," says the Arab historian, quaintly, "had we seen a man pay a debt after his death."

Provisions grew scarce within the town, but the state of the Christian camp was scarcely less doleful. Archbishop Baldwin, writing home, says: "The Lord is not in the camp; there is none that doeth good. The leaders strive one with another, while the lesser folk starve, and have none to help. The Turks are persistent in attack, while our knights skulk within their tents. The strength of Saladin increases daily, but daily does our army wither away."

Saladin, however, on October 20th, went into winter quarters at Shefr 'Amr close to El Kharruba; for the unhealthiness of the place was proving fatal to himself and to his troops. His troops began to murmur at the long campaign, and one by one many of his chief followers withdrew, till in March, 1191, the Sultan was left with only a small force. On the other hand, the stress of winter had prevented the Franks from watching the harbour with the usual closeness, and Saladin had contrived to throw a fresh garrison into the town (Feb. 13th). Moreover famine was rife in the Christian camp, and during the enforced idleness of winter the soldiery gave way to dicing, drinking, and even worse. Baldwin took the evil that he saw around him so much to heart, that he fell sick, and after a short illness died, thankful for his speedy delivery from his sojourn in so godless an army. Conrad had withdrawn to Tyre, and promised to send provisions thence; but he either could not

or would not fulfil his engagement, and at length the famine grew so severe that the knights slew their chargers to save themselves from death. When it was known that an animal had been slaughtered, men flocked together from all parts of the camp to beg or steal a portion for themselves. Men of noble birth might be seen going out into the plain and eating grass like cattle, others ran about the camp like dogs on the scent for old bones. At last, one Saturday early in March, a ship arrived with a cargo of grain, and by the following day the price of a measure of corn had fallen from a hundred pieces of gold to four. After this there was an end of the famine, and only those grieved who, like a certain Pisan, had hoarded their grain in the hope of an even higher price ; " But his wickedness did God show by a plain token ; for it chanced that his house suddenly took fire and was consumed with all that was in it."

About the end of March, 1191, Saladin renewed his leaguer of the Christian camp ; but the besieged within the city were now hard pressed, and the Sultan could do no more to help them than to order an attack on the Christian camp whenever the Christians made a special effort against the town. Philip Augustus arrived on April 20th, and Richard on June 8th ; it seemed for the moment that Acre must fall at once. The machines which the King of England had constructed in Sicily, including the huge wooden tower *Matte Griffin*, were brought to bear on the walls. But before anything had been effected, the old feuds broke out afresh ; Guy and Conrad renewed their quarrel, and the latter departed



a little later in England—on July 8th, as the Christians were keeping watch, there shone round them a sudden light, “for fear of which the guards became as dead men ;” in the midst of the light appeared the Virgin, bidding those to whom she spoke bear her message to the kings ; let them abandon their efforts against the walls, the city should be theirs on the fourth day.

Next morning the rulers of the city begged for a truce, and promised to capitulate if Saladin did not send immediate help. The Sultan was forced somewhat unwillingly to consent to terms ; Acre was to be given up together with two hundred knights and fifteen hundred other Christian captives ; the Holy Cross was to be restored, and the sum of two hundred thousand besants paid to the Crusaders. So after a siege of nearly two years, on Friday, July 12, 1191, the Christians once more obtained possession of Acre. The city and the captives were divided between the two kings ; Richard took possession of the royal palace, whilst Philip hung his banner over the house of the Templars. But even in the hour of victory the princes quarrelled one with another as to their respective shares therein. Leopold of Austria—so the story goes—had set up his banner side by side with that of the King of England as though arrogating to himself an equal share in the triumph ; with Richard’s connivance, if not by his command, the duke’s banner was torn down and cast into the ditch. Leopold, feeling himself unable to revenge this indignity, departed for his own land, bearing in his breast the seeds of a direful hatred for the English king.



XXII.

THE THIRD CRUSADE—THE CAMPAIGNS OF RICHARD.

(1191-1192.)

“ Yet in this heathen war the fire of God
Fills him : I never saw his like ; there lives
No greater leader.”

TENNYSON.

HARDLY was Acre taken ; hardly had the two kings established themselves in their quarters in the city ; hardly had the papal legate, the Cardinal Adelard of Verona, and his brother bishops, re-consecrated the churches which for four years had been polluted with Mohammedan rites ; hardly had the Pisan merchants begun to exercise their former privileges and renew their former trade, when the slumbering jealousy of the two kings once more brought peril on the common enterprise.

Philip Augustus owed no ordinary gratitude to the late King of England and his sons ; it was the young Henry who had stood by Philip's side at his coronation and helped to raise the crown that bore too heavily on the boy-king's head ; it was the elder

Henry who by his wise statesmanship had preserved the first years of Philip's reign from rebellion and civil war ; later, when Richard was at feud with his father, it was to his alliance that Philip owed the grand success of 1189. But the friendliness of the young princes could not survive Richard's elevation to the crown ; and with his father's and his mother's lands Richard inherited the traditional hostility of the king at Paris.

Other special grounds of quarrel there were between Richard and Philip which had not existed between Henry and Louis. After long dallying, Richard had repudiated his engagement to Philip's half-sister Alice ; and though the French king could stoop to accept compensation in money, he can hardly have put out of mind the insulting reason which Richard gave for his refusal. Cupidity also had its share in the quarrel ; the two kings had sworn to divide all the spoils of their conquests ; but both had with more or less of reason found occasion to recede from this engagement. Moreover while yet in Sicily they had quarrelled openly ; for Tancred had shown to Richard certain letters which he professed to have received from Philip, and which invited his assistance in a treacherous attack on the English. Philip denied all knowledge of the letters, but it was only with great difficulty that the Count of Flanders contrived to effect a seeming reconciliation.

Nor were personal dissensions the only troubles with which the two kings had to contend. National rivalry, which had nearly wrecked the First Crusade,

was destined to be the ruin of the Third. Richard's coming to Acre had been hailed as the "coming of the desired of all nations ;" but the joy was of short duration, for soon the old jealousies broke out, and it was found necessary to forbid the two nations even to fight side by side. "The two kings and peoples," says the English chronicler, "did less together than they would have done separately, and each set but light store by the other." So it was agreed that when the knights of one nation advanced against the city, the others should remain to keep ward in the trenches.

But a yet more serious rock of offence lay in the struggle for the kingship of Jerusalem. Sibylla and her infant children had died in the latter part of 1190. Their death encouraged some of the native nobles to dispute Guy's title once more. According to the normal rules of the land Henfrid IV. of Toron should have governed in the name of his wife Isabella, Sibylla's younger sister. But the great nobles had never forgiven Henfrid for his refusal to join in their rebellion four years before ; they therefore sought another candidate in Conrad of Montferrat, whose vigour had saved Tyre for the Christians, and whose brother William had been Sibylla's first husband and the father of their last accepted king. Conrad was a man of resource and action, who, both for his birth and his personal merit, ought to satisfy even the proud barons of Syria. The one obstacle was Isabella's previous marriage ; but with the lady's consent a divorce was procured on the plea that she had been married to Henfrid against her wish. The

attitude of Philip and Richard was foreshadowed in the action of their followers, for Baldwin of Canterbury was foremost in opposing the divorce, whilst the new marriage was celebrated by Philip of Beauvais, cousin to the king of France.

Guy could not be expected to acquiesce in the loss of his title and power; naturally enough he had sought in Cyprus the aid of his former overlord, King Richard, who had there promised him his support. Before the siege of Acre was over the quarrel had culminated in open violence; Guy's brother Geoffrey bluntly accused Conrad of treachery, and Conrad rather than maintain his innocence by gage of battle withdrew to Tyre; nevertheless, Philip Augustus took that noble under his protection, and openly declared his opposition to the wishes of the King of England. However, at the end of July, after a formal trial, a compromise was arranged, under which Guy retained the title of king, but shared the royal revenues with Conrad, who was to be hereditary lord of Tyre, Sidon, and Beyrout; at Guy's death the crown was to pass to Conrad and his children by Isabella.

By this time Philip had already wearied of the Crusade, and a little later he rejected Richard's proposal that they should both bind themselves to stay in the land for three years. Soon he went even further, and begged Richard's sanction for his return, pleading that his health was bad and that he had sufficiently performed his oath. The remonstrances of Richard and of his own followers had no weight with Philip, who on July 31st set out for Tyre. Before

his departure the French king swore neither actively nor passively to do any wrong to the King of England's men or lands in Europe. "How faithfully he kept his oath the whole world knows. For directly he reached home he stirred up the whole land, and threw Normandy into confusion. What need for further words ! Amid the curses of all he departed, leaving his army at Acre."

Richard waited for Saladin to pay the agreed ransom ; but August 14th arrived and the Mohamedans had not completed their engagement. So on the Eve of the Assumption Richard left Acre and pitched his tents beyond the eastern trenches ; here he waited again six days more, till, on the afternoon of August 20th, the king and his knights advanced into the plain. Then the captives were brought out and massacred in full view of their countrymen ; it was in vain that the Saracens threw themselves upon the murderers of their kinsfolk, and in all five thousand prisoners are said to have been thus slain, the more notable only being preserved for ransom. The massacre was not, perhaps, so gratuitous and unwarrantable as would at first sight appear ; Roger Howden asserts distinctly that Saladin had slain his Christian captives two days before, an assertion which the words of Baha-ed-din seem to countenance ; Richard may also have felt the danger and difficulty of keeping so many prisoners, and have honestly doubted the good faith of Saladin as to the stipulated ransom.

On August 23rd Richard started for Ascalon ; the army marched along the shore, whilst the fleet



accompanied them at a little distance from the land. Every evening, when the tents were pitched, the herald took his stand in the midst of the host, and thrice cried aloud: "Aid us, Holy Sepulchre!" As he cried the whole army took up the shout with tears. "Who would not have wept, seeing that the mere recital moves all that hear to sorrow?"

Inland on the low hills to the left Saladin's host followed and harassed the Crusaders. Despite the enemy, and the terrible heat, which caused many to fall dead by the way, the Christians marched on past Haifa and Cæsarea, till on September 1st they reached the Dead River, where the coast became so bad for marching that Richard struck inland by the mountain road. On September 3rd a fierce attack was made on the Templars in the rear; the arrows flew so fast that there was not a yard of the army's march where they did not lie; Richard himself was among the wounded. But still the host pressed on, till on the 6th they rested by the Nahr Falaik, or River of the Cleft, some sixteen miles from Cæsarea. Here they learnt that Saladin was awaiting their approach with an army of three hundred thousand men, three times the estimated number of the Crusading host. With the early dawn of the 7th of September the Christians resumed their march in five divisions. First went the Templars; then the Bretons and men of Anjou; next the Poitevins under Guy; fourth came the Normans and English with the royal banner; in the rear were the Hospitallers. The Christian army, marshalled in close array, filled the whole space between the hills and the sea.

Richard and the Duke of Burgundy with a band of chosen knights rode up and down the lines keeping a wary eye on the order of their troops.

About nine o'clock the battle began with an attack by Saladin's negro troops and Bedouins—pestilent footmen with bows and round targes; in their rear the heavier Turkish troops kept up an incessant din with their drums and cymbals. Again and again the Turks rushed down on the rear of the Christians; at last the Hospitallers could bear up no longer, and begged Richard to let them make but one charge. Richard, however, would permit no deviation from his plans. The heavy horses of his cavalry with their armoured riders were no match for the swift-footed Arab steeds of the lightly-clad Saracens; it would be worse than useless to charge till the enemy was well within their grasp. When the decisive moment arrived six trumpets were to give the signal; then the footmen were to open wide their ranks, and let the knights pass through to the attack.

So the Hospitallers endeavoured to still endure the renewed onset of the foe; one knight in despair invoked the great warrior-saint of the Crusaders, who perhaps from this period tended to become the patron saint of England: "Oh, St. George! Why dost thou leave us to be destroyed? Christendom perisheth, because we strive not against this accursed race." Then the Grand Master petitioned the king in person, but Richard still replied: "It must be borne." Most of the Hospitallers murmured but obeyed; two knights, however—the marshal of the order, and Baldwin de



Carew, "a right good warrior, bold as a lion"—burst from the ranks and overthrew each his man; the remaining Hospitallers could be no longer restrained, and out they charged to their comrades' aid. The battle soon became general and for a time threatened to go ill for the Crusaders; but when Richard himself came up on his Cyprian bay, the Turks fell back before him as he clove his way into their ranks with his sword. The Christians then resumed their march, and were already encamping outside the walls of Arsûf when the enemy attacked once more; but again the Turks turned in headlong flight as Richard galloped up to the rescue thundering out his war-cry: "God and the Holy Sepulchre aid us!"

The Christians counted two-and-thirty emirs dead upon the field of battle, besides seven thousand corpses of meaner folk. They boasted that their own loss was not as many hundred. But one death in particular they had to mourn; the heroic James of Avesnes was surrounded and slain by the Turks. On the morrow his corpse was found with fifteen of the enemy lying dead around him.

On Monday, September 9th, the march was renewed, and next day, just three weeks after leaving Acre, the Crusaders encamped in pleasant quarters amid the orchards outside Jaffa. At the same time the fleet arrived bringing an abundance of food.

Past experience had taught the Crusaders that until they held Ascalon and Jaffa they could not hope to maintain themselves in the Holy City, even if they should succeed in capturing it at once. Worse still would be their position if they had to conduct a

prolonged siege with all the seaboard, from Cæsarea to Damietta, in the hands of the foe. To all this Saladin was not less alive than Richard himself; but he was too weak to hold Ascalon, and so ordered it to be dismantled in haste, before the Crusaders could come up. The Christians, however, were as busy with the restoration of Jaffa as the Saracens were with the destruction of Ascalon. Not that Richard was blind to the importance of the latter city, which he would have attacked before but for the supineness of Philip; but now as then French opposition compelled him to postpone the advance, and this delay perhaps ruined the expedition.

Six weeks of precious time were lost at Jaffa, and it was only in the end of October that Richard renewed his march towards Jerusalem. Even then he had to stay at the Casal of the Plains and Casal Maen, between Ramleh and Lydda, for two months. At the end of the year he advanced to Beit-Nuba, some ten miles nearer the Holy City, but was there once more detained by the violence of the winter storms. The wind tore up the tents, and the wet rotted the store of provisions, whilst sickness played havoc both with the men and their horses. Yet in the midst of their misfortunes the Crusaders were glad in heart with the hope of reaching the Lord's Sepulchre, and the thought that nothing should now prevent the accomplishment of their pilgrimage. But the military orders and the Syrian Franks knew the dangers of a winter campaign, and feared that even success would have no other result than to shut up the host in a city which they could not defend.

In a council held on January 13th their opinion prevailed, and the order was given for a retreat to Ramleh. Many of the French then withdrew to Jaffa, or elsewhere ; but Richard, full of wrath at the turn affairs had taken, determined to lead his diminished army to Ascalon. Two days of weary marching through snow and rain brought them at last to the ruined town on January 20th. After a little the French were induced to rejoin the host, and pledged themselves to obey Richard's orders till Easter. All then set about the task of restoring Ascalon ; nobles, knights, squires, and men-at-arms working together with their own hands, and with one will. But the main glory of the work belonged to the king ; he was everywhere directing, exhorting, and even working. His eloquence heartened the great lords to fresh efforts and larger liberality. Where means were lacking he supplied them, till when at last Ascalon was restored, it was said that Richard had paid for three-quarters of the work.

The previous autumn had witnessed some lengthy, if not perhaps very genuine negotiations between Richard and Saladin. Richard at first demanded the restoration of the whole kingdom as it existed under Baldwin IV. When this was refused he suggested a marriage between El-Adel or Saphadin, the Sultan's brother, and his own sister Joanna, who might then rule together in a new kingdom of Palestine.¹ The proposal flattered El-Adel, who

¹ This probably gave Sir W. Scott the hint for the proposed marriage of Saladin himself to Edith Plantagenet (a purely fictitious character), in "The Talisman."

visited Richard in or near the Crusaders' camp; the king had just undergone his autumn bleeding and could not receive his visitor in person, but had him entertained at a great banquet. This was followed next day by an interview and the exchange of costly presents, from which there sprung up a warm friendship between the two princes. The negotiations, however, fell through, according to the Saracens, because Joanna refused to wed a Mohammedan. The Christian account makes no mention of the marriage, and ascribes the failure to Saladin's refusal to dismantle Kerak. Perhaps, indeed, the chief object of both parties had been to gain time—Richard that he might complete the fortification of Jaffa, Saladin that he might postpone hostilities till winter had made a serious campaign impracticable. At the same time both parties may have found good reasons to wish for peace—Richard in his suspicions of Philip Augustus, and Saladin in his fears of the descendants of Zangi.

Richard, moreover, was at this time much hampered by the behaviour of Conrad of Montferrat. The marquis had not only held aloof from the main enterprise, but had also a party among the Syrian Franks, with Balian of Ibelin and Reginald of Sidon for his chief supporters. Conrad and his party, like Richard, had opened negotiations with Saladin, but the Sultan's council had declared against them on the ground that there could be no sincere friendship between the Saracens and the Syrian Franks. When in February, 1192, Richard called Conrad to his aid at Ascalon, the marquis found occasion to excuse himself. The Duke of Burgundy had about

the same time withdrawn from the army because Richard refused him any further loans of money. The French now went to Acre, where they took up the cause of the Genoese against the Pisans, who were partisans of Guy. The Genoese called on Conrad, whilst the Pisans sent word to Richard, on whose approach the marquis went back to Tyre, taking Burgundy with him.

Despite a personal interview the breach between Conrad and Richard grew wider, and the latter presently renewed his negotiations with Saladin. So friendly did the King and Sultan become that, on Palm Sunday, Richard knighted El-Adel's son at Acre in great state. However, some hostilities of the Franks near Darum inclined Saladin to turn once more to Conrad, who agreed to join in open war with his fellow Crusaders. Richard, who by this time had returned to Ascalon, was now forced to let the French, who had thus far remained with him, depart to their compatriots at Tyre. The news of troubles in England which arrived about this time, made Richard himself anxious to go home. Some settlement of the kingdom was now imperative, and Richard rather reluctantly consented to the recognition of Conrad as king.

Hardly had the marquis thus attained the object of his ambitions, when he was cut off by a mysterious fate. On Monday, April 27th, so runs the story in the Franco-Syrian chronicles, Conrad, weary of waiting for his queen, who had stayed late at the bath, went out to dine with Philip of Beauvais. Finding that the bishop had already dined, Conrad turned

home. As he came out of the bishop's house into the narrow road, two men advanced to meet him; one of the two offered him a letter, and whilst Conrad was thus off his guard they stabbed him with their knives. Conrad fell dead on the spot; of his murderers one was instantly slain, and the other was captured soon after. When put to torture this man confessed that he and his comrade had been despatched by the Old Man of the Mountain to take vengeance for the robbery of one of his merchant vessels.¹

Queen Isabella now declared that she would hold Tyre for Richard, but the French clamoured for the city to be surrendered to them on behalf of their king. But as it happened Richard's nephew, Henry of Champagne, had hurried to Tyre on the news of Conrad's death; the people at once hailed him as lord, and begged him to marry Isabella. Richard readily assented to the proposal, and so Palestine once more had a king, whose claim was supported not only by the French and English, but also by the Syrian Franks. With these brighter prospects before him Richard once more postponed his departure. Like a true knight-errant, he was more attracted by the hope of conquering a new kingdom from the Saracen, than by the prospect of merely preserving the one which God had given him.

Richard did not when assenting to his nephew's elevation forget the deposed king for whom he had struggled so long. Cyprus was bestowed on Guy, whose family ruled in that island for more than

¹ The French accused Richard of having suborned the Assassins to murder Conrad.

two centuries after the last remnants of the Christian kingdom on the mainland fell into the hands of the Moslem.

In the middle of May Richard, who was anxious to strike a blow whilst Saladin was still troubled with the threatened revolt on the Euphrates, left Ascalon with a small force to besiege Darum. That fortress was very strong, but the fleet soon arrived with the siege train, and on the 22nd of May Darum surrendered after only four days' siege. Hardly was the fortress taken when King Henry arrived with the French, and received Darum from his uncle as the first-fruits of his new realm. Very shortly afterwards fresh news of a disquieting nature from England made Richard think once more of returning home. But after some hesitation he pledged himself to stay till the following Easter, and ordered preparations to be made for an immediate advance to Jerusalem. At this news, "all began to rejoice as a bird at dawn of day," and forthwith made themselves ready for the journey, crying out: "We thank Thee, O God! because we shall now behold Thy city, where the Turks have dwelt so long."

On Sunday, June 7th, the Crusaders marched out from Ascalon, and after a few days' journey, once more pitched their tents at Beit-Nuba. Here they had to stay a month till King Henry brought reinforcements from Acre. This delay was unfortunate for the Christians, for there seems little doubt that if they had pushed on at once they could have taken the city. Whether they could have held it for long is another matter. Probably most of the

Crusaders, after paying their vows at the Holy Sepulchre, would have returned home, without further care for the land they had so hardly won.

Two incidents in the desultory warfare of this tedious month deserve notice. One day in June Richard came upon a party of Turks near the fountain of Emmaus unawares, and slew twenty of them. In his pursuit of the remainder along the hills he advanced so far that as he chanced to raise his eyes, he caught a glimpse of the Holy City from afar. A little latter there came news of a great caravan on its way up from Egypt. Richard with characteristic generosity invited the Duke of Burgundy and the French to share in the spoil. Marching by moonlight, the king's force of five hundred knights and a thousand serving men came out to Keratiyeh, where during a short halt they learnt that one caravan was already marching past the "Round Cistern." The report was confirmed by Richard's own spies, who were sent out in disguise as Bedouins. Another night's march brought the Crusaders within a short distance of the caravan. At dawn the bowmen were sent out in advance, and the king with his knights followed in the rear. The caravan was surprised while resting, and its escort fled before the charge of the Crusaders like hares before the hounds. Besides a very rich spoil of spices, gold, silver, silks, robes, and arms of every kind, there were captured no less than four thousand seven hundred camels, besides mules and asses beyond number.

The loss of this caravan "was an event most shameful to us," writes Baha-ed-din ; "not for a long time

past had such a disaster befallen Islam. Never did any news so trouble the Sultan." Saladin was, indeed, in no small alarm lest the Crusaders should advance forthwith on Jerusalem. But after a few days there came the welcome news that the Franks were in retreat.

The causes of this retreat are more or less of a mystery. It would seem that about a fortnight previously, before the arrival of King Henry with the reinforcements, the Franks were very eager for an immediate advance. Richard declared that the idea was impossible, and that he would not take the responsibility for an enterprise which would expose him to the censure of his enemies. If others saw fit to attack Jerusalem, he would not desert them; but in that case he would follow, and not lead. He pointed out the dangers of their present position, and urged that the Crusaders should follow the advice of the native lords as to whether it was wiser to besiege Jerusalem, or march against Cairo, Beyrout, or Damascus. So at Richard's suggestion the plan of campaign was referred to a committee of twenty sworn jurors. The twenty decided in favour of attacking Cairo. At this the French cried out, declaring that they would march only against Jerusalem; Richard in vain offered the assistance of his fleet which lay at Acre, and promised a liberal contribution towards their expenses; his efforts were without avail, and on the 4th of July he ordered a retreat towards Ramleh.

Richard now withdrew to Acre, and reopened negotiations with Saladin. But the Sultan, hearing of an intended expedition against Beyrout, determined to divert the attack, and on July 26th appeared before

Jaffa. After a five days' siege the town was captured, and the remainder of the garrison in the tower promised to surrender if aid did not come by the following day. But Richard had been well informed of the danger, and though the French would lend him no assistance, had already left Acre with a few galleys. Through contrary winds he only reached Jaffa at midnight on the 31st. When day dawned it seemed that he had arrived too late, for Saladin's banners were already flying on the walls. Richard was in doubt what to do, until a priest swam out to the ships with news of the peril to which those in the tower were exposed. The king delayed no longer, but ordered his galleys to be rowed towards the shore, and himself led the Christians as they waded through the water to the land. The Turks fled before them, and the royal banner was soon waving from the walls. Richard himself was foremost in the fight: "never did warrior bear himself so nobly, as did the king that day; Saladin fled before him like a hunted hare." For more than two miles the English cross-bowmen pursued the Turks with terrible carnage, and at night Richard pitched his tent on the very spot where Saladin's had lately stood. Richard's position was still one of considerable peril. He had with him but fifty knights, and only fifteen horses good or bad. An attempt at a surprise was only frustrated by a happy accident. At dawn on the 5th of August a Genoese, who was out in search of fodder, heard the tramp of men and caught sight of their helmets gleaming in the eastern sky. Hurrying back he roused the sleeping camp, but hardly was there time to arm or even dress before

the Turks were upon them. Richard was marshalling his little army, when a messenger came up crying out that they were all lost, and that the enemy had seized the town. Sternly ordering the man to hold his peace, Richard bade his followers be of good cheer, and to show his own confidence rode off with half-a-dozen knights to discover what had actually taken place in Jaffa. The Saracens who had gained the town fled before the king as he forced his way into the streets, and Richard could soon rejoin his army outside. There the enemy, though they continually charged close up to the Christian line, would not venture to attack. At last in the afternoon Richard advanced, and after a fierce engagement put the Saracens to flight. It was on this day that, according to the romantic tale, El-Adel, hearing Richard had no horse, sent him two Arab steeds ; a generous gift, which the king accepted in a like spirit, and afterwards splendidly recompensed.

After this battle negotiations were once more resumed. The French would render no help, and sickness was playing havoc with the Christian host. Richard himself fell ill, and thought it better to ask for a truce than to go away leaving the whole land to be laid waste, as did others who departed by crowds in their ships. By the mediation of El-Adel terms were at length arranged on the 2nd of September. Ascalon was to be left unoccupied for three years, during which time the Christians were to have peaceful possession of Jaffa, and free access to the Holy Sepulchre ; commerce was to be carried on over the whole land.

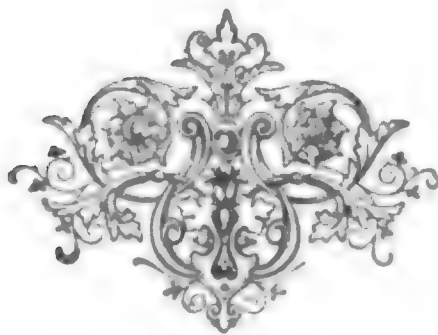
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Richard warned the Sultan frankly of his intention to return and renew the war. If, replied Saladin, he was to lose the land, he would rather it was to Richard than to any other prince he had ever seen. To the Christians the king's departure brought great grief, and when the day (October 9th) arrived, the people cried aloud : " O Jerusalem, now art thou indeed helpless ! Who will protect thee when Richard is away ? " Richard's own last words, as the Holy Land faded from his sight, were a prayer that he might yet return to its aid. Of that other fate which awaited him, of his captivity, of his warfare with his treacherous ally, and of his death, this is not the place to speak.

Before their departure many of the Crusaders had availed themselves of the truce to go up to Jerusalem. Richard himself would not visit as a pilgrim the city which he could not rescue as a conqueror. The pilgrims, chief among whom was Hubert Walter, were treated generously. To the bishop Saladin showed much courtesy, and, besides inquiring many things concerning his master, granted him permission for Latin priests to celebrate divine service at the Holy Sepulchre, and in Bethlehem and Nazareth.

Romance has invested the Third Crusade with a halo of glory, altogether incommensurate with its direct results, which, if less disastrous than those of the Second, were in no wise to be compared with the splendid achievements of the First Crusade. As of old, the failure of the Western Crusaders was due more to divisions amongst themselves than to the prowess of the enemy. Richard alone of the great

princes who took part in the war had his heart in the cause, and, save for Acre, the whole of the acquisitions of the Christians were due to his efforts. The French were more anxious to thwart the English king than to further the Holy War, and Richard would probably have benefited if Philip had taken all his subjects back with him. As things went, a three years' truce, and a narrow strip of coast from Acre to Ascalon were the sole results of an expedition that had drained the wealth and nobility of Western Europe. Never again did the Syrian Franks behold so great an army, under so valiant a leader come to their aid from the West ; but the mutual jealousies and personal ambitions that had wrought the ruin of the Third Crusade remained with them always as the most persistent and dangerous foes of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.





XXIII.

ARMS, ARMOUR, AND ARMAMENTS.

“ And higher on the walls,
Betwixt the monstrous horns of elk and deer,
His own forefathers’ arms and armour hung.
And, ‘ this,’ he said, ‘ was Hugh’s at Agincourt,
And that was old Sir Ralph’s at Ascalon.’ ”

TENNYSON, *The Princess*.

INASMUCH as the Crusades were in a sense the greatest military achievement of the Middle Ages, and since they influenced profoundly the progress of the art of war during that period, the present volume would be incomplete if it did not attempt some description of the mediæval warrior’s equipment. Yet at the same time it is impossible here to more than briefly discuss a subject which might readily occupy an entire work.

Siege operations formed so large a part of Crusading warfare, that it does not seem improper to commence with some description of them. The engineering science of the Crusaders was, for the most part, a development of Byzantine methods. The most formidable weapons of attack were machines for hurling huge stones against the walls,

known as *petrariæ* or stone-casters, mangonels, and, most formidable of all, the *tribuchet*. Mangonels and stone-casters were used by the Crusaders in their earliest siege operations, as at Nicæa in 1097. Yet the experience requisite for their successful use cannot have been very common, for at Tyre in 1124 it was



MILITARY MACHINE.

found necessary to call in the aid of an Armenian engineer from Antioch. But much of a great leader's reputation for military skill depended upon his capacity to construct and direct these formidable machines, and even kings did not think it beneath their dignity to give this branch of warfare their personal attention.

At the siege of Acre Philip Augustus had a famous stone-caster, "The Bad Neighbour," which the Saracens destroyed by means of a like engine called "The Bad Kinsman." Richard, too, had stone-casters, which discharged day and night a store of polished Sicilian flints, that had been brought on purpose from Messina ; these stones were of such size, that one which was sent out of the city for Saladin's



MILITARY MACHINE.

inspection is said to have killed twelve men. How Richard rose from his sick-bed to superintend the use of these engines has been already described. When the walls of a fortress had been sufficiently battered by such engines, the besiegers would approach them under cover of a "testudo" or shed, sometimes called a "sow," which was made of wicker-work protected with hides. Under this shelter the

moat would be filled up with stones and earth, and thus access was obtained to the walls. The "testudo" was often used to cover the men who brought up the "aries" or ram, a heavy beam with which they battered the walls, as did Bohemond's men at Durazzo. At other times the besiegers, under cover of the "testudo," would undermine the walls by picking out the loosened stones. To such labours the men were encouraged by the promise of abundant rewards; Raymond of Toulouse offered a denarius for every three stones cast into the moat at Jerusalem, and Richard two gold pieces for every stone dislodged from the walls of Acre. Where the defence was stubborn the besiegers would sap the walls, propping them up for a time with wooden beams, which, when a sufficient distance had been excavated, were fired, and by this means a breach was created.

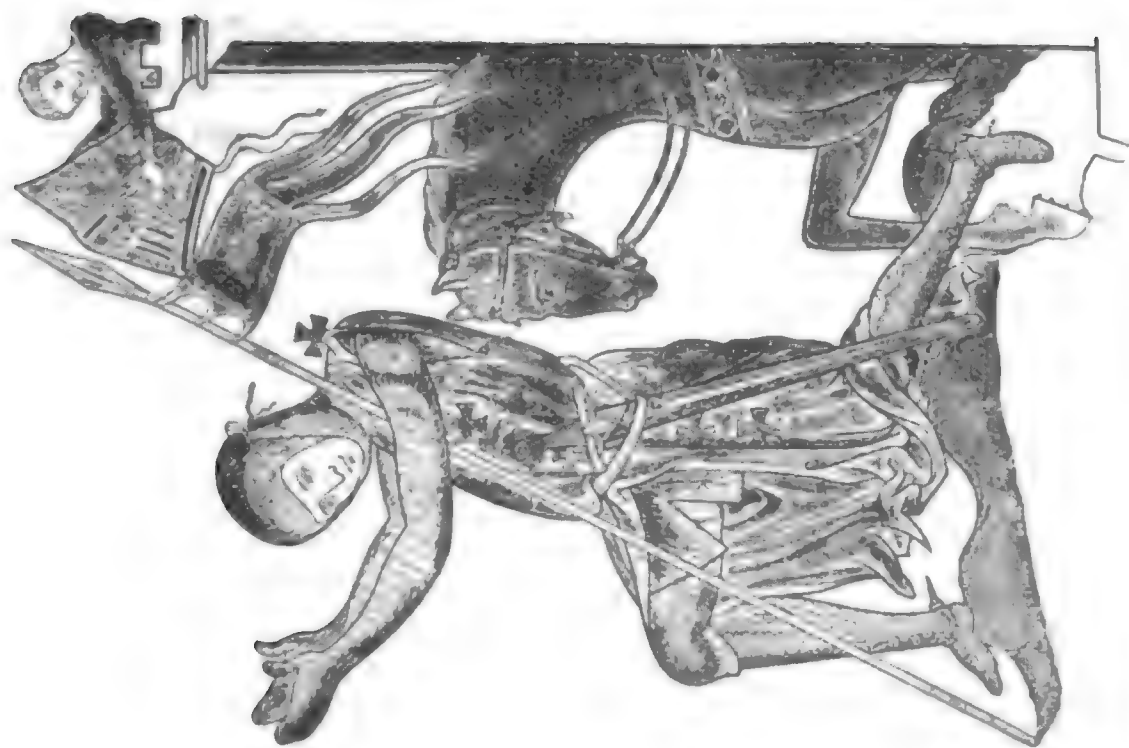
But the crowning achievement of mediæval offensive engineering was the "belfry" or siege-castle. This was a movable tower, built of wood, and of such a height as to overtop the walls of the town which was being attacked. It was constructed in several stories, which were called "cœnacula" or "solaria." Godfrey's great "Machina" at the taking of Jerusalem had three stories, while that used by Amalric I. at the siege of Damietta had seven. The "belfry" was moved on wheels, sometimes worked by men from the inside—sometimes moved from the outside on rollers. On one story there was often a ram, in a higher story were fitted bridges, which could be lowered on to the wall, and at the top were the archers, the mangonels, and other missile engines. The besieged

would attempt to keep this machine from approaching the walls, by affixing iron-pointed beams to resist it, and if this proved futile they could, as a last resource, pour down the deadly Greek fire upon the enemy, or with flaming arrows set the dreaded construction ablaze. Time after time at the siege of Arsûf did Baldwin I. find himself baffled in this way. At the siege of Damietta in 1219 the Saracens menaced the Christian floating siege-castle with five mangonels, or similar engines, from the wall. To guard against the effects of fire or stones, the machine was covered with hides steeped in vinegar, and with a network of rope, or with stuffed sacks. These huge constructions, costly and difficult though they must have been to erect, were not in any sense permanent engines, but seem to have been built when occasion required from whatever material was procurable. The famous Matte Griffin, which Richard had made in Sicily, and brought with him to Acre, was, however, an exception.

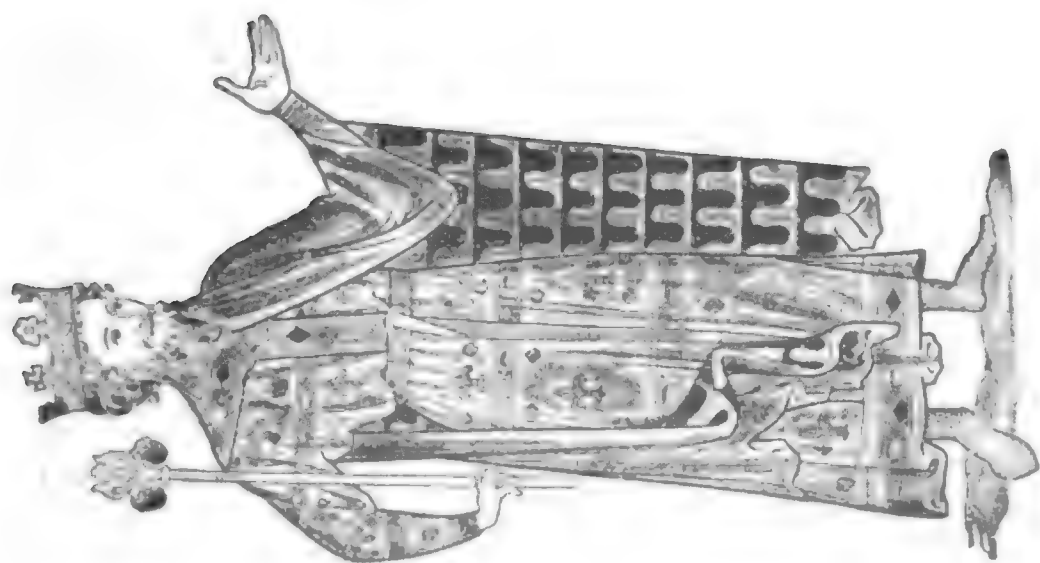
From the military engines we turn to the equipment of the soldier himself. During the Crusading age and the following half-century, armour underwent a development more important and more marked than in any other period of the world's history. It passed from the *broigne*, a loose-fitting mail-coat of steel-rings, or small closely set plates of iron, through the grand hauberk to the mail plate of the fourteenth century. Originally the Teutonic warrior went to battle in the tunic of ring-mail. It was in such array, a war corslet, whose "polished iron rang in its meshes"—that, according to the primæval

English battle-song, Beowulf entered Hrothgar's hall to do battle with the fiend Grendel. At the time of the First Crusade we may picture the accoutrements of Western Europe from the pictures given in the Bayeux Tapestry and from the "Song of Roland." At this period armour seems to have been made either of linked chains or of plates sewn upon a leather back-ground, or welded close together. If made of plates the garment was generally long and often sleeveless, if of chains it fitted closely to the body and generally covered the arms, while short, armoured breeches protected the thighs. In a very few cases the Norman knight seems to have worn iron shoes and leggings distinct from his upper tunic, and it is thus that William I. is represented in the Bayeux Tapestry.

Soon after the First Crusade a change set in which did not become universal for nearly a century. This consisted in the introduction of the hauberk, which, in its final form as the grand hauberk, was composed of two parts, a closely fitting chain tunic that covered the whole body to the knees, with an under garment protecting the legs and reaching as far upwards as the waist. This grand hauberk was not sewn upon any ground, but simply formed of interlocking rings; it was cloven behind so as to facilitate horsemanship. In most cases the grand hauberk seems to have been fitted with a ring-mail hood to protect the neck and head, and the whole accoutrement was crowned with a pointed conical helm, laced on to the rest of the armour. In the twelfth century the small conical helmet, which appears everywhere in the Bayeux



KING AND KNIGHT.



Tapestry, began to give way to one of cylindrical shape and much larger proportions, which covered the whole head and face, leaving, when the visor was down, but one or two apertures for seeing and breathing. In such helmets it was impossible to recognise friend or leader, and hence it is no wonder that Baldwin I. was refused admission to Arsûf, and that the later chanson represents William of Orange as shut out from his castle by his warder and wife till he had unbared his head.

Just as the Crusades are ending we may trace the faint beginnings of plate armour, when the links were displaced by large pieces of metal. Gradually the two simple garments gave way to a multitude of detachable pieces, each with its own particular use and special name. But this development does not fall within our period.¹

The mediæval warrior's defensive equipment was completed by his shield. This from the earliest days had been made of linden-wood. Such was the "yellow linden shield," with which Wiglaf went to aid his lord Beowulf against the dragon. It was behind the shield-wall of linden-wood that the Danes ranged themselves in vain against Athelstan at Brunanburgh. In the twelfth century the best shields seem to have been made of elm, and it is only very rarely that we read as in Beowulf of an iron buckler. The mediæval shield was generally kite shaped as in the Bayeux Tapestry, but sometimes almost oblong or circular. It was covered with leather and generally had a raised knob in the centre,

¹ See further details in the descriptive list of illustrations.

whence bands of metal ran out in all directions. When not in use it was carried on the back, but during a single combat, when the lance was in rest, was slung round the neck in front as an extra protection.

The offensive weapons most in use were the sword, the lance, and the axe. Early English poets sing with rapture of the "sword-play," and invested this weapon with something of a human personality. All the great heroes of romance have names for their swords as though they were something more than senseless metal. Roland's sword was Durendal, Charlemagne's Montjoie, Arthur's Excalibur. So far was this worship carried that we find the rusty weapon furnished to Huon of Bordeaux for his combat with Galofre described as Durendal's sister. The mediæval sword was sometimes long and sometimes short, from three to four, or from two to three feet, as the case might be.

The spear was generally of ash-wood, but an alternative was the wood of the apple. "Ash-timber with tip of grey, seamen's artillery, stood stacked together" in Hrothgar's hall. Of ash too was Charlemagne's spear in the "*Chanson de Roland*." The head was of various shapes—leaf-like, as it appears in the Bayeux Tapestry, or "squared," as it is often designated in mediæval poems. Shaft and tip together, the weapon seems to have measured some eight feet. When used, overhand as a kind of missile, the shaft must have been rather slender, and hence in the Tapestry is represented by a single thread. But with the custom of tilting lance in rest

it must have assumed larger proportions, and so in most mediæval poetry the appropriate epithets are "stout" or "thick."

The axe plays but a small part in the Crusades, though at Constantinople, in 1203, it was still the weapon of the English in the Varangian guard, and, nearly fifty years later, Joinville tells us it was carried by the soldiers of the Old Man of the Mountain.

The one other weapon of the first importance was the bow in its various forms. At the time of the First Crusade the Westerns seem to have used the short bow alone. The cross-bow or arbalest is, however, of indefinite antiquity, and under the latter name figures in the "*Chanson de Roland*." Bohemond's soldiers used it at Durazzo, for Anna Comnena refers to it as "a thoroughly diabolical device." The use of the arbalest rapidly spread among the Crusaders. It was a favourite weapon with Richard, who was very skilful in its use, and who is said to have re-introduced it to Western warfare to be himself slain by an arrow from one. Of the English longbow there seems to be no trace throughout the whole period under review.

Three animals divided the attentions and shared the affections of the mediæval knight—his hawk, his hound, and his horse. Skill in hawking and the chace was the chief boast of Huon of Bordeaux, and a main part of the education of Richard of Normandy. Nor does art fail to support the evidence of mediæval song and history. The Bayeux Tapestry shows us Harold riding out with his hawks upon his wrist, while his servants may be seen carrying the dogs on

board the ship which was to bear the Saxon earl into the hands of the Norman duke. Even in the supreme moment of life the passion for the chase did not leave the mediæval knight. We have seen how Roger of Antioch went out to hunt on the very morning of his last fatal fight. Of the kings of Jerusalem, Fulk died from a hunting accident, and Baldwin I. received the wound which eventually hastened his death whilst in the pursuit of his favourite sport. Even in death the mediæval sculptor would depict the armour-clad knight with his feet resting on the effigy of the faithful hound that had been his comrade in life.

But the horse was the knight's peculiar friend. "O my steed," cries William of Orange, in the old Romance, 'thou art weary; right willingly would I charge the Saracens again, but I see thou canst not help me. Yet I may not blame thee, for well hast thou served me all the day long. . . . Couldst thou only bear me to Orange, none should saddle thee for twenty days, thou shouldst feed on sifted barley and choicest hay, drinking from vessels of gold, and clad in fine silks.' And his horse hears its master's words; its nostrils quiver, and it understands what is said as though it were a man." The horse is indeed almost the hero of one mediæval song, "Renaud de Montauban"—where Bayard, the offspring of a fairy ancestry, bears Renaud and his brothers from the court of Charlemagne to the forest of Ardennes. The twelfth-century horse had, however, but little in common with our modern racer. Now and again we do find allusion to the horse's speed as in the "*Chanson de Roland*," where horses are spoken of as swifter than

sparrow or swallow, and in some incidents of Crusading history, as Baldwin I.'s swift mare Farisia, and the intended rescue of the young Baldwin III. on the steed of John Goman in 1145; but for the most part strength was preferred to beauty or speed. Archbishop Turpin's horse was light footed, but its legs were thick and short, its breast broad and its flanks long: "With its yellow mane, little ears, and tawny head, there was no beast like unto it." In another romance we are told, "with his short head and gleaming eyes, small ears and large nostrils, the horse was strong and stout, a better steed you would nowhere see." So also Richard I.'s Spanish horse, though of graceful form, with pricked-up ears, and high neck, was also of great height, with broad breast, solid haunches, and wide hoofs. In contrast to the ideal knightly steed, broad breasted, thick ribbed, and short flanked, we have the sorry beast furnished by the Saracens to Huon of Bordeaux for his combat with Galofre, thin ribbed and scraggy necked that had not tasted oat or wheat for seven years.

From the equipment of the engineer and the knight, we must turn for a little to the fortress, which was at once the Crusader's bulwark against the enemy and his home. The fortification of cities and towns was regarded as of less importance than that of isolated castles or the citadels which protected the towns, and, indeed, the warfare of the age did not well lend itself to the defence of an extensive system of fortifications. So though the walls of the important towns and the great ports was a matter of particular care, and

especially in the last age of Crusading history, it is in the great castles like Kerak or Krak des Chevaliers and Markab that we find the most stupendous monuments of Frankish enterprise. The care of the kings and military orders lined the Christian frontiers with numerous powerful fortresses from Kerak and Montreal on the south-east, Darum, Ibelin, and Blanche Garde on the south; to Beaufort, Chateauneuf, Safed, Chastellet, and Belvoir, which guarded the Lebanon; and the famous Kerak des Chevaliers, Markab, Tortosa, and others in the territory of Tripoli. The Frankish castles in Palestine followed two main types, of which the first had for their model the French castles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, whilst the other class borrowed more from the Byzantines and Arabs. Of the first the finest examples are found in the castles of the Hospitallers, and especially at Kerak des Chevaliers and Markab; to the latter class belong the buildings of the Templars as Safed and Tortosa. Even in the first class there were certain Eastern characteristics as the double *enceinte* which was borrowed from the Byzantines, and the huge mass of masonry specially adapted to meet the possibility of earthquake. Markab had a site of extraordinary grandeur overlooking the Mediterranean, and from its position, on a jutting spur of the mountains, impregnable on all sides but one. Kerak des Chevaliers preserves to this day all its main features intact as they were when the Hospitallers abandoned it in 1271. But the illustrations will give a more adequate idea of their grandeur than is possible in a brief description.



The walls were generally broken by frequent towers ; of these the fortifications of Antioch boasted no less four hundred and fifty, which were eighty feet high.

For the protection of all these towns and fortresses, the Assizes of Jerusalem recorded a most elaborate system of military organisation. Every fief, every city town or castle was bound to furnish so many knights and so many men-at-arms for the war. The lordships of Galilee and Sidon had to supply one hundred knights in case of need ; from such smaller fiefs as Toron and Maron fifteen and three were demanded respectively. Among the towns and cities we find Jerusalem assessed at forty knights, Acre at eighty ; whilst a small place like Darum had to supply two only. In addition, they had to furnish a fixed number of men-at-arms from the five hundred of Acre and Jerusalem to the fifty of Cæsarea and Haifa. Not even the prelates and great ecclesiastical corporations were exempt, but had each to furnish their fixed quota. To these forces we must add the troops of the military orders, the Turcoples and mercenaries in the royal pay, and the European knights who came with every spring and autumn to fight for Christ and the Holy Sepulchre. Still, with it all, if we may trust William of Tyre, the largest army ever mustered in Palestine since the days of Godfrey was only twenty thousand strong.

If in many respects the Crusades mark an epoch in military progress, they are of hardly less interest in naval history. In the First Crusade the fleet had been supplied by the Italian republics, and during the early days of the kingdom in particular, valuable

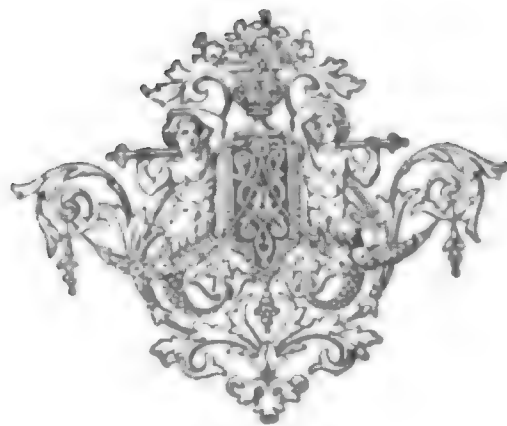
service was rendered by the seamen of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa. The Latin kings, however, established a naval service of their own, and maintained arsenals at Tyre and Acre. But it may be that they still chiefly depended on the fleets of the Italian republics, of northern pilgrims like Sigurd, or whatever other assistance chance might afford ; at any rate, there is no mention of the office of admiral in the history of the Cypriote kingdom till towards the end of the thirteenth century. Still, in 1153, we find Gerard of Sidon commanding the royal fleet at Ascalon, when he had fifteen swift vessels ; and when Saladin threatened Beyrout in 1182, Baldwin IV. was able to assemble thirty-three galleys within seven days. The two great orders also maintained galleys of their own, and the Count of Tripoli and Prince of Antioch had each their own fleet. So in 1187 Tripoli could muster twenty galleys for the relief of Tyre ; and even as early as 1127 Bohemond II. had ten galleys and twelve transports. In addition to the Mediterranean fleet thus maintained, there was, at least for a short time, also a Christian armament on the Red Sea. The Franks held Elim from 1116 to 1170, and again in 1182-3 ; at the later date, Reginald of Châtillon equipped five galleys and a large number of smaller vessels with which he ravaged the whole coast of the Hedjaz, and, in the absence of any Mussulman fleet that could oppose him, even threatened the pilgrims on their way to Mecca. This success was, however, shortlived, for Saladin had a fleet prepared which, in the early months of 1183, totally destroyed Reginald's armament.

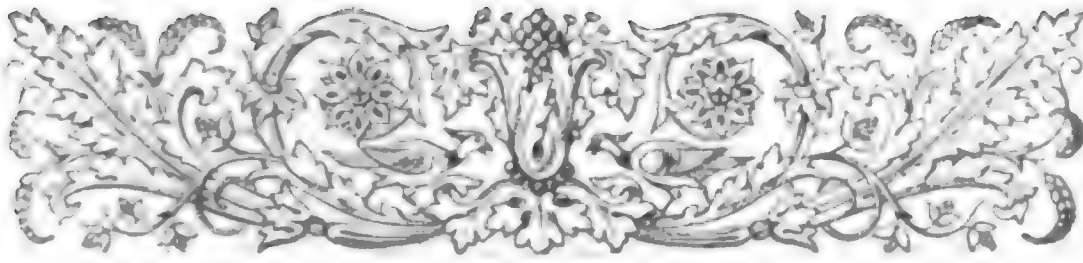
The most important class of ships used for purposes of war were galleys; these vessels were from a hundred to a hundred and twenty feet long, and about six feet wide, with but a single bank of oars and a crew of one hundred men. Other vessels of war were "saeties" or scouts, "colombels," "gamells,"¹ all of them small, swift vessels for scouting purposes. The trading and transport vessels were known as dromonds, busses, salandres, and huissiers. The dromond was the largest of all, and was used to carry pilgrims—as the great vessel wrecked in Egypt in 1182, which had fifteen hundred persons on board—or merchandise. Richard's rich prize, after leaving Cyprus in 1191, was a Saracen dromond. In war the dromond was used to carry arms, food, and the military machines. Busses and salandres were smaller vessels. The huissiers were horse-transports; those in Manuel's fleet, in 1169, had large open castles in the poop for the carriage of the horses, with gangways for their embarkation.

None of these vessels were very fast sailing, nor did they often venture far from land. The swiftest voyage from Marseilles to Acre took from fifteen to twenty days, but was indefinitely lengthened when made by the Italian coast to Messina, then successively to Crete and Cyprus, and so to Syria. For the longer voyage from Northern Europe, Richard's fleet took nearly six months to reach Messina, whilst Sigurd's piratical expedition extended over three or four years. As for equipment, one of Richard's chief ships had "three rudders, thirteen anchors, thirty oars,

¹ Literally "arrows," "pigeons," "camels."

two sails, and triple ropes of every kind. Moreover, it had everything that a ship can want in pairs—saving only the mast and boat. This ship was laden with forty horses of price, with all kinds of arms for as many riders, for fourteen footmen and fifteen sailors. Moreover, it had a year's food for all these men and horses."





XXIV

THE KINGDOM OF ACRE—THE STRUGGLE FOR RECOVERY.

(1192-1244.)

"A brave man struggling with the storms of fate,
And greatly falling with a falling state."

POPE.

SALADIN did not long survive the conclusion of the Third Crusade. Early in November, 1192, he left Palestine for Damascus, where, despite ill health, he spent the winter in hunting. When Baha-ed-din rejoined him in February, he remarked that his master had lost his old elasticity of spirit. On February 19th the illness took a serious form, and a fortnight later terminated fatally. "Never since the death of the first four Caliphs," writes Baha-ed-din, "had religion and the faithful received such a blow." Saladin had won the respectful admiration of Christian and Moslem alike. Both in history and romance his name has always been coupled with that of his great rival Richard. "Could each," said Hubert Walter, "be endowed with the faculties of the

other, the whole world could not furnish two such princes." A Western legend, of somewhat later date, is so eminently characteristic of Saladin that it deserves repetition. When Saladin lay dying he charged his standard-bearer, saying: "As thou didst bear my banner in war, bear also my banner of death. And let it be a vile rag, which thou must bear through all Damascus set upon a lance, crying, 'Lo! at his death the lord of the East could take nothing with him save this cloth only.'"

Saladin's dominions were divided at his death. His sons, El-Afdal, El-Aziz, and Ez-Zahir, became lords of Damascus, Egypt, and Aleppo. His brother, El-Adel, ruled at Kerak, and his great-nephews, Shirkuh and El-Mansur, at Emesa and Hamah. But this arrangement did not long subsist, for El-Adel first expelled El-Afdal from Damascus, and afterwards, in February, 1200, from Egypt, where the latter prince had become guardian for his infant nephew, El-Mansur. Two years later, by the subjection of Ez-Zahir, El-Adel became, like his brother before him, lord supreme of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. At his death, on August 31, 1218, the Moslem lands were once more divided, but his descendants reigned as sultans of Egypt with more or less power for thirty years afterwards.

For the Franks the years that followed on the death of Saladin were disturbed only by disputes between the military orders and the warfare of Bohemond of Antioch with the Christian prince of Armenia. But if the Syrian Franks were content to enjoy what they still possessed, the opportunity

afforded by the death of Saladin did not pass unheeded in Western Europe. Pope Celestine III. renewed his endeavours in the cause of the Holy War. In France and England he met with little success; Philip was too intent on his ambitious projects, and Richard too busy counteracting them, whilst their subjects had too lively a recollection of their recent sufferings. But in Germany the Pope's appeal accorded with the Emperor's designs on Sicily and Constantinople. In 1196 Henry entered Italy at the head of forty thousand men, intending to proceed by sea to Palestine as soon as he had secured his authority in his wife's kingdom. He was destined to accomplish only the first part of his plan, but a large contingent of German Crusaders came to Acre late in 1197, under the leadership of Conrad of Wurzburg. Somewhat against the will of the native lords, the war was renewed; El-Adel at once retaliated by an attack on Jaffa; before the Franks could come to the rescue from Acre, Henry of Champagne was killed by a fall, and during the confusion consequent on his death, Jaffa was taken by the Saracen.

Isabella now bestowed her hand and kingdom on Amalric de Lusignan, who two years previously had succeeded his brother Guy as ruler of Cyprus. Encouraged by the arrival of a fresh force of Crusaders from Northern Germany, the new king resolved to attack Beyrout. The Saracens abandoned the city in panic, and about the same time a Crusading army won a great victory over El-Adel between Tyre and Sidon. These successes were

followed by the recovery of all the coast towns, and the Crusaders had laid siege to Toron, when in December, 1197, the news of the Emperor's death called the Germans home. The partial success of this Crusade was thus marred by its hasty termination, which left the recovered territory without defenders in the face of an embittered foe.

Next year (1198) the preaching of a French priest, Fulk of Neuilly, stirred up a new Crusade. Fulk was credited with strangely miraculous powers; he cured the blind and the lame, at his bidding the prostitute forsook her calling and the usurer his treasure. Even before kings he was not ashamed, and in God's name bade Richard of England provide for his three daughters. "Liar!" said the angry king, "I have no daughter." "Nay! thou hast three evil daughters—Pride, Lust, and Luxury." With mocking words Richard turned to his courtiers: "He bids me marry my daughters. I give Pride to the Templars, Lust to the Cistercians, and Luxury to the prelates." Fulk's efforts were aided by the new Pope, Innocent III., who mourned over the return of the Germans after such slight achievements, and endeavoured to make peace between the kings of France and England.

The kings turned a deaf ear to priest and pope alike, but many of the great French nobles did, under Fulk's influence, take the Cross. Foremost were Baldwin of Flanders and his brother Henry, Theobald of Champagne and his cousin Louis of Blois, the Count of St. Pol, Simon de Montfort, and John de Nesles. But the expedition was long

delayed, and only started in 1202. Fulk meantime had died of grief, and though the treasure he had collected was sent over sea to Palestine, his projected Crusade proved, so far as the Holy Land was concerned, a miserable failure. The great part of the Crusaders allowed themselves to be diverted from their proper aim, and after conquering Zara for the Venetians, sailed against Constantinople. How they captured that city, chose Baldwin for emperor, and portioned out the European lands of the Eastern Empire amongst themselves, belongs to another story.¹

A smaller force, however, passed through the Straits of Gibraltar, and under the leadership of Reginald de Dampierre reached Palestine in 1203. Some plundering raids were followed by concessions on the part of El-Adel, who surrendered Nazareth and concluded peace. Reginald, in wrath, went off to join Bohemond of Antioch; on his way he fell into an ambush, and of all his army only a single knight escaped. When, a little later, John de Nesles reached Acre with a further contingent, he also went north to aid the Prince of Antioch in his warfare with Armenia.

During the last years of the twelfth century the power of the Christian princes of Armenia had much increased. After long disputes between the kinsmen of Thoros, a prince called Rupin secured the throne about 1175. Rupin acquired Tarsus from Bohemond III., and ruled on the whole prosperously

¹ See Mr. C. W. C. Oman's "The Byzantine Empire," chapters xxii. and xxiii., in this series.

till 1188. His successor and brother, Leo, though married to a niece of Bohemond, sought to secure the independence of his country, which up to this time had been subject to the princes of Antioch. Bohemond treacherously endeavoured to capture Leo at a conference, but the Armenian, suspicious of his host, had taken such precautions that it was Bohemond, and not Leo, who became the prisoner. As the price of Bohemond's release, Leo was confirmed in his conquests and independence, and a few years later, in 1198, was anointed king by the German chancellor, Conrad of Wurzburg.¹ The death of Bohemond III. in 1201 was followed by further wars, for Leo supported the claims of his nephew Rupin, the child of the late prince's elder son, Raymond, against the new prince, Bohemond IV. It was to aid in this warfare that John de Nesles went north in 1203.²

The close of the twelfth century had been grievous for the East. Egypt was vexed with a sore famine, and the consequent pestilence spread into Syria, so that all the lands from the Euphrates to the Nile were filled with mourning and desolation. Next year a terrible earthquake ruined almost all the cities of Palestine, with the exception of Jerusalem. The treasure collected by Fulk of Neuilly now proved of timely service for the rebuilding of the walls of Acre.

¹ The date is not certain ; it may be 1199. Another account makes Conrad of Mentz perform the coronation. Leo seems to have held his crown as vassal of the emperor and Pope.

² Rupin contested Antioch till his death in 1222, when Bohemond IV. became undisputed prince.

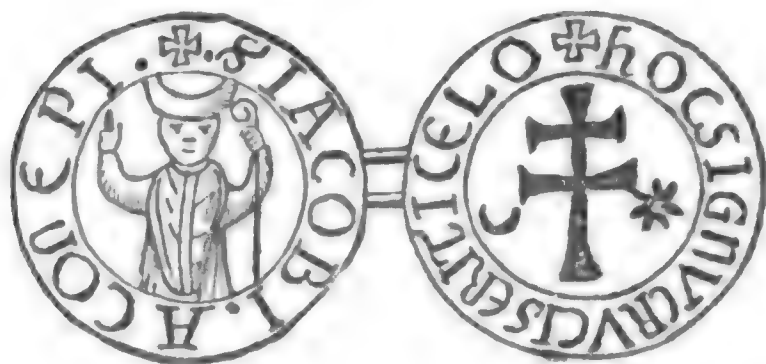
The pressure of these calamities did not avail to enforce observance of the truce. Amalric's Cypriote subjects were vexed by piratical Egyptian galleys, and when El-Adel would make no restitution, the king retaliated by a series of raids, which extended even to the east of Jordan. But eventually the truce was renewed for five years. A little later, in 1205, Amalric died, leaving an infant son, Amalric III.; but the youthful king and his mother both died within the year. The throne then passed to Mary, Isabella's eldest daughter by Conrad of Montferrat. John of Ibelin was made bailiff for the little queen, and Philip of France was asked to recommend a suitable husband. His choice fell on John de Brienne—an experienced warrior, but not a man of any great rank. John accepted the proposal, and after some delay, with the aid of money lent him by the French king and the Pope, equipped three hundred knights, with which little force he reached Acre on September 14, 1210.¹ On the following day he was married to the young Queen Mary, and a week later was crowned with his wife at Tyre.

Before John's arrival in Palestine the Christians had refused to renew the truce. But though the new king took the field with courage, he presently found himself unable to cope with his powerful foe, the more so as most of his own knights had soon returned to Europe. Accordingly, in 1212, he appealed to the Pope to send him fresh succour from the West.

Innocent III. had long desired to make good the

¹ This date is almost certainly correct, though some authorities give 1209, or even 1208.

unhappy Crusade of 1203, but the intervening years had not been propitious. The death of Henry VI. had left Sicily with a child ruler, and Germany with a disputed succession. Both in France and England the Pope was involved in a serious quarrel with the royal power. But although these troubles hampered the execution of Innocent's projects, he did not abandon them. At the Lateran Council, which met in November, 1215, and had been summoned over two years previously, four hundred and twelve bishops were present, including the Latin patriarchs of



SEAL OF JAMES DE VITRY.

Jerusalem and Constantinople. Through Innocent's influence the project of a new Crusade was adopted, and preached with vigour; James de Vitry, the future bishop of Acre and historian of the Holy Land, and the English Cardinal, Robert de Curzon, who died in 1218 at Damietta, being foremost in the work. Chief amongst those who took the Cross were Andrew, King of Hungary; Leopold, Duke of Austria; William, Count of Holland; and the English Earl Ranulf of Chester.

So towards the autumn of 1217 there were gathered

at Acre the four kings of Hungary, Armenia, Cyprus, and Jerusalem, besides many nobles and men of lesser degree. A great foray was made to Bethshan and the Saracen castle on Mount Tabor besieged ; but the Sultan would not permit his son Corradin to offer battle, and the Crusaders were at length forced to retire after effecting but little. The kings of Hungary and Armenia then returned to their own land, whilst Hugh of Cyprus went to Tripoli, where he soon fell ill and died.

During the winter many Crusaders who had made the long sea voyage from Northern Europe arrived at



BESANT OF HUGH I.

Acre. John de Brienne now proposed an expedition to Damietta, and accordingly in May, 1218, the great host set sail with a fair wind for Egypt. Damietta was well fortified with towers and walls, and protected by the river and a moat. In mid-stream rose an immense tower of great strength, which was the first point for attack. An assault was made on July 1st, but without success, and many of the Crusaders were drowned. On August 24th (St. Bartholomew's Day), the attack was renewed ; the Saracens poured down fire and sulphur on their assailants, so that the ladders were set ablaze, and the Crusaders reduced to despair.

Suddenly it seemed that the fire was extinguished, and the Christians saw the banner of the Holy Cross waving from the tower. With fresh vigour they returned to the attack, and now their efforts were crowned with success. Men soon fabled that this was due to no earthly prowess, but to a band of heavenly knights in white armour, the brilliancy whereof had dazzled the eyes of the Saracens, whilst their leader, clad in red, was hailed as none other than St. Bartholomew himself.

In September the papal legate, Cardinal Pelagius, reached the camp. A little later there came many French and English knights—the former under the Counts of Nevers, and Marche ; the latter under the earls of Chester, Winchester, and Arundel. But winter was now coming on, the camp was flooded, provisions destroyed, and many ships lost. With the spring, however, the Crusaders renewed their efforts ; by crossing the river on February 5th, they secured a better position for the attack, and then prepared their engines for an assault.

Meantime El-Adel had been succeeded by his son, El-Kamil. The new Sultan was in such despair that he meditated a retreat to Yemen ; but on Palm Sunday, after reinforcements had come from Syria, he made a fierce though unsuccessful attack on the Christian camp. In May, Leopold of Austria went home, whilst on the other side, on Feb. 7, El-Kamil's brother, El-Muazzam, or, as the Crusaders called him, Corradin, prince of Damascus, arrived with a great army of Saracens. But Pelagius and King John had made a Lombard "*caroccio*" to bear the

Christian banner, and the sight of this novel engine with its mysterious emblem scared Corradin from a fresh attack. During the summer famine and disease raged within the city, and in the Saracen camp outside. Nor were the Crusaders in much better plight; for if many Saracens sought relief and baptism in the Christian camp, certain evil Spaniards and English fled to the Moslem and denied Christ. At last the Saracens sent envoys offering to deliver up the land, "because the power of God was against them." But meantime El-Kamil succeeded in throwing reinforcements into the town, thanks to the departure of the Count of Nevers, whose name became a by-word among the Christians. The Crusaders then broke off the negotiations, and on November 5th, at midnight—the hour when, according to the mediæval belief, Christ harrowed Hell, the Crusaders forced their way within the walls. The credit of this achievement belongs to certain "Latins and Romans," who, taking one of the towers by stealth, thundered out the "Kyrie Eleeson," as a sign of success to their comrades below. Then the Templars and Hospitallers forced their way into the city, and so Damietta was captured.

Scarcely was the city taken when a quarrel broke out between John and Pelagius. John was angry because the legate had lordship over him, and seeing that Leo of Armenia was now dead, departed to prosecute his wife's rights to that kingdom. John was absent for a whole year, during which time Pelagius vainly endeavoured to keep the Christian host from melting away. The Saracens in their

despair offered extravagant terms for the recovery of Damietta—the whole land of Jerusalem excepting Kerak, and all their Christian prisoners. This the Crusaders refused because they hoped that if the Emperor Frederick came on his long-promised expedition, they might then conquer all Egypt. Thus in their folly they threw away the best chance of recovering the Holy City. Philip of France said with reason that they must have been daft to prefer a town to a kingdom.

When, however, Frederick did not come, it was decided to advance against Cairo. Pelagius was reduced to appeal to John de Brienne for his assistance, but the king would not leave his own land till a liberal sum had been promised for his services. When John arrived, June 29, 1221, the Crusaders had already started. Two months later he found the host in a perilous position, for the Saracen galleys prevented provisions from being brought up from the sea, whilst the Nile was already rising. The Sultan ordered the dykes to be cut, and the waters rose so high that it was impossible to advance or to retreat. The Crusaders were at the mercy of the Saracens, and John had to make the best terms he could. El-Kamil, in pity for the Christians, offered to let them go free if Damietta was restored. There was no alternative but to consent, and the Sultan further promised to release all his prisoners, restore the Holy Cross, and grant a truce for eight years. John de Brienne and James de Vitry became hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty. It is related that as John sat before the Sultan he wept for thought of his starving companions. El-

Kamil, on learning the cause of his tears, was moved to compassion, and sent enough store of food for all the people.

After his release John appointed Eudes de Montbeliard his bailiff at Acre, and went over sea to ask aid for his unhappy kingdom. He visited Rome, France, England, and Spain, where he married the King of Castile's sister. Later he joined the Emperor in Apulia, and gave his daughter, Isabella or Yolande, in marriage to Frederick. After a time John quarrelled with the Emperor, and took service with the Pope; but he does not again appear in Crusading history.

The Emperor Frederick, who, by this marriage became lord of Palestine, was certainly the greatest prince, and in some respects also the most remarkable man of his time; it was not without justice that an English chronicler called him the "Wonder of the World." His natural gifts and acquired accomplishments were alike extraordinary; he was not only a great ruler, but a poet, and lover of art and all intellectual pursuits; the many tongues of his wide dominions—German, Italian, Greek, Latin, and Saracen—were alike familiar to him. But among men of the next generation he was remembered best as the foe of the papacy, and as the rumoured scoffer at all things holy. His relations with the Roman see can hardly have disposed him to reverence for the faith of which it was the centre, and his attitude to religion was no doubt one of indifference. It was even fabled that he had written a book of extreme blasphemy on the Three Impostors—Moses, Christ, and Mohammed.

False though this accusation was, there is something almost grotesque in the fate which made him the leader of Christendom in its Holy War.

After his coronation by Honorius III. in 1220, Frederick publicly renewed his vow of a Crusade. Year after year the Christians had hoped for his coming, and still he had never come—not even on the conquest of Damietta, when it would seem that the very rumour of his coming would suffice to lay the whole East at his mercy. Four months before his marriage to Yolande, in November, 1225, Frederick once more promised to cross the sea for two years ; if he failed to fulfil his covenant he would fall under the interdict of the Church. Before the appointed time had elapsed, Honorius III. had been succeeded by Frederick's destined foe Gregory IX. But although one of Gregory's earliest acts was to urge Frederick in a somewhat imperative letter to fulfil his vow, the relations of the new Pope with the Emperor were not at first unfriendly. Frederick, indeed, had made his preparations in all sincerity, and in the appointed month of August, 1227, a large host had assembled at Brindisi. The Emperor embarked, and the fleet set sail ; but three days later the former entered the harbour of Otranto, whilst the latter dispersed. Frederick pleaded sickness as the excuse for his return, but Gregory nevertheless pronounced the excommunication which the Emperor had incurred under his oath two years before. The sentence and its subsequent confirmations were treated with contempt by Frederick, who determined to prove his sincerity by starting on the Crusade in the spring.

The hostility of the Pope caused the desertion of many who had intended to join the Crusade. But Frederick probably counted more on the negotiations, which for some time past he had maintained with El-Kamil, than on the strength of his arms. So it was with only six hundred knights—more like a pirate than a great king, as Gregory declared—that he landed at Acre on September 7, 1228. Frederick was received with hostility not only by the clergy, but also by the military orders, who presently refused to serve under his commands. El-Kamil, not unaware of the Emperor's difficulties, endeavoured to renew their old amity, and made overtures for a compromise. The negotiations proceeded slowly, but meanwhile there was much friendly intercourse between the two monarchs. Frederick's first demands were for the restoration of the kingdom in its fullest extent, together with liberal privileges for his merchants in the ports of Alexandria and Rosetta. But El-Kamil would not surrender Jerusalem entirely since the Saracens held the Temple in no less esteem than did the Christians the Holy Sepulchre. At first Frederick was disposed to war, but the news that Gregory and John de Brienne were capturing his Italian cities made him anxious to return at any cost. He therefore came to terms with El-Kamil, who agreed to surrender Jerusalem, Bethlchem, and Nazareth, if the site of the Temple, whereon stood the Mosque of Omar, was left to the Saracens. As soon as the treaty was arranged Frederick and his Germans went up to Jerusalem on March 18, 1229. Next day—it was Sunday in Mid-Lent—he took the



knows, if you were to come to my country, you would find no such respectful deference."

After a pretence of refortifying Jerusalem, Frederick suddenly went back to Acre, and thence set sail for Europe. The peace which he had secured was extremely distasteful to his foes the Templars, whose great church at Jerusalem was left in the hands of the Moslem. Frederick announced his treaty in Western Europe as a great achievement. Gerold the Patriarch, on his part, wrote a letter condemning it as a betrayal of religion and the Church. Gregory had already described it as a monstrous reconciliation of Christ and Belial. But with the effect of this treaty on its author's subsequent fortunes we have nothing to do. Frederick did not again visit his Oriental kingdom. He died in 1250 the victim of a strange and novel crusade. By his will he left a large sum of money for the succour of the Holy Land.

On his way to Palestine Frederick had stopped at Cyprus. The king of the island, Henry I,¹ was then a child of eleven; the Emperor claimed the right of wardship, and forced the bailiff, John of Ibelin, to do him homage. John accompanied Frederick to Palestine, but after his departure returned to Cyprus in June, 1229, and besieged the Emperor's officers in the fortress of Dieudamour. His enterprise had just met with success when the arrival of a German fleet led to a new series of troubles.

The Saracens had not long kept the peace. Within little over a year they began to harass the pilgrims,

¹ He was son of Hugh I., by Alice, daughter of Henry of Champagne and Isabel a.

and declaring that they would no longer suffer the Holy City to remain in Christian hands, broke into Jerusalem itself. Frederick's representatives were able to expel the intruders, and the Emperor on hearing of the violation of the truce at once despatched a fleet to Palestine under Richard Filangier, whom he appointed bailiff of the kingdom. An order to Henry de Lusignan to dismiss John of Ibelin was met with a refusal, and an attempt to dispossess that noble of Beyrout was no more successful. The native lords declared that Frederick was violating the ancestral customs of their land, and together with John of Ibelin appealed to the king of Cyprus for assistance. Henry and his lords responded readily; but even with their aid John could not venture to take the field against the bailiff Richard, who was besieging Beyrout.

Some time later, on May 3, 1232, Richard surprised the Cypriot lords near Casal Imbert, whilst John of Ibelin chanced to be absent at Acre. Though the young king managed to escape, his followers were utterly routed, and the disaster was fatal to John's ambitions. Richard was even able to carry the war into Cyprus, and for a time held possession of the greater part of that island, until John expelled him in 1233. The Imperial power on the mainland did not last much longer, and when John of Ibelin died in 1236, Queen Alice of Cyprus persuaded the barons to accept her third husband, Ralph of Soissons as bailiff, since Yolande had long been dead and Frederick would not send her young son Conrad to take her place.

Whilst these feuds weakened the Christian cause in the kingdom, similar troubles were working mischief in the principalities further north, where the Prince of Antioch endeavoured to reap advantage from the weakness of the infant daughter of Leo the Armenian. Such a state of affairs gradually wore away whatever powers of resistance the Syrian Franks might yet possess, and so when a new source of danger made its appearance they proved quite incapable to cope with it.

Meantime there had been great changes in the lands of the Ayubites. At the death of El-Adel on August 31, 1218, his son El-Kamil had succeeded him at Cairo, with the title of Sultan and some kind of supremacy over his brothers who ruled in the various cities of Syria. El-Kamil reaped some advantage from the dissensions of his kinsfolk, but his rule in Syria was not altogether prosperous, and his last years were troubled by the dangers which threatened from the Turks of Iconium in the north, and the advancing Tartars to the east. His sudden death at the beginning of 1238 was the signal for general warfare amongst the Ayubite princes of Syria. Eventually Es-Saleh Ayub, El-Kamil's eldest son, became lord of Damascus; with the support of his cousin Dawud, the son of Corradin, he invaded Egypt and overthrew his brother El-Adel, in May, 1240. But the new Sultan soon quarrelled with his powerful kinsman Dawud, and the troubles of the Ayubites were still unsettled, when the landing of a new Crusade marked the termination of the ten years' truce concluded by the Emperor Frederick.

In the midst of his conflict with Frederick II., Gregory IX was not unmindful of his fellow Christians in the East. As the conclusion of the ten years' truce made by Frederick II. drew near he issued a summons to a new Crusade. The time was opportune for a fresh effort; the feuds of the Ayubites within, and the pressure of the Tartars from without, had much shaken the power of Islam. The chief response to Gregory's appeal came from France and Spain. King Louis being unable to go in person sent his constable Amalric, Count of Montfort; other French nobles were the Duke of Burgundy and the Counts of Bar and Nevers, whilst the leader of the expedition was Theobald, King of Navarre. The host mustered at Marseilles, and refusing to wait a year for the Emperor to join them, sailed for Palestine in August, 1239. After landing at Acre they resolved on an expedition for the recovery of Ascalon, and with this purpose marched out towards Jaffa on the 2nd of November. Whilst halting in this town, the Count of Brittany made a successful raid on the Saracens. Emulous of this good fortune the Count of Bar and other nobles determined to make a raid towards Ascalon. Theobald expostulated, but to no purpose; the knights, bent on gain, declared that at least they would ride to Gaza and return on the morrow. So they went along the coast ¹ till they reached the brook that divided the kingdom of Jerusalem from Egypt. Here Count Walter of Jaffa advised that they should rest, but his comrades insisted on proceeding further. At length they halted in a place shut in by mountains,

¹ Sunday, the 13th of November.

and prepared to feast on the delicate provisions they had brought with them. Whilst thus engaged the Saracens of Gaza came upon them. Count Walter, at their approach, rode off with the Duke of Burgundy, knowing that it was hopeless to fight in such a position. But the Counts of Bar and Montfort persisted in giving battle; they and all their followers were captured or slain before Theobald, who had now advanced to Ascalon, could come to their aid. On the news of this disaster Theobald withdrew in haste to Acre. Next year he sought for the release of the prisoners by making a truce with the Sultan, but before the treaty was completed went home by stealth and most of his host with him. Shortly afterwards Earl Richard of Cornwall reached Acre, and the release of the prisoners was finally secured through the assistance of his wealth. With Richard came Simon de Montfort, Amalric's more famous brother, whom a year or two later the Syrian barons begged Frederick to appoint as bailiff of the kingdom during the minority of Conrad. The quarrels of the military orders rendered any active warfare impracticable, and the English earls shortly went home after accomplishing no more than the release of the prisoners.

The Christians soon found that the Sultan had only granted a truce to gain time for the conquest of his rivals. So in 1243 or 1244 they negotiated with the lords of Kerak¹ and Damascus, who promised the Franks all the land west of Jordan save Hebron, Nablûs, and Bethshan. By this means Jerusalem was restored to the Christians, and in the words of a letter

¹ This was Dawud, son of El Muazzam, or Corradin.

of the time, "all the Saracens were expelled, and the sacred mysteries celebrated daily in all the holy places, wherein for fifty-six years the name of God had not been invoked." But hardly had the Christians in Europe time to rejoice over this news, when they heard that Jerusalem was lost again.

Es-Saleh Ayub, in need of aid to reassert his power, called in strangers from outside. His new allies were the Charismians, an eastern tribe, who, driven from their own land by Genghis Khan, had conquered themselves a new home on the Euphrates. They offered their services to the highest bidder, and so fought first for one and then for another of the Ayubite princes. As the Charismians marched south to join Es-Saleh they fell upon the city of Jerusalem, and slew its inhabitants, men, women, and children, to the number of thirty thousand. Moham-medans and Christians united in face of a common danger. Ismail of Damascus sent an army under El-Mansur of Hamah to help the muster of the military orders, which had marched out from Acre. Count Walter de Brienne joined them at Jaffa, and by the time the army reached Ascalon it mustered six thousand knights without counting the men-at-arms, both horse and foot. El-Mansur advised that they should abide safely in a place well stored with food till the inevitable time when a savage horde with no settled base must melt away. Some of the Christians approved, but others distrusted an infidel's advice. The latter prevailed, and the army marched out to encounter the Charismians near Gaza on October 14, 1244. The battle was short but fierce; El-Mansur

and his host fled from the field ; the Christian army was almost annihilated. Of the Templars, who numbered three hundred, only four knights survived, and of the Hospitallers only nineteen, and but three men-at-arms of the Teutonic order. The grand masters of the Temple and Hospital, and Count Walter were taken prisoners—the last two died in captivity. This disaster was fatal to the power of the Franks in Palestine, and from this moment even the semblance of the Christian kingdom began to fade away.





XXV.

THE CRUSADES OF ST. LOUIS AND EDWARD I.

“Some grey Crusading knight austere
Who bore St. Louis company.”

M. ARNOLD.

IT might have been expected that the destruction of Jerusalem would send a shock of horror throughout Christendom, and rouse all Christians to the reconquest of the Holy Land. Just one hundred years previously the loss of Edessa, far removed as that city was from the interests of the European west, had been a trumpet call to king and noble and peasant. But things were not in the thirteenth century as they had been in the twelfth. The new era had different ideals, different hopes, and different aims; the political energy of the West was being transfused into new channels. The great cities were winning privileges at the expense of lords and Emperor; new kingdoms were rising into prominence or developing into strength. Here the king was gathering all power more and more into his own hands; there the nobles were asserting their

rights to his detriment. But in the fervour and industry of a new age, that was building the noblest churches ever seen, inventing fresh heresies, opening out new studies, there was little place for true religious enthusiasm. The age of Roger Bacon and Albertus Magnus was beginning, that of Anselm and Peter the Hermit dying out. Religion was no longer a matter for the emotions only; but was more and more a thing for philosophers to wrangle over, not one that a practical man need trouble himself about.

But above all else the thirteenth century had no St. Bernard to rouse it to the service of God. Such religious zeal as remained was frittered away in internecine crusades against the Albigensis and a heretic emperor, or diverted its energies from warfare with the infidel abroad, to the rescue of afflicted Christians at home. The Templar and Hospitaller had warred in Palestine for the Holy Sepulchre, the followers of St. Francis and St. Dominic toiled in the crowded cities for the poor, the friendless, and the sick.

Europe was, moreover, confronted by a danger unknown for many centuries past. The Tartars threatened to sweep away all civilisation from the Volga to the Atlantic. Frederick, even had he not been excommunicate, was too busy with this grave trouble to undertake a new Crusade. In the west the kings of Spain were still waging their perpetual crusade with the Saracens of their own peninsula, and the King of England in the pressure of incident at home could spare no time for Jerusa-

lem and the East. Italy was distracted by the feuds of emperor and pope. To France alone could the Latin Christians of the East look for help.

Louis IX. of France was now about twenty-seven years old. The great-grandson of our English Henry II. and the grandson of Philip Augustus, he had been left an orphan at the age of ten, but through the prudence of his mother Blanche the troubles of his minority had been averted. About the end of 1244 Louis fell so ill that his life was despaired of; as he lay unconscious, his nurse thinking all was over, was about to draw the sheet across his face, when a companion stayed her hand. At the sound of their voices the king roused from his trance, and calling for a cross vowed himself to God's service for the recovery of Jerusalem. It was not, however, for more than three years that Louis sailed from Marseilles on the 25th of August, 1248.

Louis was perhaps the most truly religious king that ever lived. His whole life was a prayer; his whole aim to do God's will. His horror of sin was deep and unaffected. "Would you rather be a leper, or commit a deadly sin?" he once asked Joinville. The seneschal bluntly blurted out that he would rather commit thirty deadly sins than have his body covered with leprosy. Louis reproved his choice: for the leprosy of the body would disappear at death, but the leprosy of sin last hereafter. Everything about the king is charming from the "As-you-Like-it" scene where he administered justice beneath the great oak at Vincennes, to his washing of the feet of the poor in imitation of Christ. Nor was he



that he would never seek his own advantage from quarrels among his neighbours. But that which most struck his contemporaries was his extreme sobriety of language ; Joinville, who was with him constantly for two and twenty years, declares that he never heard him utter a word of blasphemy though this was the commonest fault of that age.

Such was the king who now started on the last Crusade but one. With him though not in his immediate following, went Jean de Joinville his biographer. All history might be racked in vain for a passage of more simple pathos than that in which the great French noble tells how on his way to Marseilles he passed beneath the walls of his own castle, and dared not cast a look upon them lest his heart should melt at the thought of his little children, who there lay all unconscious of the perils on which their father was embarking. Louis reached Cyprus towards the end of 1248, and remained there till the following May. Great preparations had been made in the island long beforehand, and Joinville remarks on the great heaps of corn that were turning green upon the top where the grain was sprouting into active life, with the wine casks piled up into "houses" as it seemed—all in readiness for the start to Syria or Egypt.

Joinville, whose own money was now spent, took service with the king, and on the 21st of May the French host set forth in eighteen hundred vessels, whose white sails made a very fair sight. A sudden storm, however, dispersed the fleet ; but on Whit-Monday the wind fell, and Louis reached Damietta

three days later on the 27th of May¹ with seven hundred ships. He had scarcely landed when the Saracens fled in terror from the city, and the French became masters of this great port without striking a serious blow.

For six months the army lay in or near Damietta, until the remainder of the fleet under the king's brother, the Count of Poitiers, could arrive from Syria. This was not till October, and then a council determined to waste no time in attacking Alexandria, but to push on boldly for Cairo itself; for said the Count of Artois it were better if they wished to kill the serpent to crush him on the head. Accordingly, at the end of November, the army marched south; but at the Delta, or to use the mediæval expression "The Island," formed by the Damietta branch of the Nile and one of the other numerous river channels,² their further advance was stayed; for they could not cross the river in the face of the great army that opposed them on the southern side. The French determined to construct a causeway to enable them to pass over, but whenever the work seemed to be making progress the enemy managed to destroy it. The Saracen stone-casters, and other military engines troubled the labourers incessantly, whilst the wooden towers or belfrys which the Crusaders had erected for their protection were twice destroyed by Greek

¹ So Joinville; William of Nangis puts the capture of Damietta a week or two later.

² Joinville says the "Rexi" or Rosetta branch, which is clearly impossible; other writers come nearer the truth in saying the Tanis branch; no doubt it was the canal of Ashmun.

fire. Louis was now in a most perilous position, for a hostile force which had crossed the Damietta branch into "the Island " threatened his rear. In this emergency he accepted the offer of a Bedouin who agreed for five hundred besants to guide the French to a secret ford. On Shrove Tuesday, February 8, 1250, Louis marched out for the ford, leaving the Duke of Burgundy to guard the camp. In the van went the Templars, with the Count of Artois in the centre, and the king in the rear.

Amongst the few English who took part in this Crusade, the most distinguished was William Longsword, second earl of Salisbury, the grandson of Henry II., and in all probability of Rosamond Clifford. Though the king's cousin and titular earl of Salisbury he was a poor man, and had been obliged to collect money for his expedition to the East, by what practically amounted to the sale of dispensations to the timid or the old, who at the last moment lacked courage for the journey. In the earlier days of the expedition he had succeeded in capturing an Egyptian caravan on its way with spices to Alexandria. Of this spoil, however, so says a contemporary English writer, the French had robbed him ; William appealed to Louis for justice, but the king though admitting his wrong declared himself powerless to grant redress. The angry earl forswore the authority of so weak a prince and withdrew to Acre. There he awaited the coming of the main body of the English, but in vain, for the Pope at King Henry's request forbade their passage. Eventually at Louis' wish, probably when the army was marching on



Cairo, Earl William returned to Egypt, and was thus present on this fatal day.

The Templars and the Count of Artois crossed the river with such ease that the count was for moving on Mansurah in the first flush of their success. To this rash project the Master of the Templars objected, advising that they should wait for the king. But the fiery temper of the French prince would brook no delay. He accused the Grand Master roundly of treachery, and of a desire to avoid any decisive victory since the power of the military orders depended on the preservation of something like equality between the Eastern Christians and the Saracens. The intervention of the Earl of Salisbury only aggravated the dispute. "See how timid are these tailed English!" cried the angry count; "it would be well if the army were purged of such folk." This taunt stung the English earl to the quick. "At least," he retorted, "we English to-day will be where you will not dare to touch our horses' tails."

All prudent thoughts were now cast aside, and the whole van charged into Mansurah. The wisdom of the Templar and the boast of Longsword were alike justified. The earl was slain refusing to fly, while the Count of Artois, in his endeavour to escape, was either killed or drowned in the river. The French were only saved from annihilation by the arrival of the king, and by the valour of Joinville, who held, at all hazards, a small bridge that led from Mansurah.

After this battle Louis remained on the south bank of the stream for several weeks, till the news came that the Saracens had blocked the Damietta stream.

As he was now on the verge of starvation he reluctantly ordered a retreat into "the Island," and commenced negotiations with the Sultan for the exchange of Damietta against the kingdom of Jerusalem. But on the 29th of March matters had become so intolerable that the order was given for a further retreat towards Damietta. Then the Saracens seeing what plight the French were in, refused to abide by the terms they had been discussing. They threw themselves on the sick, and began to murder them as they were warming themselves by the fires. Louis himself, despite the desperate valour of his attendant, Sir Geoffrey de Sergines, was taken prisoner as he was attempting to guard the river. Joinville had already gone on board his ship, and reached the place where the Sultan's galleys blocked the river. Four of these Saracen vessels bore down on him, and his life was only saved by the generous deceit of a Saracen, who swore that he was the king's cousin. The good knight, though he would not tell a lie himself, did not scruple to take advantage of his protector's falsehood. Nor is it unpleasing to find that afterwards the same Saracen, as he led Joinville away, slipt into his hand that of a little lad, Bartholomew de Montfaucon, bidding him never let himself be parted from him, or the child's life would be sacrificed.

Such was the end of the French army. After protracted negotiations Louis was set free. In spite of many tortures with which he was threatened the king refused to surrender the Christian fortresses in Palestine, or to forswear his faith, but agreed to purchase his freedom and that of his army by the payment of

one hundred thousand livres and the surrender of Damietta. In the midst of the negotiations the Sultan Turan Shah¹ was murdered by his Mamluks on the 4th of May, and Louis had once more to display his constancy in the presence of danger. But after the payment of an increased ransom, Louis and the remains of his host were able to sail for Acre in the middle of the month.

After the murder of Turan Shah the power in Egypt fell into the hands of the widow of Es-Saleh, who ruled in the name of her son Khalil; but after a little the emirs displaced her in favour of Musa, a great-grandson of El-Kamil.² The Mohammedan princes of Aleppo and Damascus were offended at the ransom of Louis; such a prince, they said, should have been kept in perpetual captivity and not set free for money. They placed themselves at the head of a great league, and marched against Musa, to be utterly routed on February 3, 1251. Musa, in the stress of his contest with his kinsmen entered into communications with the French king, and concluded a truce for fifteen years. In the West men spoke of Musa as a possible convert, and whispered that Louis had sworn to spend the remainder of his life in the Holy Land. The king had sent home his brothers to collect the remainder of his ransom; they had urged the Pope to compose

¹ Turan Shah succeeded his father, Es-Saleh Ayub, on November 23, 1249; but he only reached Egypt on February 24, 1250, for he was at Hsin Keifa when his father died.

² Musa was deposed in 1254, and with him the line of the Ayubite sultans in Egypt came to an end.

his quarrel with the Emperor in the interests of Christendom, and lend them his aid; but Innocent remained immovable in the pursuit of his feud with Frederick and his sons. So the time wore on with nothing done, for though Henry of England took the cross his motives were seemingly sinister. A little later the regent of France, Louis' mother *Blanche*, died, and this event appears to have called the king home. Louis had spent nearly four years in the Holy Land, busy with the fortification of the great seaports. *Cæsarea*, *Jaffa*, *Sidon*, were all rebuilt during these years, and it was not till the spring of 1254 that the king departed reaching his own country about July 11th.

Sixteen years later King Louis embarked upon a second Crusade. In the interval he had always remained a Crusader at heart, and amidst all the troubles of his home life his real ambition was set upon the Holy Land, though the duties of his position forced him to remain in France. It was not till July, 1270, that the king started on his second expedition from *Aigues Mortes*. Despite Louis's earnest request *Joinville* would not accompany him, pleading that his first duty was to his own vassals, who suffered so many wrongs during his absence on the previous Crusade.

Louis, who was accompanied by his eldest son *Philip*, and the kings of *Navarre* and *Aragon*, was induced to turn aside to *Tunis* in the hope of converting its ruler to Christianity. Whilst encamped near this city he was seized with dysentery. On Sunday, the 24th of August, he crept from bed to confess his



sins and receive the last sacrament from the hands of Geoffrey de Beaulieu, to whom we owe most of our knowledge of this expedition. In the night as he lay on his ash-sprinkled couch the words "Jerusalem! Jerusalem!" showed in what direction his thoughts were turning. As morning drew on the watchers caught fragments of the good king's prayer for his people, and a little later heard his last cry, "Domine in manus tuas animam meam commendavi;" shortly afterwards, about the hour of nones, St. Louis expired.



SEAL OF PHILIP III. OF FRANCE.

With him may be said to have perished the last hope of the Latin kingdom in the East. For over a century the French kings had been the recognised defenders of this outpost of the Christian religion and French culture. But the old spirit of piety was dying out; the new king, an illiterate warrior, had little care for a distant land, and after a few years the complex problems of a new age forced the grandson of St. Louis into a very different line of policy. In his life St. Louis afforded the most perfect illustration of the

aspiration of two centuries towards an impossible ideal, and his death tolled the knell of hopes, which if essentially futile were no less essentially sublime. The good king did not leave his peer behind, and the dream of a united Christendom mustering its forces for the subjugation of a common foe was destined to fade away among the ruder visions of national integrity and feudal dissolution.

Amongst those who had taken the cross at the same time as St. Louis was Edward, the eldest son of Henry of England. In his company went many of the great English nobles—especially those of the younger generation, whom he is said to have taken with him to divert them from the wars at home. Edward reached Tunis about the 9th of October with his cousin Henry of Almaine. He found the French barons, who had been victorious in more than one engagement, bent on enforcing the tribute which they said was due from Tunis to the King of Sicily. After exacting a great treasure the Crusading host set sail for Sicily, meaning to winter there; but a storm fell upon them outside the harbour of Trapani, and the tribute of the Mohammedan prince was lost in the sea. Next spring Edward, finding the French princes unwilling to accompany him, set sail with his English followers and reached Acre fifteen days after Easter,¹ just in time to save the city from the Saracens. After a month's rest he made a raid to the casal of S. George between Acre and Safed, and at the end of November led another expedition as far as Chaco (Kakoun), and Castle Pilgrim or Athlit on the south.

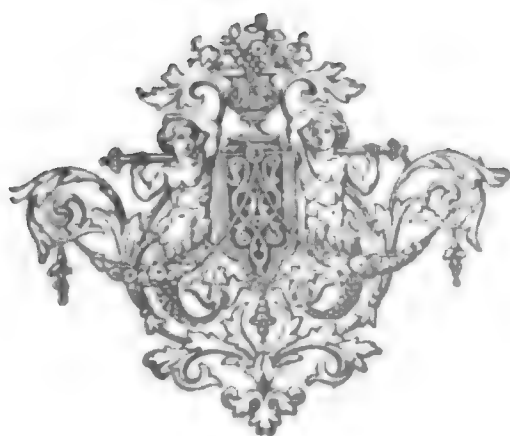
¹ On May 9th. according to the Templar of Tyre.



return to Acre Edward commenced negotiations with a Saracen emir who professed himself ready to become a Christian. His messenger was admitted time after time to Edward's presence and all suspicion was lulled asleep. At last, on his fifth visit, on June 18, 1272, the assassin found his opportunity. After a cursory examination for arms he was permitted to pass into the prince's presence. The day was hot and Edward, clad in a tunic only, was resting on a couch; he took the emir's letter from the messenger who, as he bent in Eastern fashion to answer the prince's questions, drew a knife from his belt and struck a blow at his intended victim. Edward caught the blow on his arm, and tripping the villain to the ground with his foot wrenched the dagger from his grasp and stabbed him as he lay. The English servants coming in found the would-be murderer dead, but to make assurance doubly sure, battered out his brains with a footstool. Edward's life was in much danger, for the weapon was poisoned, and though the Master of the Temple gave him what was declared to be a certain antidote, the wound grew daily worse. At last, an English doctor pledged himself to effect a perfect cure. He bade the nobles lead the weeping Eleanor¹ from her husband's presence; then he cut away the poisoned flesh, and thus, under his care, Edward was within fifteen days able to appear on his horse in public. Very shortly afterwards Edward concluded a ten years' truce with the Sultan. His departure was accelerated by a letter from King

¹ The romantic story of her devotion is first related by Ptolemy of Lucca fifty years later.

Henry urging his son to return immediately since his health was failing, Edward left Palestine on the 14th of September, but did not reach England till two years later, long after his father's death. Throughout his life he cherished the hope of completing the exploits of his earlier manhood, and at the very close of his career vowed himself once more to the service of God, if He would but grant him vengeance on his enemy Bruce.





XXVI.

THE KINGDOM OF ACRE—ITS DECAY AND DESTRUCTION.

(1244-1291.)

ὥς οὐδὲν ἔστιν οὔτε πύργος οὔτε ναῦς
ἔρημος ἀνδρῶν μὴ ξυνοικούντων ἴσω.

SOPHOCLES.

("Worthless each tower and worthless every ship,
Reft of the people that should dwell therein.")

WE must now turn back thirty years to trace the last fortunes of the Latin colonies in Syria. After the departure of Frederick II. Jerusalem was to all intents and purposes a kingless realm, and during the greater part of this period even the bare tenure of the title of king was not allowed to go undisputed. It may seem strange that under such circumstances the Frankish rule should have dragged out even a moribund existence for so many years. But a variety of circumstances contributed to delay its dissolution. Chief among these we must place the extreme weakness of the Ayubite Sultans during the sixteen years

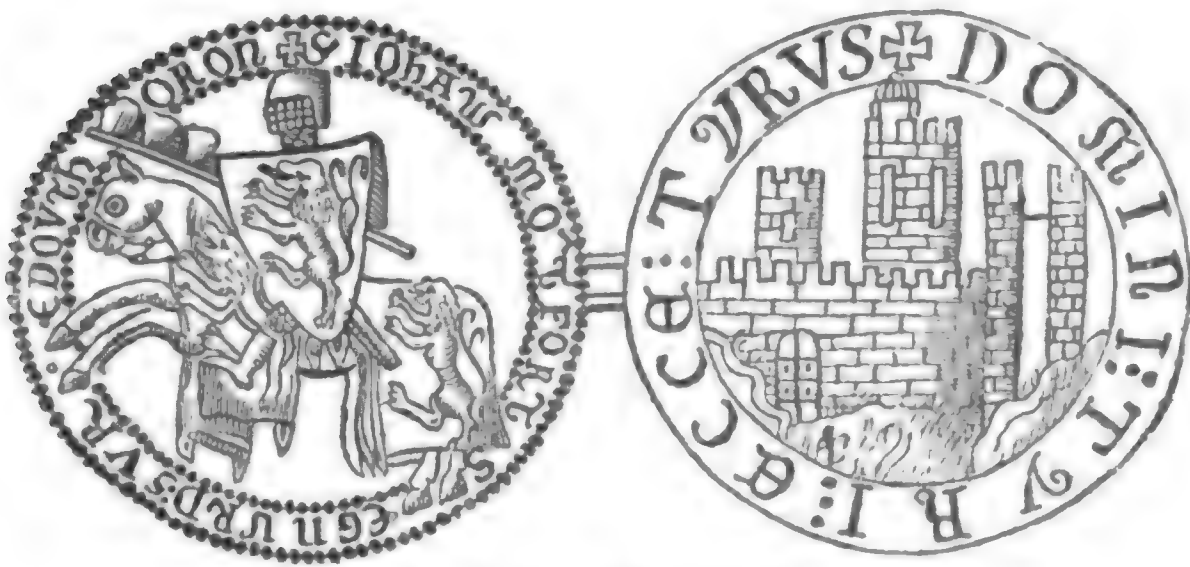
that elapsed between the death of El-Kamil and the final destruction of their power by the Mamluks in 1254 ; and, in the second place, we have the fact that the very existence of a Mussulman empire was threatened by the rise of a new power in the person of the Tartar Khans. No credit can be placed to the continuance of any vitality in the Franks themselves ; for saddest of all features in these fifty years of Crusading history is the presence of perpetual feuds among the Christians in the East.

After Frederick's death in 1250 his rights should have passed to Yolande's son Conrad, but the Emperor, in bequeathing his own dominions to his eldest son, expressly stipulated that Jerusalem should go to Henry, the offspring of his marriage with Isabella of England. But both Conrad and Henry died within a few years, and the title passed to Conradin, the youthful son of the former, on whose tragic death in 1267 the line of Yolande came to an end. Meantime in Palestine the office of bailiff was held for the most part by one member or another of the house of Ibelin. Henry of Cyprus died in 1253, leaving an infant son Hugh by his wife Plaisance of Antioch. The claims of this child were asserted by his uncle Bohemond VI. of Antioch in 1258, but resisted by the Hospitallers and Genoese, who supported Conradin. Hugh died in 1267, and his cousin and namesake, who had been warden of Cyprus in the boy-king's name, then asserted his right to succeed him both in Cyprus and Jerusalem. Hugh III. of Cyprus was actually crowned King of Jerusalem at Tyre on September 24,

1269; but though he maintained a more or less shadowy authority on part of the mainland during seven years, his claims were disputed by his aunt Mary of Antioch. At last, in 1276, the opposition of the Templars drove Hugh to leave Acre; the knights of the other orders and the Genoese would have supported him, and were anxious for his return. But the Templars declared: "If he wants to come he can come, and if he does not, let him stay away." Hugh contented himself with a declaration to the Western Powers that he could not maintain justice or order in the strife of contending parties at Acre; whilst Mary, his opponent, went to Europe in person, and there sold her rights to Charles of Anjou, whom the Pope had made king of Sicily. Charles sent Roger of St. Severin as his bailiff to Acre next year, but though Roger had the support of the Templars there was no longer any pretence of a supreme authority in the Frankish possessions.

The divisions among the Latins in the East had a twofold origin; on the one side, there was the commercial rivalry of the Venetians, the Pisans, and the Genoese; on the other, the military jealousy of the two great orders. In 1249 the Pisans and Genoese had fought against one another at Acre for eight and twenty days with two and twenty kinds of engines, stone-casters, tribuchets, and mangonels. Louis IX., during the four years of his residence in Palestine, was able through the preponderance of his authority to maintain some sort of peace. At his departure he left Geoffrey de Sergines as his lieutenant with a force of one hundred

knights. Geoffrey fought with some success before Jaffa, which was excepted from the truce, but it was not long before these old jealousies broke out with new force, and "the Christians waged war with each other villainously." On the one side, were the Venetians, the Pisans, and Pullani, or Syrian Franks, supported as it would seem by the Templars; on the other side, the Genoese, the Spaniards, and the Hospitallers. It was in the midst of this war in 1258 that



SEAL OF JOHN DE MONTFORT.

Bohemond VI. paid his visit to Acre, and endeavoured without success to make peace. The struggle continued during two years till at last, in a great sea fight off Acre, a fleet of fifty Genoese galleys was defeated by forty Venetians with a loss of seventeen hundred men. A little later the Templars were disastrously defeated in a pitched battle with their rivals. Much of this warfare had been conducted in the streets of Acre, where the contending parties battered each other's quarters and towers till a great

portion of the city was utterly destroyed. In the end the Genoese had to abandon their quarter and withdraw to Tyre. There was no such open and prolonged war after this, but the continued dissensions of the Christians lasted till the very day when Acre was taken.

It was at the time of this warfare among the Christians that the Tartars began to threaten Syria. In the early years of the thirteenth century Genghis Khan had established his authority over the Mongols and laid the foundations of an empire, which within a few years extended from the most eastern confines of Asia to the borders of Germany. The sons of Genghis held rule in China, Persia, and Russia ; Europe was with difficulty preserved by the valour of Conrad ; and when at length in 1258, Bagdad was taken and the orthodox Caliphate extinguished by Hulagu Khan, the son of Genghis, it seemed as though the very existence of Islam was at stake. Despite the terror which the first invasions of the Tartars had inspired, the eyes of the Christians had already been turned towards the new power as a possible ally for the destruction of the Moslem. From the council of Lyons, in 1245, Innocent IV. despatched Dominicans on a mission to the great Khan ; and four years later Louis IX. received at Cyprus an embassy from Ilchikadai, a Tartar Khan, with promises of assistance. In response the king sent certain friars, who, returning after an absence of two years, found Louis at Cæsarea ; afterwards Louis despatched the Franciscan Rubruquis, who has left us a graphic account of his long

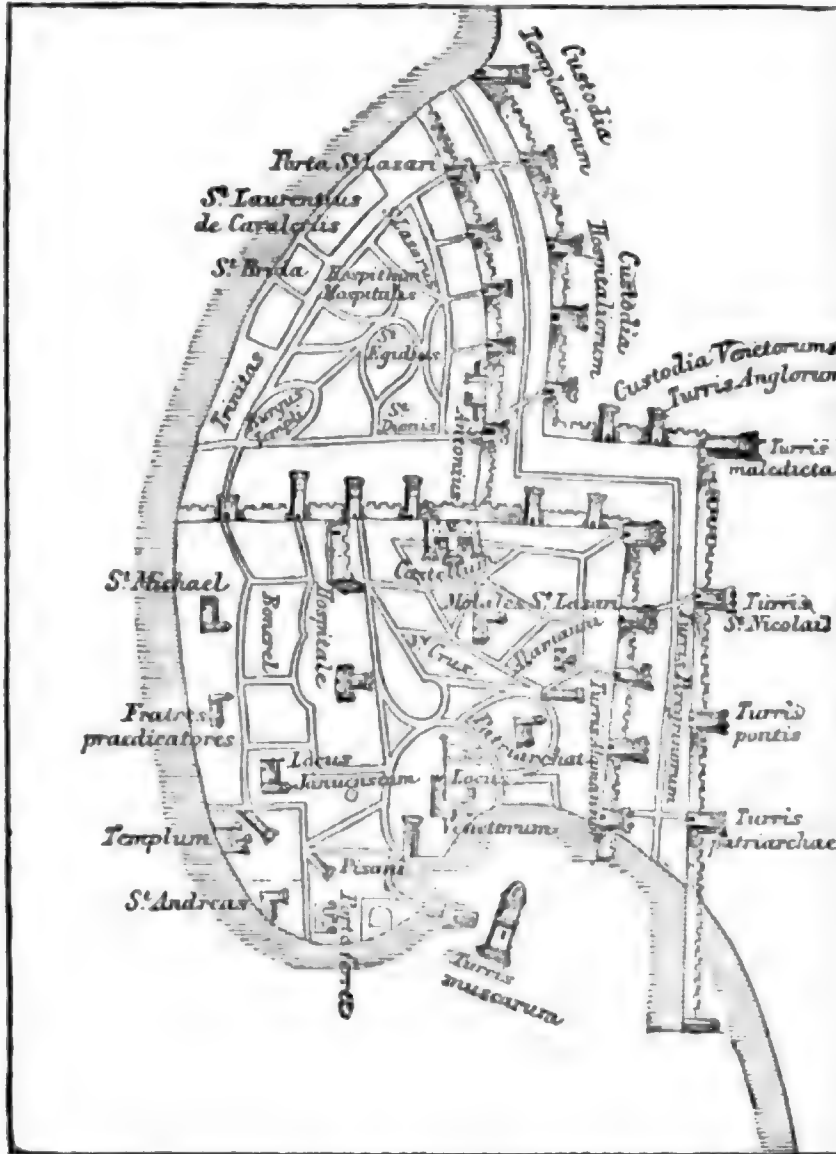
journey, and of the court of the great Khan. It was no doubt, therefore, with mingled feelings of hope and dread that the Franks beheld the Tartars enter Syria in the year after the fall of Bagdad. Aleppo, Hamah, and Damascus fell before them. The Sultan appealed to the Franks for assistance, but through the counsel of the Hospitallers and Teutonic knights the proffered alliance was refused. On September 3, 1260, the Sultan Kutuz met and defeated the Tartar host at Ain Talut ; it was one of the decisive battles in the world's history, for not only was the tide of Tartar conquest stemmed, but the fate of Palestine was settled. The fruits of the victory did not, however, fall to Kutuz, for as he was returning to Cairo he was murdered on October 24th by his Mamluks, and the throne of Egypt passed to Bibars Bendocdar.

Bibars was the true founder of the Mamluk rule in Egypt, and was the most formidable and relentless foe that the Christians had had to encounter since the death of Saladin. The first year of his reign was signalised by the discomfiture of the Tartars in a second battle near Emesa ; from this moment Bibars was able to turn his arms against the Franks, and win for himself the titles of the Pillar of Religion and Father of Victories.

The lax authority among the Franks gave Bibars an easy opportunity to disregard the truce, which nominally subsisted between the Christians and Mohammedans in Syria. In 1263, he appeared for the first time before the walls of Acre, and two years later commenced his career of conquest by the cap-

ture of Arsûf. The next year was marked by the fall of Safed and massacre of all its defenders, and in 1267, whilst the Venetians and Genoese were contending for the mastery outside the harbour of Acre, Bibars was plundering the gardens beneath its very walls. In 1268, the victorious Sultan appeared once more in Palestine, Jaffa was taken on March 2nd, and then passing northwards the Mohammedans laid siege to Antioch in May. The prince was absent at Tripoli, and this great city, which 170 years previously had resisted the Crusaders for over six months, fell once more beneath the sway of the Mohammedans after a siege that had not lasted so many days. The fall of Antioch led to the Crusade of Edward, but that enterprise as we have seen, did little to check the progress of Bibars. It were tedious to trace in detail the steps by which the last poor remnants of the Latin colonies perished. One by one the strong castles of the military orders were captured, until the Franks were confined to a few isolated cities on the coast, which were separated yet more by mutual jealousy or discord. Bibars died, perhaps of wounds received in battle with the Tartars, in 1277, but his death brought no relief to the Franks. His successor, Malek El-Mansur or Kalaún, took Markab in 1285, and the great and rich city of Tripoli in 1289. As one by one the different towns were taken, their inhabitants were either put to the sword, or suffered to escape with their lives to Acre. Thus the population of that city was much increased, and within its walls there were gathered representatives from every nation in Christendom.

For every one there was a separate commune, and the various lords of the land, the masters of the great orders, the representatives of the kings of France,



ACRE ABOUT 1291.

England, and Jerusalem, each exercised separate authority, so that there were in one city seventeen independent powers, "whence there sprang much confusion." It is not strange that under such cir-

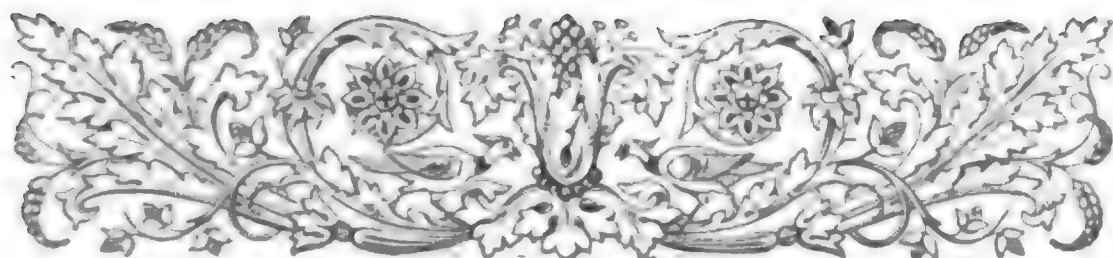
cumstances the city became, as it were, the sink into which all the vileness of Christendom found its way. Over its mixed population many ruled but none had authority ; within its walls the precepts of religion, law, and morality were alike void, so that in its last days Acre became a byword in all Christian lands for the luxury, turbulence, and vice of its inhabitants. Popes did not cease to preach with more or less sincerity the duty of a new Crusade, but the spirit of self-denial and heroism which inspired the warriors of the Cross in an earlier age was now extinct. Such assistance as the West afforded came in the shape of mercenary troops, and it was the dissolute violence of some of these mis-called Crusaders that precipitated the end of the Christian rule in Syria.

Pope Nicholas IV., in his zeal for the Eastern Christians, had sent, as it is said, no less than seventeen hundred mercenaries at his own cost to Acre. These men, being left without pay and in lack of means of subsistence, fell to plundering the Saracen merchants, who, under cover of a truce, had come to Acre for the purpose of peaceful trade. The Sultan appealed to the rulers of Acre for redress, but it was in vain that the Templars urged the justice and prudence of concession. Malek El-Ashraf or Khalil, who just at this time succeeded Kalaún as Sultan, then had resort to arms, and on the 25th of March, 1291, his troops appeared before the walls of Acre. There were not wanting enough soldiers to have successfully defended the city ; but even in this the last hour of their extremity, its inhabitants were more intent upon feasting than upon fighting, and

when the trumpet called them to battle, could not tear themselves from the pleasures of love. Cowardice and discord also played their part in ruining the hopes of a successful defence. Many at the first threat of danger made haste to flee overseas; whilst others who stayed for a time departed when the prospects of success grew desperate. Among these latter, to his shame, went the Burgundian knight, Otho de Grandison, whom Edward of England had sent with treasure and men to the assistance of the Christians in the East. Not even when the whole purpose of their existence was in peril could the Templars and Hospitallers lay aside their mutual jealousy; and so the defence, if conducted with valour in parts, lacked that general unity of purpose which could alone have made it successful. At length on Friday, the 18th of May, Khalil's engines had wrought such a breach in the walls, that the moat being filled with the stones and the bodies of the dead, his army forced its way into the city. The people fled before him to the towers, the palaces of the nobles, or the great house of the Templars. Others, making their way to the harbour, crowded on board the ships in such numbers, that some vessels were swamped as they lay at anchor. Henry II. of Cyprus, who had played a not unworthy part in the early days of the siege, had already escaped to his island kingdom, whither the Grand Master of the Hospital and a number of other fugitives now followed him. But there yet remained sixty thousand Christians whose fate was slavery, or the sword, or worse. The Templars and those who had taken

refuge with them met the noblest end ; for, resisting to the last, they succumbed only when their fortress was undermined, and together with numbers of their assailants perished in its ruins. Thus almost exactly a century after its recovery by the soldiers of the Third Crusade was Acre finally lost to the Christians ; and since Tyre and the few other places that still remained to the Franks could offer no effectual resistance, the last vestiges of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem were swept away.





XXVII.

THE CLOSE OF THE CRUSADES.

"For now I see the true old times are dead,

And now the whole Round Table is dissolved."

TENNYSON.

IT would be wrong to suppose that the feelings of Western Europe were not deeply excited by the fall of Acre. Pope Nicholas in particular was eager that this loss should be made the occasion of a new Crusade. But neither his influence, nor the feelings of princes and people themselves, were strong enough to bring about the serious undertaking of such an enterprise. The century that had elapsed between the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, and that of Acre by Khalil had witnessed great and marvellous changes in Europe. In a mis-called Crusade the papacy had crushed the power of the Empire, and destroyed the semblance of unity in the Western world. The triumph of the papacy had fostered the growing seed of the principle of separate and independent nationalities. It had been fatal also to its own authority. When the popes debased their spiritual office for the further-

ance of their political aims, they lost the substance which they possessed, and obtained but the shadow of what they clutched at. The coming century was filled with the national warfare of the French and English, and with a divided papacy and a nerveless empire there was no central authority that might have rallied the nations of the West to a new Crusade.

Yet in a half-hearted way popes preached and princes talked of renewed warfare for the Church against the Infidel. Nicholas IV. spent his last days in calling on the rulers of Germany, France, and England to take the Cross ; but he did not survive the fall of Acre by a twelvemonth, and after his death the papacy was vacant over two years. Of his successors, Boniface VIII. was too full of his schemes for papal aggrandisement; Clement V. too much the tool of the French king to seriously resume the initiative. John XXII. took up once more the cause of Christendom, and obtained from Philip of Valois and Edward III. a promise to go on the Crusade. But in the midst of his labours John was cut off by death, and within a few years his two allies had involved their countries in a war that was to last with but little intermission for over a hundred years.

Meantime the power of the Ottoman Turks was growing yearly, at the expense of the Greek Empire in the East. At the end of the fourteenth century the victorious Bayazid had overwhelmed Bulgaria and Servia, and threatened to destroy Hungary also. The imminence of the danger stirred the chivalry of the West to take up arms against the common foe

of Christendom. In 1396 a goodly band of French knights, under the Comte de Nevers, went to aid Sigismund in his warfare with the Turks, but only to share in his defeat at Nicopolis. If Bayazid failed to accomplish the conquest of Constantinople, it was due, not to the valour of Christendom, but to the might of Timur the Tartar. The Greek Empire was further preserved by the quarrel of Bayazid's sons, and it was only in 1453 that the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II. stirred a pope to proclaim once more to the princes of the West the duty of a Crusade. For another two centuries the Turks hung as a storm-cloud over Eastern Europe, and in one sense the victories of Don John at Lepanto in 1571, and of Sobieski at Vienna in 1683, may be counted amongst the Triumphs of the Cross. Yet these exploits cannot, any more than the frequent wars with the Algerine corsairs from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries, properly be counted as Crusades ; for though politically speaking they aimed at averting what was substantially the same danger, they did not possess that religious characteristic which is essential to the idea of a Holy War.

It is indeed to the decay of that spirit of enthusiasm which had imparted to the Crusades their religious characteristic, that we must attribute the discontinuance of the attempt to preserve the Holy Places under Christian rule. Some instances we do, however, find of men who were to all appearance fired with the true Crusading fervour. Such was our own king, Henry V., who died with these words on his lips : " Good Lord,

Thou knowest that mine intent hath been, and yet is, if I may live, to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.' Henry's intention seems to have been sincere, and only a short time previously he had despatched the Burgundian knight Gilbert de Lannoy to Egypt and Syria to report on the practicability of a fresh Crusade. So too Columbus dreamt of a new war for the faith in the East, before he took up that marvellous enterprise in the West, which, by diverting the course of commerce, made a new Crusade more than ever unlikely. But these men stand out as solitary exceptions, and with the changing spirit of the times it was impossible that the world should witness again such strange scenes of enthusiasm as had marked the early days of the First Crusade, or as that perhaps still stranger delusion which in the years 1212 and 1213 sent numbers of children wandering off, in the belief that by their means should be accomplished that which had been beyond the power of kings.

But if the Crusading spirit had run its course in Europe the Latin kings of Cyprus and the knights of St. John at Rhodes maintained during two centuries a gallant struggle in defence of the Cross. The latter were avowedly dependent on recruits from Europe; the former no doubt also benefited by the aid of soldiers, who had left their homes for this purpose, or who, during a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, landed at Cyprus, and for a time gave their services to the king. Amongst these warrior pilgrims who came from our own land were Henry of Lancaster, father-in-law of John of Gaunt; William, Lord Roos of Hamlake, who died in the East in 1352; and John, Lord Grey of

Codnor, who, after serving his own sovereign with distinction in France, fought for Peter de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, with other English knights, at Alexandria in 1365. Peter may in some sense not unfairly be called the last of the Crusaders, and had made an endeavour to rouse the flagging interest of the West, in the course of which he paid a visit to England and was handsomely entertained by Edward III. But his fight at Alexandria had no practical result, and the city was abandoned almost as soon as it was taken. Still it was the last notable achievement of Western chivalry in the East, and it is perhaps in this spirit that Chaucer says of his perfect knight—

“At Alisaundre he was whan it was wonne.”

If, however, military enthusiasm had declined, there was no falling off in pilgrim zeal. From John of Wurzburg and Theoderic, in the days of the kingdom, to Burcard and Felix Fabri, in the latter years of the fifteenth century, the pilgrim record runs on in an unbroken line. So numerous were the pilgrims that a regular system was organised for their conveyance under the superintendence of the Venetian senate. An “Information for Pilgryms,” by William Wey, Fellow of Eton, was of sufficient interest to be printed by Caxton. Wey gives the would-be pilgrim careful directions for his journey to Venice, and details of various excursions to be made in Palestine, together with such useful advice as where to buy a bed for the voyage in Venice; how it was well to avoid the lowest stage in the vessel, “for it is ryght evyll and smouldryng hote and stynkyng”; how

Famagosta was unhealthy for Englishmen; how there was "good wine and dear" to be had in Jerusalem, and what payments it would be right to make in the Holy Land.

But the zeal which has maintained the stream of pilgrims to the present day was a thing apart from that enthusiasm for the Holy War which made the Crusades possible. Though in a sense the age of the Crusades was not closed till the dawn of the Renaissance, their interest as a living force came to an end when the last visible sign of the kingdom of Jerusalem perished with the fall of Acre.





XXVIII.

CONCLUSION.

“ The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.”

TENNYSON.

IT is always difficult to estimate with precision the exact limits of any great upheaval of human thought and action, or to trace with certainty the true relations of cause and effect amidst the multitude of historic facts. Nowhere is this difficulty more apparent than in the Crusading epoch, when so many forces were at work, so many countries in connection, so many creeds and races in strange antagonism or yet stranger alliance. But with it all some broad facts seems to stare us in the face. Contrast the Europe of the eleventh century with the Europe of the fourteenth, the age that preceded the capture of Jerusalem with the age that succeeded the fall of Acre, and in a rough way we can suggest limits within which the Crusades have affected the world's history. Still we cannot be sure that the changes which we perceive are due to the Crusades alone. Thus nothing seems more clear

than that the growth of the great Italian seaports was fostered by the Crusades ; but that growth had already begun when the First Crusade started, and would doubtless have continued had no armed pilgrim ever set foot in Palestine. Such an example serves to show the difficulty of assigning a specific cause to any of the great changes wrought during our epoch. Historically speaking, no one influence ever acts singly, and if we are justified in attributing any particular results to the Crusades, it can only be in a very loose and general way. But subject to such limitations it seems proper to indicate, however tentatively, the modes wherein Western life — political, ecclesiastical, social, commercial, and intellectual — was affected by so great an upheaval as was involved in the Crusades.

In the political, or perhaps to speak more accurately the national, life of Europe the Crusades acted both as a combining and a disintegrating force. The continued absence of the petty baronage in the East, and its perpetual decimation under the pressure of debt and travel, battle and disease, helped to concentrate authority in the hands of the royal officers. Each nation, too, had brought home to it a consciousness of unity such as it had never felt before. Community of danger in the toilsome plains of Hungary, the pathless Bulgarian forest, the rugged depths of Asia, or the burning Syrian desert, drew together all men of kindred race and speech. So in the First Crusade there were the two opposing factions of Provençals and Franco-Germans, nominally divided as to the genuineness of the Holy Lance, but in truth by

mutual jealousy. A like discord between Franks and Teutons was perhaps the rock on which the Second Crusade split ; and again in the Third Crusade it was jealousy of English valour that sent the French king home before the work of the war was well begun. Later Crusades showed similar features on somewhat different lines ; the feud was now between adherents of pope and emperor, but as the one included the French, and the other the Germans, here also the quarrel tended to assume a national aspect.

It was in France that the combining forces of the Crusades were most felt. There one by one the petty fiefs were swallowed up in the greater lordships, and the greater lordships in the royal power. In the eleventh century the kings of France ruled only in a narrow strip of territory with Paris as its centre, but by the time of the fall of Acre France had already put on much of its present form. It might thus in a sense be said that modern France is a creation of the Crusades ; and though such a statement would involve the disregard of other important factors, it must not be forgotten, as we shall see later on, that the Crusades did much for the consolidation of French national sentiment by the spread of French culture and the French speech over a wide area.

In the other countries of Europe the growth of national sentiment was also fostered during the Crusading epoch, but there was no such spectacle of political consolidation as is afforded in France. We are here more struck by the process of disintegration ; for before the Crusades the Empire gave Europe a semblance of unity which had nearly disappeared by

the time that they came to a close. The power which the Crusades threw into the hands of the popes aided them materially in their struggle with the Empire, and it was indeed in a so-called Crusade towards the close of our own period that the true authority of the Empire was destroyed. The disintegration of the Imperial power was followed directly by the destruction of true political unity alike in Germany and in Italy. In the latter country the power of the cities was fostered through the development of commerce, whilst at the same time such central authority as was possessed by the emperors disappeared. The process of disintegration was further assisted by the policy of the popes in Southern Italy, where the union of the crowns of Sicily and Jerusalem in the person of Frederick II. was turned to his ruin by Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. It is only in our own time that Germany and Italy have recovered from the havoc that was wrought by the network of Crusading politics.

In England we can trace no direct influence of equal importance. But it must not be forgotten that the warfare which led to the loss of the Angevin dominions in Northern France originated in a Crusading quarrel, and that it was in the Crusades that the antagonism of France and England was developed, if not actually created. In this way the circumstances of the Third Crusade contributed not a little to the growth of English liberty in the thirteenth century. The other countries of Europe had but a slight share in the Crusades. Yet Spain and Portugal were created through the process of their own warfare with

the infidel, and the foundations of modern Prussia were laid through the Crusading enterprise of the Teutonic knights in Lithuania.

Outside the limits of the Latin world it is important to note that the Crusades led to a political intercourse, and to semi-political relationships of a kind that had not been witnessed since Otho II. married his Greek wife. Let alone the alliances of the Frank princes of Syria with the Imperial house of Constantinople, we find the sister of Philip Augustus wedded to the Emperor Alexius; Italian nobles, the dukes of Austria and kings of Sicily, sought alliance in the same direction, and even Philip of Swabia, the son of Barbarossa, and claimant of the Imperial throne, did not hesitate to take a Greek wife. Of no great importance in themselves, such incidents point to an enlargement of the political horizon, which was of considerable moment to Western Europe. The same tendency finds a rather ludicrous illustration in the proposal gravely made to Edward I., that European princesses should be brought up to speak Eastern tongues, that thus by marrying Tartar kings and Saracen emirs they might through the grace of God and their own beauty win over their husbands to the faith.

On the vast importance of the Crusades for ecclesiastical history, there can be but one opinion; yet here also exists the difficulty of tracing simple relations of cause and effect. Thus we are confronted with diverse opinions; some holding that the Crusades were the foreign policy of the papacy and the source of its preponderant power; whilst

others argue that by widening the intellectual horizon of mankind they paved the way for the Reformation, and were an essentially false move on the part of the popes. As a retrospective judgment there is much truth in either statement ; but in so far as they attribute a conscious motive to Roman policy, both appear mistaken. For though the Crusades were turned very much to the advantage of the Roman see, they did not owe their origin to the popes, who were powerless to promote them when enthusiasm had flagged. Still less could the popes have foreseen the dangers that were to result from the breaking down of old barriers of thought and intercourse.

To turn, however, to particulars. In the first place, there can be no question that the authority of the popes was much increased through the preaching of the Crusades under their auspices. On the other hand, it was no small thing that, whether from forethought or good fortune, the popes avoided those dangers which the actual direction of a Crusade entailed. No other Western power was equally happy. The union of Western Europe in a common effort on behalf of the faith gave the papal see an opportunity to assert for itself a position as the centre and mainspring of the politics of Latin Christendom. Those, moreover, who took the Cross, put themselves in the power of the Pope, who could alone remit their vows. In each of the great kingdoms of the West the sovereign at one time or another assumed the Cross, either from religious enthusiasm or to propitiate papal favour. The vow once taken, it mattered little whether the

prince went or whether he went not, whichsoever course he adopted must turn to the advantage of Rome. If he went he acknowledged the Pope's headship, if he went not he incurred his anathema. With what fatal effect the papal see could use the power thus obtained is best illustrated in the history of Frederick II. In England, also, the power which the popes acquired in the thirteenth century sprang directly from those troubles which had their occasion in the Crusade of Richard.

If the Crusades contributed to elevate the ecclesiastical over the civil power, within the Church itself they favoured the assertion of papal supremacy. The preaching of the Crusades gave rise to constant legations, which afforded the popes a useful opportunity for asserting their position as the head of the Church in every country of the Latin obedience. The absence of Western bishops in the East gave from time to time further opportunities for the assertion of papal authority, whilst the establishment of Eastern bishoprics led in the end to the creation of those bishops *in partibus infidelium*, who have in later ages filled a not unimportant part in the polity of the Church. More than this the Crusades led directly to the creation of the entirely novel military orders. The knights of the Temple, in particular, were a powerful prop of papal policy, and under different auspices might have become a veritable militia of the Church in Western Europe. A more religious, but less direct product of the Crusades, were the orders of Friars, of whom the Dominicans sprang immediately from the pseudo-crusade against the Albigenses. Yet, again,

the Crusades were the pretext for frequent levies on the clergy, by which means both the power and wealth of the papacy were much increased. If, however, the clergy were taxed in the cause of the Church, they themselves could well afford it. The Crusading knight or noble had to sell or mortgage his estates at a sacrifice to procure the money for his journey. When all were in turn so anxious to sell, the ecclesiastical corporations alone had the power and desire to buy. The wealth thus amassed was never alienated, and by this means was brought about that concentration of landed property in ecclesiastical hands, which, politically speaking, was in great measure to cause and to justify the Reformation. Yet a further source of wealth was found in the sale of immunities to those who desired exemption from a vow which they had taken in thoughtless enthusiasm. So far did this practice proceed that it was even customary for the aged and infirm to be given the Cross for the express purpose of being made to pay for exemption. It was in this custom that there originated the sale of indulgences for other purposes, which in the course of time was to become the immediate cause of the Reformation.

If, however, the Crusades brought to the Church both wealth and power, these advantages were inevitably followed by the reaction of covetousness and discontent. Thus the age of the Crusades was also the age of heresies,¹ to combat which the intolerance

¹ As, for instance, the Henrician, the Petrobrussian, the Waldensian, the Paulician, and, above all, the Albigensian.

natural in minds accustomed to religious warfare called into being the Holy Inquisition. The Albigensians were in a sense the precursors of the Reformers, and Dominic himself the prototype of Torquemada. But in the heresies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was this further peculiarity, that they appear to have originated in part from intercourse with the East. There is grave reason to regard the Albigensians as tainted with Manichæism, the doctrines of which were no doubt brought home by returning Crusaders. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that the doctrinal, political, and social causes which led to the Reformation all sprang from seed that was sown in the times of the Crusades.

Probably few ages of the world's history have witnessed a greater amelioration in the conditions of social life than took place in Western Europe during the period of the Crusades. The tenth and eleventh centuries were acquiescent under a *régime* of almost hopeless anarchy, the fourteenth was through the widespread existence of social discontent pregnant with promise for the future. But the causes which underlie any great change of social condition are usually so complex and so obscure that it is hazardous to speak with any certainty. In the present case, however, the changes are most marked at the top of the social scale, and it is here that the influence exerted by the Crusades can be most clearly traced. Politically, as we have seen, the Crusades were fatal to the power of the feudal nobility ; but this loss of power was in the end to turn out to the good both of

the order as a part and of society as a whole. The misdirected activity, which found its vent in the waste bickerings of feudal despotism and anarchy, was through the Crusades turned into a well-ordered channel. On the one hand, those turbulent spirits, who made all progress at home impossible, were drawn away to a distant and harmless enterprise; on the other hand, a high and noble ideal was substituted for the base and petty motives of personal aggrandisement. The lust of warfare was sated by the Crusades, whilst at the same time it was purified by the inspiration of religious enthusiasm. This in itself would have contributed not a little to the general improvement of morals and manners. It was further supplemented by the growth of luxury and culture consequent on the commercial and intellectual expansion, which resulted from the Crusades. These influences, combined with the growth of royal authority, transformed the feudal nobility from the curse of the West, into a settled and orderly member of the body politic.

Such a change was of the utmost importance to the inferior orders of society, and the consequent amelioration of manners could not but make its influence more and more widely felt as time went on. The people of the towns were the first to reap the benefit. The displacement of feudal anarchy by settled order under a strong central authority, enabled the townsfolk to profit to the full from the growth of commerce. With increased wealth came larger notions of liberty, and the power to assert them. Thus it is to these centuries that in every country of

the West we can trace under diverse circumstances the revival of an organised and vigorous civic life. It is indeed true, so far as we can judge, that the change must in any case have come ; but, at the same time, the Crusades and all that was involved in them did beyond question contribute in a marked degree to that development of town life which is one of the most striking characteristics of Western Europe during our period.

Of the changes that took place in the condition of the country folk it is more difficult to speak. Their elevation from a condition of serfdom did not come till the age of the Crusades had passed away, and was then, as it would appear, due to the operation of other causes. But over and above the softening influences consequent on the general improvement of manners, there are some respects in which the Crusades were directly beneficial to the peasant class. It was not that those who took the Cross became free, for, numerous as these may have been, those who survived to return were but relatively few. More important were the better social order and the milder rule of the new times. To the peasants it must have been an additional boon that, through the transfer of property, many came under the rule of ecclesiastics, who, if harsh taskmasters, were still preferable to the turbulent nobles they displaced. Yet, again, the growth of larger ideas was favourable to freedom, and at least made the future hopeful. But so far as the mass of the population is concerned perhaps the most that can be said, is—that the widening of the bounds of human knowledge through

the Crusades helped to make a better order possible.¹

One of the greatest of the benefits conferred on society by the Crusades was the raising of the standard of comfort through the spread of luxury. The expansion of commerce in the Middle Ages is from one point of view that change which we can attribute most safely to the influence of the Crusades. It was the need of the Crusaders for transport, and the traffic necessary to supply the wants of those Franks who had settled in Syria, that gave the requisite stimulus to the infant commerce of Italy, and effectually opened up the East to the West. By this means the cities of Italy were brought into close commercial relations with the Greeks and Saracens, and less directly with even more distant nations. The establishment of the Latin Empire at Constantinople paved the way for the creation of the Venetian colonial system in the Levant ; and the fall of that Empire led to the success of the Genoese under Greek patronage in the Euxine. The latter people thus established a caravan trade with Persia from Trebizond ; whilst about the same time the Venetians entered into friendly relations with the Saracens of Alexandria, and thus secured the profitable trade of the Nile and the Red Sea. The caravan trade of the Euphrates valley had already been tapped from the

¹ In England the Crusades do not seem to have directly influenced social life in the same degree. The worst evils of feudalism existed only during the reign of Stephen, and popular growth proceeded on different lines to those which prevailed on the Continent. But even here weight must be given to the general improvement of manners and to the influence exerted by changes abroad.

ports of the Syrian coast. By the side of this wider commerce the actual trade with the Latin colonies of Syria was of comparatively slight importance, and it is this which explains the fact that the loss of those colonies and the cessation of the Crusades were not detrimental to Italian commerce. Indeed the same motives of self-interest, which made the Italian cities favourable to the Crusades at the start, made them lukewarm, if not hostile, when the continuance of the warfare threatened to jeopardise the commerce which it had created.

The commercial benefits of the Crusades were not confined to Italy. Marseilles enjoyed like privileges with her Italian rivals in Palestine, and shared in the profits arising from the transport of pilgrims and soldiers, as notably in the Crusade of Richard I. Nor was this all, for during the twelfth century English, Flemish, North German, and even Danish and Norwegian fleets appeared in the Mediterranean. The commercial influence of the Crusades on Northern Europe was, however, for the most part either less direct or of later growth. Venice as the chief distributing mart of the Middle Ages became in the fourteenth century the southern terminus of a great land trade-route. It was on this continental traffic that the wealth of the German and Flemish cities largely depended, and thus the Hanseatic League owed its prosperity if not its origin to the Crusades. It is noteworthy also that the other great line of Hanseatic development was aided by the Crusading enterprise of the Teutonic knights in Prussia and Lithuania.

The commerce which the Crusades assisted to create was purely "thalassic" or "potamic"; when, through the discoveries of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, the trade of the world assumed an "oceanic" phase, the commercial influence of the Crusades came to an end. We could have no clearer evidence of the close relation between the Crusades and mediæval commerce than the fact that the Crusading epoch was only definitely closed when commerce was diverted into a new course.

In other points, however, the commercial influence of the Crusades, if less direct, was more enduring. It is not, perhaps, too much to say that the discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the outcome of the maritime energy that was fostered by the Crusades. At any rate, these discoveries would probably have been deferred had the commerce of Europe pursued a more sluggish course in the early Middle Ages. Yet again, it was to the Crusades that we owe the first beginnings of maritime law; Crusading princes, like Richard of England, made ordinances for the rule of their fleets at sea, and the Assize of Jerusalem includes regulations which contain the germ of a maritime code. Other indispensable adjuncts of a commercial system which owe their origin, in part at least, to the Crusades are banking and exchange. The financial needs of Crusaders and merchants in the East gave occasion for the practice of the elementary principles of commercial finance. The Jews and great Italian merchants had regular banking agents in Syria, and made the advance of money to Crusaders a formal

part of their business. The military orders were not above sharing in such profits, and the Templars in particular undertook financial transactions, and were entrusted frequently with the care of treasure by Western princes and nobles. The extension of papal taxation through the Crusades was also important in this connection. The true development of commercial finance belongs, however, to a later age.

One result of the expansion of commerce was to bring into common use the spices, perfumes, and other products of the East, which, before the Crusades, had been the luxury of the few. Bede, for instance, on his death-bed divided his little store of pepper and incense amongst his friends as something very precious. But in the thirteenth century pepper was an article of such common use that, according to a rumour recorded by Matthew Paris, the Saracens plotted to destroy their Christian enemies in the West, by poisoning their spices. Pass over a hundred years, and we find in the vivid picture of a country inn in "Piers Plowman," that even the wife of Beton the Brewster has "pepper and pionys, and a pound of garlike," to spice her ale with. Various industries also, such as dyeing and glass-blowing, profited much from intercourse with the East. Silk-weaving was introduced to Sicily from Greece by King Roger, in 1148, and the sugar cane was brought to that island about the same time. The Latin kings of Jerusalem gave special care in their legislation to commerce, and in the trading cities of their kingdom, the merchants of the West could find not only the cotton and silken goods of Syria,

but perfumes from Persia, spices and jewels from India, and even precious pottery from China.

The previous pages will have indicated that in some respects it is for their intellectual results that the Crusades are most important, and that it was their effect on the mental environment of mankind which determined their influence within the more limited spheres of action. It will be most profitable to dwell on some particular phases of the extension of human knowledge and understanding, which will sufficiently illustrate the general aspect of intellectual development.

In the First Crusade Europe was, one may almost say for the first time since the days of Thucydides, confronted by an event of stupendous importance, and yet one which, like the struggle between Athens and Sparta, lent itself to a strictly artistic treatment. So unique an occasion was not lost, and the history of the Holy War is told by ten or twelve almost contemporary historians.¹ But the fame of all was overshadowed by the great work of William of Tyre, which may perhaps fairly be called the first historical work of the Middle Ages that is not a mere chronicle of events. If Herodotus is called the Father of History, William may be styled the Father of Modern History. Such a title he deserves for his well-ordered and

¹ Tudebode, Albert of Aix, and Raymond of Agiles were among the chief. Of the others, it is interesting to note that several were connected with English or Norman princes. Fulcher of Chartres was the companion of Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois, Ralph of Caen was himself a Norman born, the historian and friend of Tancred, and the pupil of the Patriarch Arnulf. Guibert of Nogent and Baldric of Dol also came from the border lands of the Norman duchy.

artistic treatment of a great and worthy subject, for his judicious, and not slavish use of earlier authorities, and for his vivid narrative of those events which came within the wide range of his own knowledge. The growth of the historic sense is shown also by the change that comes over Western historians. In the twelfth century our English writers not only concern themselves in an unwonted way with continental politics, but actually begin to be somewhat of authorities for events abroad. Among the historians of the later Crusades there is no single name of such note as William of Tyre ; but, for another characteristic, they are even more important. William's great work was probably translated into French soon after his own death, and within fifty years a continuation was written in France by Ernoul who, as a young man, had been squire to the famous Balian of Ibelin. Ernoul was the first to tell the story of one of the great kingdoms of Latin Christianity in its own speech, and without the aid of rhyme. Bernard the Treasurer, and others, composed further continuations which carry on the history almost to the fall of Acre. The whole narrative, including the French translation of William of Tyre, was known as the *Chronique d'Outremer*, or *Estoire d'Eracles* ; it enjoyed great popularity, and is well worthy to rank with the works of Villehardouin and Joinville. Ernoul, like these two writers, describes events in which he had himself taken part, and it was no small thing for literature that history had thus begun to be written by laymen in the common speech for popular perusal.

History, in the literary sense, owed much to the

Crusades, but geography was still more deeply indebted. Geographical knowledge and science had indeed retrograded in Western Europe since the days of Ptolemy. With the First Crusade, however, a new era commences; not only was the knowledge of Eastern lands revived in the West, but a far more intimate acquaintance was established as to the intervening countries and seas. Every spring and autumn witnessed the departure of the fleets for Syria, and the stages of the journey were marked with such precision, that Roger Howden can give the distances from port to port in regular order from England to Palestine. A further extension soon followed, for in Syria merchants and pilgrims came into contact with those whose knowledge reached to the most eastern and southern confines of Asia. The next step was for Europeans to acquire a first-hand acquaintance with the far East; this they did through the relations which were established during the thirteenth century between the princes of Latin Christendom and the rulers of the Mongol Empire. Most famous of these early travellers was the Franciscan William Rubruquis, whom Louis IX. sent as his envoy to the great Khan, in 1253. Of still more importance are the Venetian Marco Polo, and the Franciscan Odoric, who, early in the next century, travelled through Persia, India, and China. These travellers first made common in Europe a real acquaintance with the far East, and it was through them that geographical knowledge once more began to advance. More than this, it was their discoveries which inspired the enterprise that culminated

in the achievements of Columbus and Vasco da Gama.

If the Crusades thus extended man's knowledge of other peoples and lands, they extended no less the limits of his own understanding. Not, it is true, altogether in those directions that might most naturally have been expected. Intercourse with the Empire of the East caused no such revival of classical learning as was to come about three centuries later. Nor did contact with Syrian Christians or Moham-medans confer any special benefit on medicine or philosophy. The treasures of Arabic skill and science were imparted to Latin Christendom from another quarter, and in so far as they contributed to the advance of medicine and philosophy the debt is due to the doctors not of Damascus but of Salerno and Toledo. Nor even was such knowledge of Eastern languages as existed due specially to the Crusades, and the Koran itself was translated about 1144 by an Englishman, Robert, who had gone to study astronomy in Spain, and probably never set foot in Palestine at all. From the same quarter came also the revived knowledge of Aristotle, which paved the way for mediæval philosophy and scholasticism.

But if we turn from science to literature we find that the influence exerted by the Crusades was great and manifest. The Crusades were the creation of French-speaking peoples, and, above all, of those adventurous Normans who carried the language of their adoption wheresoever they settled. Never did Christendom come so near having a common speech ; for several centuries French was the most universal

medium of intercourse from the Atlantic to the Jordan and the Golden Horn. If French thus became the speech of princes, lawyers, and merchants, yet more important was it that it became the recognised language of literature. The great Italian, Arnault Daniel, used it for his famous poem on Lancelot—which Dante has immortalised. Dante's own tutor, Brunetto Latino, adopted it for his *Tesauuro*, boldly declaring that he chose French in preference to his native tongue "because it is more delectable and more widely diffused."

Mediaeval poetry was indeed the creation of Frenchmen and the Crusades. Only one chanson—that of Roland—is certainly of earlier date, but from the moment of the Crusades the world of romance wakes into new life. Religious enthusiasm, warlike gallantry, and the mystery of the East, all combined to inspire the minstrel with themes for his song. Jerusalem was hardly captured before French poets began to tell of the achievements of French knights in French verse. Soon every great chanson has its Eastern element; Huon of Bordeaux has many adventures in Babylon and the East; Renaud de Montauban, in his later years, performs no mean exploits in the Holy Land; Bevis of Hamptoun visits Jerusalem and Damascus and weds an emir's daughter; Richard Cœur de Lion's mother, like Thomas à Becket's, is in legend a Saracen princess. Even when the scene is not laid in the East we have fighting with Saracens nearer home, as in the romance of "Doon de Mayence."

If the Crusades created a new poetical literature,

they also created the long historical poem as distinct from the short "cantilena." Geoffrey Bechada, early in the twelfth century, sang in French the story of the First Crusade, in which he had himself taken part; though his work has now perished it was well known to Geoffrey of Vigeois fifty years later. Richard the Pilgrim, even earlier, composed what was probably the oldest form of the "*Chanson d'Antioch*," which was afterwards the favourite theme with Crusaders, and was perhaps the foundation of the Latin poem of our own Joseph of Exeter. Another early writer was William IX. of Poitiers, who used to amuse his friends with songs of his adventures in Palestine. The historical narratives thus composed were transformed by later minstrels, who embellished them with romantic additions of their own, such as the legend of the "Knight of the Swan," and the wondrous descent of Godfrey of Bouillon. In the process there was created a new romantic literature of pure imagination, wherein the bare facts of the older writers were lost in a wealth of legendary fable, fancy, and folly.

Of all that was entailed for literature in this creation of romance, and of its still abiding influence, we cannot now speak. Perhaps, indeed, it is of more value here to dwell on its importance for the mediæval world; on the new element of brightness that it brought into man's life; on the inspiration of nobler ideas that it afforded; and on the quickening of the human intellect, of which it was the first and not the least hopeful evidence.

But from the discussion of the results of the

Crusades we must now turn away to consider for a little their true character, and how far they were successful in achieving the objects that they aimed at. If the consequences of the Crusades are puzzling in their complexity, no less complex are the motives to which they owed their origin. The enthusiasm of religion, the spirit of adventure, the lust of power, the desire of gain, all, no doubt, contributed in their degree. Probably it is true to say that only of a few Crusaders, as of Godfrey and St. Louis, can we predicate absolute purity of motive. But after all detractions are made, there will still remain the overmastering fact that the Crusades were the outcome of an enthusiasm more deep and enduring than any other that the world has witnessed. They were no mere popular delusion ; for principles of sound reason overruled the ungoverned excitement of the mob. No deep-laid plot of papal policy ; for neither Gregory VII. when he projected, nor Urban II. when he preached the Holy War, could have foretold the purposes to which their successors would, half unconsciously, turn it. Not the savage outbreak of warlike barbarism ; for they entailed a patient endurance which only the inspiration of a noble ideal made possible. The Crusades were then primarily wars of an idea, and it is this which sets them apart from all other wars of religion ; for into the Crusades proper the spirit of religious intolerance or sectarian jealousy hardly entered. The going on the Crusade was the "Way of God," not to be lightly taken up or lightly laid aside like the common affairs of men. The war was God's warfare, to be waged in His behalf for the

recovery of the Heritage of Christ, the land which Our Blessed Lord Himself had trod. If this idea was not present to all when they took the Cross, yet it is safe to say that the great mass of the Crusaders came at some time under its spell. It is hard always for the men of one age to comprehend the enthusiasms of another. We can only marvel at the strange infection which for nearly two centuries ran riot through the West of Europe. It is easier for us to recognise the epic grandeur of the enterprise, in which was concentrated all that was noblest in the mediæval spirit. The Crusades were the first united effort of Western Christendom. They raised mankind above the ignoble sphere of petty ambitions to seek after an ideal that was neither sordid nor selfish. They called forth all that was most heroic in human nature, and filled the world with the inspiration of noble thoughts and noble deeds. Of the manifold consequences that were to spring from this inspiration, the higher ideals of life, the wider range of understanding, enough has been said already to show that the Crusades were as beneficial in their general results as they were undoubtedly sincere in their original undertaking.

From the consideration of ideals which inspired the Crusaders, we pass naturally to the practical purpose which they endeavoured to achieve. Two principal objects presented themselves to the promoters of the First Crusade. The chief was no doubt the restoration of the Holy Places to Christian rule ; the secondary object—but to such leaders at least as Gregory VII. and Urban II. a no less clear one—was the

defence of the Eastern Empire against the danger of Turkish conquest. The first was based on a sentiment, but on a sentiment which with some change of form still survives ; the second, on an urgent necessity, the pressure of which was yet felt two centuries ago. The first object was within a few years achieved by the establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem. But the success was barely complete before the process of decay commenced. With the causes of that decay, the narrow limits and ineffectual frontier of the kingdom, the jealousies of Crusaders for the Syrian Franks and for one another, the rival policies of the military orders and the native baronage, the deterioration of energy amongst those who settled in the East, and the waning enthusiasm amongst those who remained in the West, we have already in their several places dealt. A failure in this sense the Crusades no doubt were ; but with it all we cannot regard as entirely fruitless an enterprise which maintained a fairly vigorous life for one century, and prolonged its death struggle for another.

The success of the second great object of the Crusades is best regarded from a twofold point of view—firstly, as concerns the Empire of the East ; and secondly, as concerns the history of the world at large. In the former case, it seems clear that but for the First Crusade the Empire of the Comneni must have succumbed to the Seljukian Turks. Certainly the twelfth century witnessed a great recovery both of territory and power on the part of the Eastern Empire. But, at the same time, it must be remembered that the constant passage of huge and

disorderly hosts was the source of serious harm, and that the destruction of the true Empire of the East was the work of a so-called Crusade. Perhaps it is not too much to say that whatever benefit was wrought by the First Crusade was more than undone by the Fourth. From the time of the latter enterprise there was no strong united power to guard the East, and the success of the Turks was probably due as much to this as to their own prowess. Certainly the political and religious dissensions of East and West were aggravated by the Crusades, but, above all, by the Fourth Crusade, and the power of resistance in Christendom was so far weakened. From this standpoint, therefore, the eventual failure of the Crusades to achieve their second great object was hardly less complete than it was in the case of the first.

Looking at the Crusades, however, from the more general standpoint of the world's history, we can pass a more favourable judgment. It was an imperative necessity for the welfare of Christendom that the advance of the Turks—which during the eleventh century had made such rapid progress—should be stayed. The First Crusade rolled back the tide of conquest from the walls of Constantinople, and the wars of the next two centuries gave full employment to the superfluous energies of Islam. Even after Acre had fallen, the Latin kingdom of Cyprus, the knights of St. John at Rhodes, and the maritime power of Venice—all creations of the Crusades—combined to delay, if they could not stop, the advance of Mohammedanism. The importance of

this for Western civilisation cannot be over-estimated. Had the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II. been anticipated by three centuries it is impossible that the Turkish conquests should have been confined to the peninsula of the Balkans and the valley of the Lower Danube. A new influx of barbarism, at the very moment when the gloom of the Dark Ages was breaking, might have been as ruinous to the social and political life of Western Europe as it was to that of Western Asia. At the least it must have put back the progress of civilisation in Europe by centuries, if it had not altered utterly the course of the world's history.

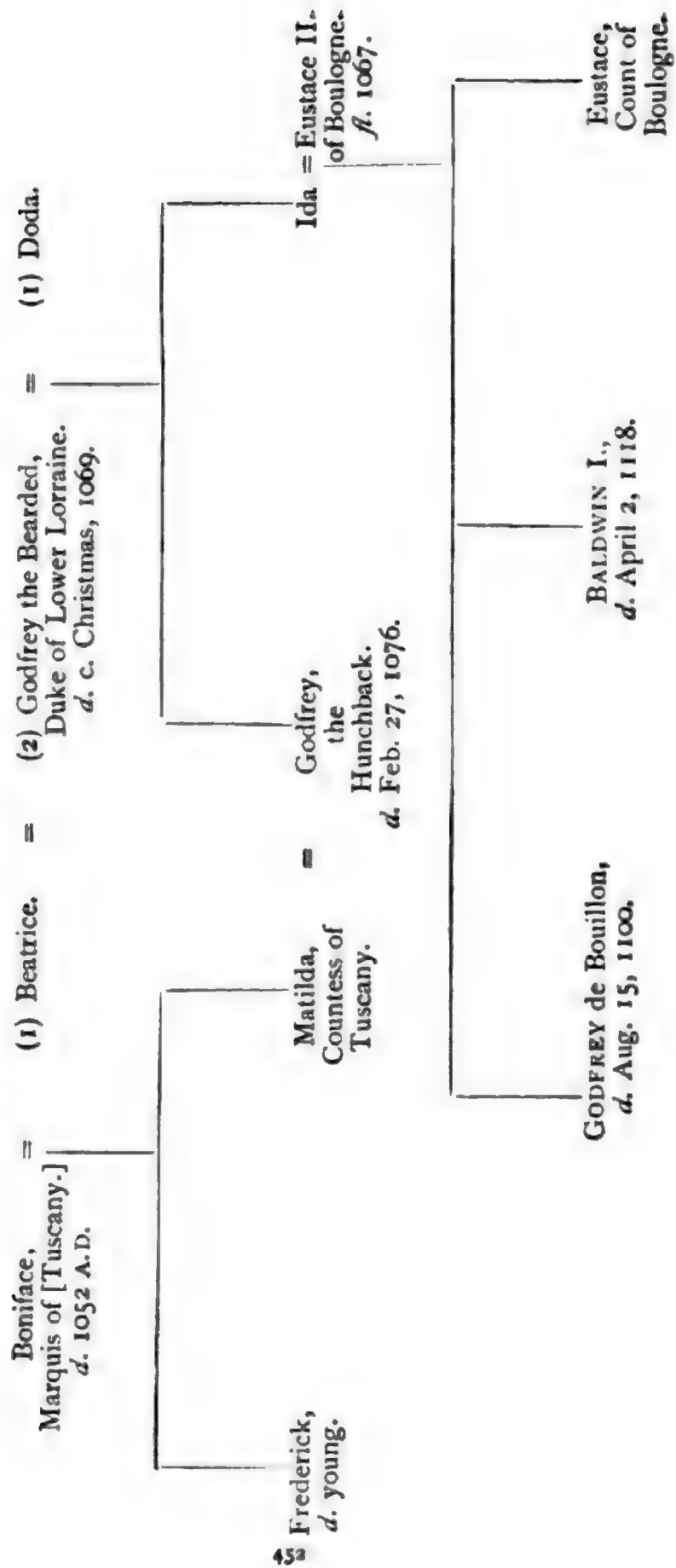
We of the present day who live under the shadow of the Revolution, and still feel the effects of the Reformation, are too apt to regard all that went before as matters of purely archæological interest, or as furnishing only the foundation for a romantic tale. It is easy to contrast the glories of the Renaissance with the wreck of Mediævalism, and to feel that between the two there is a great gulf fixed. But the mediæval world had had its own glories, which, as they faded, let fall the seeds of future prosperity. The processes of decay and new birth are as natural to the historical as to the physical world, and there is no justice in the taunt of failure; for it is in the failures and half-successes of one age that there are sown the seeds of the glories of another. The Middle Ages were, in their way, as important and fruitful for mankind as any other epoch of the world's history. The Crusades were their crowning glory of political achievement, the central drama to

which all other incidents were in some degree subordinate. If the enthusiasm which produced them perished, it was not until it had borne good fruit: we may perhaps contrast the age of the Crusades with the age of the Early Renaissance, which succeeded it, in some respects to the disadvantage of the former; but when all is said and written this much at least must be admitted: it was not altogether a change from the worse to the better that gave France a Louis the Treacherous for a Louis the Saint, and England a Richard of the Subtle Brain for a Richard of the Lion Heart.

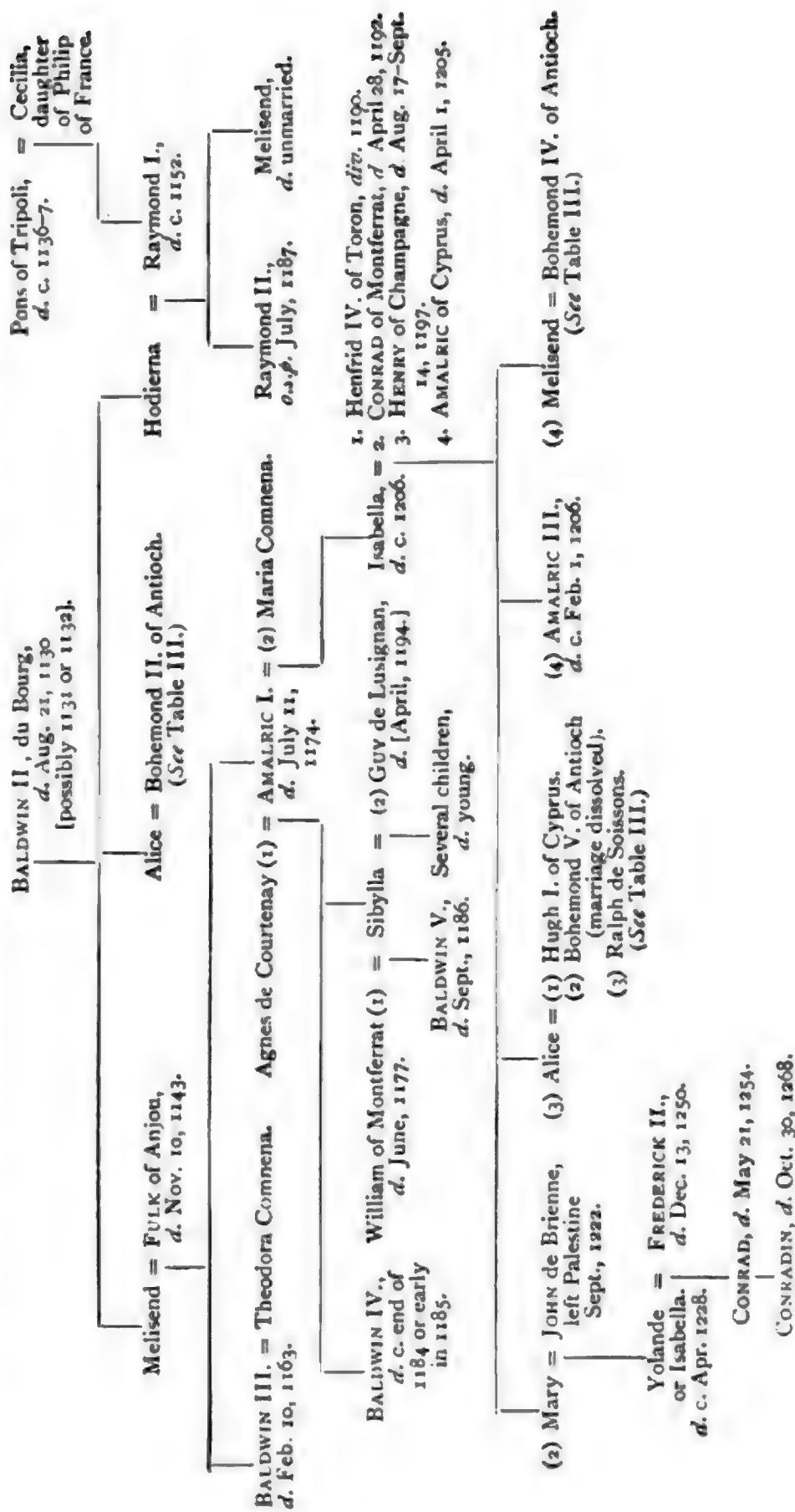
“ The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.”



I. GENEALOGY OF GODFREY DE BOUILLON.



II. KINGS OF JERUSALEM FROM BALDWIN II. TO FREDERICK II.



III. PRINCES OF ANTIOCH AND KINGS OF CYPRUS.

ANTIOCH.

BOHEMOND I. = Constance, daughter of Philip I. of France.
d. March, 1111.

John,
d. young.
BOHEMOND II. = Alice, daughter of Baldwin II.
d. c. Jan., 1130
or 1131.

RAYMOND of Poitiers (1) = Constance = (2) REGINALD of Châtillon,
d. June 27, 1149. d. 1187.

Maria = Manuel Comnenus.

BOHEMOND III. = Orgillosa.
d. 1201.

RAYMOND = Alice, daughter of
Rupin of Armenia.

BOHEMOND IV. =
d. 1233.

RUPIN,
d. 1222.

(2) Mary,
Claimant of Jerusalem.

(1) BOHEMOND V. = Lucia.
d. 1251.

Henry I. = Plaisance.
of Cyprus.

BOHEMOND VI. = Sybilla of Armenia.
d. March 11, 1274.

BOHEMOND VII.,
o. s. p. Oct. 19, 1287.

Lucia.

Hugh, Count of Lusignan.

Isabella (2) =
daughter of
Amalric I.

AMALRIC II. = (1) Eschiva
of Ibelin.
d. Apr. 1, 1205.

GUY,
d. 1194.
(See Table II.)

(1) Plaisance of Jibleh.

(2) Melisend.

Amalric III.
of Jerusalem,
d. c. Feb. 1. 1206.

HUGH I. = Alice, daughter
of Henry of
Champagne.
1218.
(See Table II.)

Isabella.

HENRY I. = Plaisance
d. (Jan. 8,) 1253. of Antioch.

(1) Henry =
drowned
June 27, 1276.

HUGH III. = Isabella of Ibelin.
d. May 24, 1284.

HUGH II.
d. Nov., 1267.

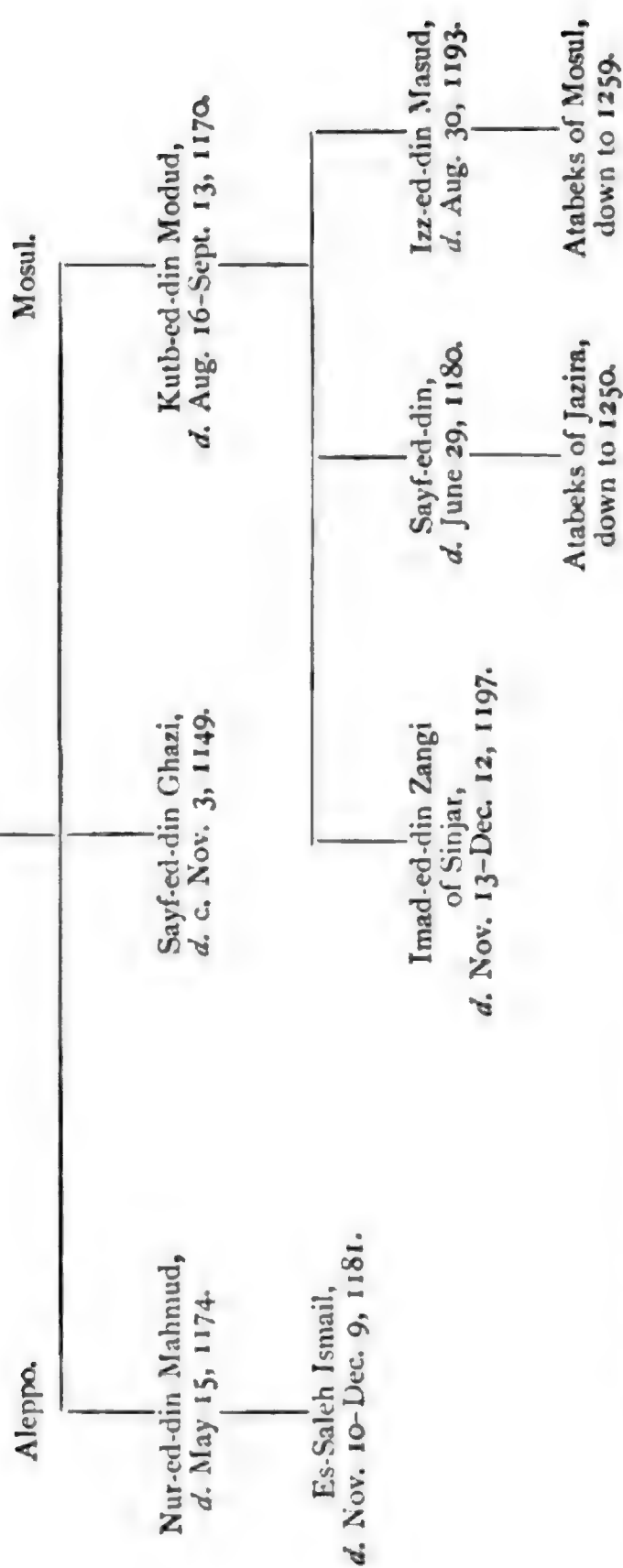
JOHN,
d. May 10, 1285.

HENRY II.
d. Mar. 30, 1324.

NOTE.—(1) TANCRED, a kinsman of Bohemond I., was ruler or prince of Antioch from 1104 to 1112, and Tancred's nephew Roger from 1112 to 1119. In 1187 Raymond II. of Tripoli bequeathed his county to his godson Raymond, son of Bohemond III.; Raymond resigned Tripoli to his brother Bohemond. Hence the princes of Antioch from Bohemond IV. were counts of Tripoli also.
(2) Hugh II. and Hugh III. of Cyprus claimed the throne of Jerusalem as representing Alice, daughter of Henry of Champagne. Mary of Antioch claimed in right of her mother, Melisend. All three represented Isabella, daughter of Amalric I.

IV. DESCENDANTS OF ZANGI.

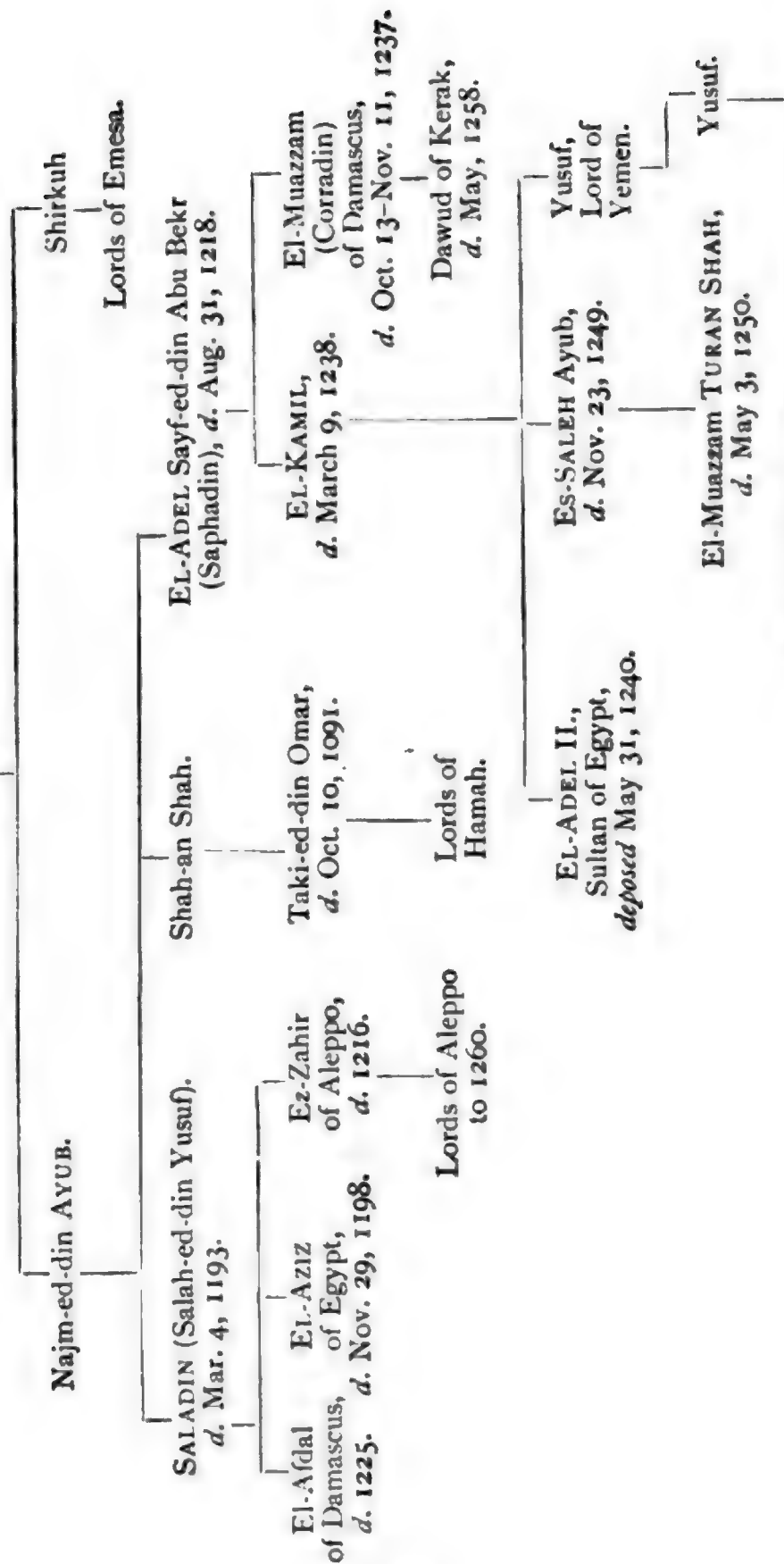
Imad-ed-din Zangi, son of Aksankar,
d. Sept. 14, 1146.



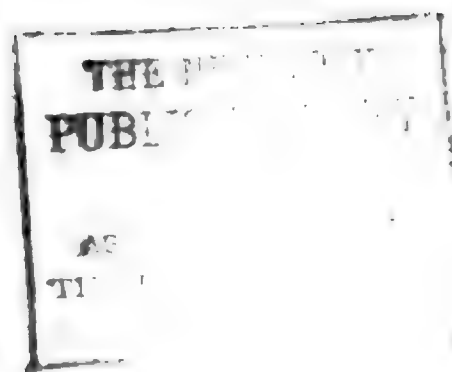
NOTE.—In 1181 Es-Saleh bequeathed Aleppo to his cousin Izz-ed-din of Mosul, who, however, exchanged it with his brother, Imad-ed-din, for Sinjar. Afterwards Imad-ed-din relinquished Aleppo to Saladin, and recovered Sinjar in June, 1183. (See pages 257, 260.)

V. FAMILY OF SALADIN (AYUBITES).

Shahdi.



MUSA, Sultan of Egypt Aug. 5, 1250. At his deposition in 1254 the dynasty of the Ayubites in Egypt ended.





PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ISABEL THE CATHOLIC.
(From the picture in the Museo Nacional.)

PART II.

THE STORY OF THE CHRISTIAN
RECOVERY OF SPAIN

BY

H. E. WATTS

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THE RECOVERY OF SPAIN.

INTRODUCTION.

ONE day, after a battle seven days' long, saw the ruin of Spain—that fatal day in July, A.D. 711, when Roderick, the last of the Goths, lost his army, his kingdom, and his life, on the banks of the Guadalete. Nearly eight hundred years were spent by the Christians in undoing that day's work and in winning back their country from the Moslem. The story of the conquest has been told, from the Moorish side, in a former volume of this series.¹ It remains for me to tell of the fortunes of the conquered—of the long and slow process by which Spain was recovered to Christendom, and of the rise of the nation into its full stature under Ferdinand and Isabella.

The fall of Granada, in A.D. 1492, which brought the long controversy between Christian and Moor to an end, seems a fitting conclusion to this story of the Recovery of Spain. By that date the union of the crowns of Castile and Aragon had been happily accomplished. The tide of African invasion had been stemmed ; and the Peninsula was once more Christian,

¹ "The Moors in Spain." By Stanley Lane Poole. 1886.

from Gibraltar to Biscay, from Lisbon to Valencia. The whole country called Spain, with some trifling exceptions on the northern border, had become an independent nation, co-extensive with the territory so named, under one government and one dominion. For the first time in history, the people, though various in origin, and divided by old jealousies and rivalries, differing in laws and institutions, and not yet welded into harmony, were united in a common polity, and were able to take their place as one Power in the system of Christendom. The redeeming of the soil from the Moslem; the re-conquest of the land, step by step, by the Christians from the Moorish invaders; the long and slow process, often suspended, but never wholly lost sight of, by which the Spaniards recovered their hold of the country, and formed themselves into one nation—this is the story which I propose to tell.

Never in the annals of the world was a victory more complete than that of Tarik, on the banks of the Guadalete. The result of the seven days' fighting was not only to leave the lieutenant of Musa in possession of the field of battle, but to establish the dominion of the Khalif (then seated at Damascus) over the whole of the Peninsula. No second blow was needed to rend this important limb from Christendom, to secure what till then was the most valuable prize won by the newly-risen Crescent. The Gothic dominion was broken for ever. The ruin of the Christians was so thorough as to justify the pious chroniclers of the nation in ascribing the event to the direct intervention of Heaven. Nothing less than

a stroke of Divine vengeance, provoked by the manifold and crying sins of the Gothic kings and the impious neglect of the Church by the people, could account, it was supposed, for a catastrophe so sudden, so complete and unheard of, as the defeat of Roderick and his splendid host by the scanty force which Tarik had brought over from Africa. After the battle, the Goths seem to have abandoned all hope of resistance. The victorious army of Islam poured over the country like a deluge. City after city yielded without a blow. Within two years the army of Musa, though still in number inconsiderable, had advanced to the Douro, and even to the foot of the Pyrenees. A year or two more, under Musa's son Abdelaziz, saw the whole Peninsula, from sea to sea, subject to the Moors. The tide of conquest even burst the bounds of the Pyrenees, and flowed into Southern France. It was not until Charles Martel met and stemmed the onward wave at Tours, in A.D. 734, that Western Christendom felt itself safe from the terrible soldiers of the False Prophet, though it was not until the close of the Eighth century that the soil of France was finally cleared of Moors.

The rapidity and the thoroughness with which the Ruin of Spain (*La Perdida de España*) was accomplished have greatly exercised the ingenuity of the patriotic historians. The wickedness of King Witiza (a graceless monarch, who even went so far as to ask the clergy to marry, and compelled them to do so), the incontinence of King Roderick, the vindictiveness of Count Julian, the treachery of the Jews (since heavily atoned for), the disunion among the nobles,

and the general corruption of morals and decay of faith, are the favourite excuses made by the native writers to account for a calamity so little creditable to Spanish manhood and to orthodoxy. Even if we accept the highest estimate of the numbers of the conquerors, the companions of Tarik and Musa could not have come over in any great multitude. Among them the Arabs, the countrymen of the Prophet, who might be supposed to possess in the highest degree the genius and the fervour of triumphant Islam, must have been always in an insignificant minority. The greater part of Tarik's army, with Tarik himself, were Berbers, newly converted to the Mahommedan faith. They were probably not the least hardy among the warriors of Mahommed, being, indeed, of blood akin to the Goths; who, as descendants of the Vandals, were but returning to the land once occupied by their race. As to the assistance derived from treason within the Gothic camp, this may account for the initial victory of the Moors, but hardly for the ease and rapidity with which its fruits were reaped, and for the success of the Moslem domination. The Jews—who formed then, and for some centuries afterwards, a body considerable in number, and still more important by their wealth and intelligence, in the chief cities of Spain—are accused, probably not without reason, of helping the Mahommedans to their conquests. The Jews had much cause to complain of the Christian rule, under which they had been grievously oppressed and plundered. They not unnaturally regarded with favour an invasion headed by Semitic warriors of their own kindred, which promised to

avenge them on their oppressors and to increase their influence.

But chief of all the causes which led to the fall of the Gothic kingdom and the triumph of the Moors was doubtless the demoralisation of the people. The gross corruptions of the Court, and the debasement into which the once proud and manly race of the Visigoths was sunk, through long disuse of the "honourable exercise" of war, and indulgences in the vices of peace; the lack of all sympathy between the nobles, who were exclusively Gothic, and the mass of the nation; the utter absence, in short, from the Christian Spain of that day, of all the elements of a healthy and living nationality, were sufficient to ensure the easy triumph of the fierce warriors of the Prophet, fresh from their conquests in Asia and Africa. The Visigoths, though they had borrowed the language and assumed the habits of the Romans, had never really mastered the secret of Roman dominion. The old Roman civilisation, which the Celtiberians had been so quick to adopt, sat awkwardly on these newer barbarians. It was a heritage to which they had not succeeded of nature, and a burden too great for them to support. The Romans had made one nation and one people of Spain. The Visigoths were not much more than an encampment. Unlike their brethren of the North and East, they could not assimilate what they won. They were a race apart from the body of the people. There was no fusion of conquerors and conquered. The king and the nobles—and all Goths were *nobiles*, while all others were *viliores*—were a caste, with

which the Spaniards proper were not suffered to mix. It was not until the reign of Recceswinth, who died in A.D. 672, that the law prohibiting a Goth from marrying a native was repealed. The mass of the Spanish nation, at the date of the Moorish conquest, were slaves in name and in fact. They could have but small motive to resist a foreign dominion, even though subjection involved the subversion of their national faith. Their masters, the Goths, had only become orthodox Christians, in passing from Arianism to Catholicism, during the last hundred and fifty years. The condition of the Church was an open scandal. The mass of the Latinised Iberians were probably in their hearts almost as much pagan as their ancestors. How should they be expected to resist the influx of a power which showed them a way to freedom, and set them an example of faith; of which the goodness and truth seemed to be affirmed by the miracle of victory? The decrepit edifice needed but the touch of the vigorous hand of nascent Islam to crumble to pieces. In fine, Gothic Spain fell because it deserved to fall. King, Church, and people were equally debased; nor was the gain of Mahommedanism wholly a loss for Christendom.

The easy progress of the Moors and the rapid subjugation of the country were doubtless, not wholly due to the martial superiority of the conquerors. The path of the invaders had been made plainer through the policy of King Witiza, who, at the end of the sixth century, had levelled all the fortresses for the better promotion of peace. There was but little fighting anywhere after Guadalete had been

won. The great cities yielded without a blow—only Cordova making a show of resistance. Toledo, the Gothic capital, which, being one of the few cities exempted from Witiza's fatal decree, might have been expected to offer an obstacle to the invaders, opened her gates, and yielded a vast amount of spoil, the accumulated treasure of the Gothic kings, with their crowns and emblems of sovereignty. The Jews are said to have betrayed the city to the Moors. The flying Goths had only time to carry off a chest containing sacred relics—precious bones of saints and martyrs, with a tooth of Santiago, an arm of Eugenius, and a sandal of Peter.

Within the space of two or three years the Moors had reached the Pyrenees, and, indeed, had crossed that barrier into France. From east to west the whole Peninsula was theirs—Musa himself following up the conquest, in jealous emulation of his lieutenant. Only in the mountains of Asturias did the Goths make any stand. The greater part of the interior table-land, where the climate and soil offered but few attractions to the conquerors, was overrun and ravaged rather than occupied. The Moors, indeed, were established in the north and in Castile only as a military camp. They never settled there as in their beloved *Andaloos* and in Valencia.

That the process of regaining possession of their own country should have occupied the Christian Spaniards a period of nearly eight hundred years, is not wholly flattering to the national character. But the marvel of the Moorish occupation, which must always have been the rule of a minority, be-

comes less when we examine into the circumstances of the two peoples. The Moors, although at first a mere handful of warriors, cut off from the centre of their power, opposed to a whole nation with all the European chivalry at its back, and the resources of Christendom to draw upon, were not so unequally matched as it might at first sight appear. On their side they had all Northern Africa, and all Islam, for a reserve and a base of operations. As soon as it became apparent that the original conquerors and their descendants, the Arabs and the Berbers, were unequal to the task of maintaining themselves against the Spaniards when united, and that Andalusia and Valencia, at least, were worth holding as homes for the Faithful, vast hordes of Africans, including Egyptians, Nubians, and negroes from the Soudan, were poured into the South of Spain. After the fall of the Cordovan Khalifate, in fact, the contest resolved itself into one between Castile and its allies on the one hand, and the powerful Empire of Morocco, including Barbary and the Mahommedan countries in the Mediterranean, on the other. The forces were not unequal, for though the Christians fought on their own ground, they had to encounter not only the native-born Mahommedans, who in Andalusia and the favoured provinces of the south had greatly multiplied ; but the contingents of hardy and warlike barbarians also flocked to the assistance of their co-religionists from Africa. There were at least two great waves of invasion, after the first one—under the Almoravides in the Eleventh, and under the Almohades in the Twelfth century. Indeed, so long as the supremacy

in the narrow seas lay with the Moors, as it did almost up to the fall of Granada, the straits of Gibraltar were but a bridge between Morocco and its dependencies in Spain. Every young Moor of ambition, every aspirant for a paradise, either in this world or the next—every candidate for martial glory—every founder of a new sect in Islam—every purifier of the Faith—when seized with the spirit of adventure, or an access of devotion, or inspired by greed of land, or in quest of social distinction, sought his career and his field in Christian Spain.

But more than all, what delayed the Recovery of Spain and prolonged the period when the cities of the South, including the richest and the fairest portion of the Peninsula, were under the sway of the unbeliever, was the incessant quarrelling among the Christian princes, out of which came

Red ruin, and the breaking up of laws.

For nearly eight hundred years the duty of rescuing Spain from the infidel, supposing such a duty to have been included among those incumbent on a Christian Spanish prince, was habitually postponed to the task of self-aggrandisement and the work of mutual destruction. Even before the heroic age was past, when as yet it was thought shame by Christians that Paynim feet should press the soil of Spain, king fought against king, Castile with Aragon, Aragon with Navarre, Portugal with either or both—whenever the internal state made the kingdom secure, and there was no intestinal war for the kingship, or strife of nobles with nobles—rather than

seek honour or increment by battle against the Moors, singly or in union. The Moors, indeed, had their divisions and distractions as well, which would have made it all the easier for the Christians to compass their expulsion. But the Spaniards seem to have had no great heart for the work until quite a late period of the national history. As for the people, it may be doubted whether, in spite of the exhortations of the priests, they ever had that wholesome hatred of Moorish dominion which was necessary for the redemption of the soil. Those who were directly subject to the Moors had, from the first, no great reason to wish for a change of masters. The Mahommedans, here as elsewhere, showed an example of tolerance such as never found imitators among those who claimed to be of the purer Faith. After the conquest those who preferred to remain in the country occupied by the Moors were guaranteed the undisturbed enjoyment of their property and their religion. They were permitted to have their own district governors and judges, who administered their own laws. They retained most of their churches, and were allowed the exercise of all their religious functions. In Cordova seven churches, in Toledo six, were throughout the Moorish occupation open to Christians, with a full service of clergy, who were even permitted to celebrate in public the rites of the Romish Communion. The taxes were light, and, with the exception of the poll-tax, which secured immunity from military service, were such as were paid by all citizens, by Moors and Jews as well as Christians. Indeed there is no reason to doubt that

the position of the Christian artisan and husbandman was better under the Moors than under the Spanish kings of Castile or Aragon.

That a great number, including even men of noble race, became converts to the Moslem faith, preferring to share their life with the conquerors, with its freedom and gaiety and opportunities of adventure, to remaining in subjugation as an inferior race, deprived of all incentives to ambition and all hope of rising, is certain ; although the fact is passed over delicately by the native historians. As renegades they became highly distinguished among the champions of Islam, and the fiercest assertors of the new religion. Some of the stoutest warriors and most successful chiefs under the Crescent were those who had put off the Cross—making their presence known in the pages of history by the quaint Arabicized forms of their baptismal names. There is much evidence, in fact, to show that the distinction between Moor and Christian was but lightly regarded in the early days. They intermarried not infrequently, even Christian kings giving their daughters to Mahomedan Emirs. Thus Theresa, the daughter of Bermudo II., King of Leon, was married to Almanzor, the famous Mahomedan hero and conqueror, in A.D. 993. In Aragon we are told of an ancient family of Visigoths who embraced Mahomedanism, and became the Beni Casi—rising to be independent Emirs of a province. One of these, under the name of Mousâ I., had for a spouse a daughter of Iñigo, the first King of Navarre, in A.D. 788.

The intercourse between Moor and Christian—in

the intervals when they were not fighting—must have been at least as familiar as between Castilian and Aragonese, or Aragonese and Navarrese, when these were not fighting. The career of the great Cid himself—*Mio Cid*—the legendary hero of Spain, and supposed champion of the Faith, is full of instances illustrative of the easy passage from Moor to Christian, even in the heroic age. The Cid himself fought sometimes under the Moorish flag, as when in the service of the Beni-Hud, the Emirs of Saragossa. In his expeditions for plunder he was quite impartial, pillaging the Christian churches as freely as the Moorish mosques. He had a large number of Moorish mercenaries in his pay, and was not over-nice how he used them, whether against Moor or against Christian—nay, leading them upon occasion even against his liege lord, the king. In matters of chivalry, involving gentleness, honour, and truth, the cavaliers of Granada were admitted to be equal with the Christian knights; and they fought together, whether in battle or in tourney, with perfect good humour and all courtesy. There were passages between them in which it was not always the Moor who was deficient in good manners. The Christian king was sometimes helped in his trouble by his Mahomedan neighbour. The communications between the rival courts, even in time of war, were conducted with all civility. The few instances where the honourable rules of chivalry were broken are, unhappily, to be found on the side of the Christians. On the whole, except among the professional fanatics on both sides, who sought to please God by maiming

and slaying His creatures, there was much good-will between the two nations, and an extent of mutual toleration and good-neighbourliness, when kings and priests did not set them by the ears, which could hardly have been possible had there been that opposition of race to race or religion to religion such as is required by the theory that the Christians were constantly engaged in the pious attempt to turn the Moors out of the country.

The long duel with the Moor and the constant struggle for political supremacy in the name of religion were the chief factors in the development of the Spanish nation, and in the formation of its character. But to suppose that the two races were in perpetual conflict is to misread the record. They agreed fairly well, and fought no more bitterly—at least during the first four or five hundred years—than the Christians did with Christians while the question of supremacy among them was still undecided. At a later period, it is true, there was imported into the conflict with the followers of Mahommed a hotter spirit, as the religious feelings deepened with the growing influence of the Church; but at no time, while Moordom was still a living power in the Peninsula, was there so much bad blood between the two races as under the government of Philip II., when all question of national rivalry was at an end, and only the religious feud was alive. Now and then the spirit which led the knights of Western Europe to engage in the enterprise for the redemption of the Holy Sepulchre would break out even in the Peninsula; but the crusade in Spain was shorn of a good deal of its

lustre from the very proximity of the enemy. The Paynim being always to be found at home, and his home but on the other side of the river, the adventure was reduced to a simple reckoning of nicely-balanced profit and loss. In vain did the popes and sometimes the local archbishops urge the Christian monarchs to unite against the unbeliever instead of tearing each other's throats. When Castile or Aragon had no other enemy handy, he would sometimes be induced to attempt to take a few cities from the Moor ; but the campaigns against the people of the opposite faith were rarely more than forays, undertaken as much for plunder as for piety. No Christian king, in fact, could afford to be long away from his own territory, for fear that, while he was engaged in subduing the infidel, the faithful among his brother kings or his own subjects might be tempted to spoil him at home. On the rare occasions when two or more kings joined their forces against the Moors, the chief anxiety of each seems to have been lest his ally should anticipate him in profiting by the expedition. Even after the crowning victory of Las Navas de Tolosa in A.D. 1212, which drove the Moors from off the central tableland and brought the Castilians to the crest of the Sierra Morena, Alfonso VIII. did not attempt to pursue his advantage into the plains below, the true home of the Moors and the centre of their power. It was not until the union of the crowns under Ferdinand and Isabella that a systematic crusade was made against the unbelievers with the object of expelling them from the soil, or at least of extirpating the religion of Mahommed from Spain.

For the greater part of eight hundred years Spain was divided as much by political and racial differences as by the strife of religion with religion—the contests of race and of state being as much among the Moors as among the Christians. This is the leading fact in the early history of Spain, which, unless we understand, we cannot read aright the story of the nation and of its making. The accession of Ferdinand and Isabella, which put an end to the political differences among the Christians, enabled Spain, for the first time, to attempt the extinction of the religious trouble. By the capture of Granada, the last rallying point and refuge of the Moors, the citadel and stronghold of the Mahommedan power, Spain got back all that she had lost, and took her place for the first time among the Powers of Europe. With the year 1492, memorable on another account in connection with the rise of the national greatness and the extension of the national dominion by the discovery of America, this story of the Recovery of Spain may fitly end.





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THE RALLY IN THE ASTURIAS, AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHRISTIAN KINGDOM.

(711-866.)

ON the 30th of April, A.D. 711, Tarik, the lieutenant of Musa, the Khalif's general in Africa, landed at Algeciras, with an army of seven thousand, which was destined to overthrow the power of the Goths and to establish the Mahommedan power in Spain. There is no reason to doubt the opinion of the best authorities, Spanish and Moorish, that the expedition had for its immediate object the ravaging of the Christian lands, the report of whose wealth and fertility had excited the cupidity of the Moors. That the extension of the domain of Islam was the ulterior purpose of the Mahommedan leaders we may reasonably believe, but Tarik was first sent to plunder and spy the land rather than to conquer and occupy it. Traitors in the Gothic camp, among whom were the two sons of Witiza, who had been dethroned and put to death by Roderick, had reported the weakness of the Christians. Even Count Julian, however, with his brother apostate, the Bishop Oppas, whose names are coupled as the two foremost of those who, by their treachery, brought

about the ruin of Spain, are not charged with having designed a consummation so thorough as the subversion of the Christians.

The story of Florinda (*La Cava*), the Helen who wrought this woe on Spain, which fills so prominent a place in Spanish romance, is now rejected by all sober historians, and is believed only by the all-believing Mariana. That there was a Count Julian, who had wrongs to avenge on King Roderick, and that he took an active part in bringing about the invasion, is likely enough to be true, whether it was his daughter or some other woman who "seduced him to that foul revolt." The Arab general, Musa, who commanded in Africa for the Khalif, proceeded with caution in the enterprise. Tarik was first sent to make a reconnaissance on Spanish ground with one thousand five hundred horsemen. Landing near Gibraltar, which has since borne his name, Tarik ravaged the country round about and returned with much spoil in treasure and captives. He must have reported favourably of the chances of a larger enterprise, for he was sent over again with a considerably increased force to make a foray over a wider field.

The Moslem army consisted almost entirely of Berbers, a fierce and warlike race, but lately converted to the new faith, whose appetite for war and conquest in Spain was whetted by the prospect of revenge. The Berbers were the descendants of the Vandals, who had been driven out of Spain by the Goths some three hundred years before. Tarik, their chief, was himself a Berber, and therefore of blood akin to those who had conquered Spain from the Romans. No

doubt some of the leaders of the enterprise, and some who were most conspicuous thereafter in guiding it to results beneficial to mankind and to civilisation, were Arabs ; but it has not been sufficiently noted that the conquest of Spain was no exception, as at first sight it would appear to be, to the general law which rules the history of European nations, by which the conquerers come from the North. The invading Berbers, under Tarik, were but a reflex wave of the great Scandinavian stream. The Goths were to be replaced by a more vigorous shoot from the same stock.

King Roderick, warned by Duke Theodomir, the governor of Andalusia, of the landing of the invaders, hastily gathered an army and advanced towards the enemy. The forces of the Christians mustered ninety thousand strong, while Tarik, who had received a reinforcement of five thousand men, did not have more than twelve thousand under his command. This disproportion was probably more nominal than real. The Goths had grown effeminate by long disuse of arms and indulgence in luxury. The canker of a long peace had entered into their hearts and sapped their ancient martial virtue. The spirit of their Scandinavian sires was almost extinct in the nation. Shut up in their peninsula, they had abandoned themselves to the indulgences of social life, careless of the enemy which their isolated position seemed to exclude. The mass of the footmen in Roderick's host were probably of the nation whom the Visigothic laws branded as slaves, who cannot be supposed to have had much stomach for battle. On the other hand, the Berbers were trained to arms and accustomed to fighting.

They were inspired by the flaming zeal of new converts—conscious of being the soldiers of a faith who had overcome the proudest empires—who had humbled the Emperor of the East, and conquered Syria, Persia, Egypt, and Barbary. They had Paradise before them and behind ; for the living, Andaloos ; for the dead, eternal bliss. Tarik was specially strong in cavalry, in which arm Roderick was weak. On the 19th of July the two armies met on the plains of Xeres, within a mile of the sea, on the banks of the Chrysos—a river since known as the Guadalete, a corruption of *Wad-el-leded*, the river of delight. For seven long days—according to the chronicles—the battle raged from dawn till sundown. Roderick, the king, bore himself valorously like a Christian knight. The Moors fought desperately, as knowing that for them there was no retreat. At last their disparity in numbers began to be felt, and they were gradually giving way when Tarik rushed in front and invoking the name of Allah, plunged singly into the Gothic ranks. The Moors were aroused to new ardour. Then, at the crisis of the day, according to the Christian chronicler, treachery began to do its work. The sons of Witiza and Oppas deserted their posts, and either joined the enemy or fled from the field. Roderick himself fell, slain by the hand of Tarik ; or, if we believe the legend preserved in the Spanish ballads, was permitted to retire and expiate his sins in a neighbouring monastery. The fate of the last Gothic king was never clearly ascertained, though, according to the Arabic writers, his body was found in the field and his head sent to Musa, to be forwarded to the Khalif at Damascus.

Thus ended the Gothic dominion in Spain, which had endured for three hundred years, dating from Atawulf, the first who invaded the country. The victory of the Moors was complete, nay, the success of Tarik was so signal, and the prospects opened to the conqueror so dazzling, as to fill Musa with envy. He sent orders to Tarik to remain inactive, on the plea that he needed reinforcements. Meanwhile the Arab commander-in-chief prepared to pass over with his whole army to Spain, writing to the Khalif to claim for himself all the merit of victory, and extolling the value of the new conquest. Tarik, relying upon his popularity with his men, paid no heed to his superior's orders, but struck out boldly for the heart of Spain, reaching Toledo and taking possession of the royal city of the Goths without a blow; while two of his lieutenants occupied Cordova and Malaga.

Henceforth our story requires us to follow the fortunes of the conquered, who, the Gothic dominion being at an end, may from this time be spoken of as Spaniards. From the fatal field of Guadalete the survivors seem to have fled in two main streams—one of which was directed by the prudent Theodomir, the Duke of Andalusia—one of the few who foresaw the calamities of his country. Theodomir, who claimed to be the rightful successor to Roderick, took his way with his followers towards the hills of Murcia. The other portion of the beaten Goths, including, as from the sequel we may suppose, the most patriotic and independent of the Christians, fled northward to the mountains of Asturias. Under Theodomir, a skilful

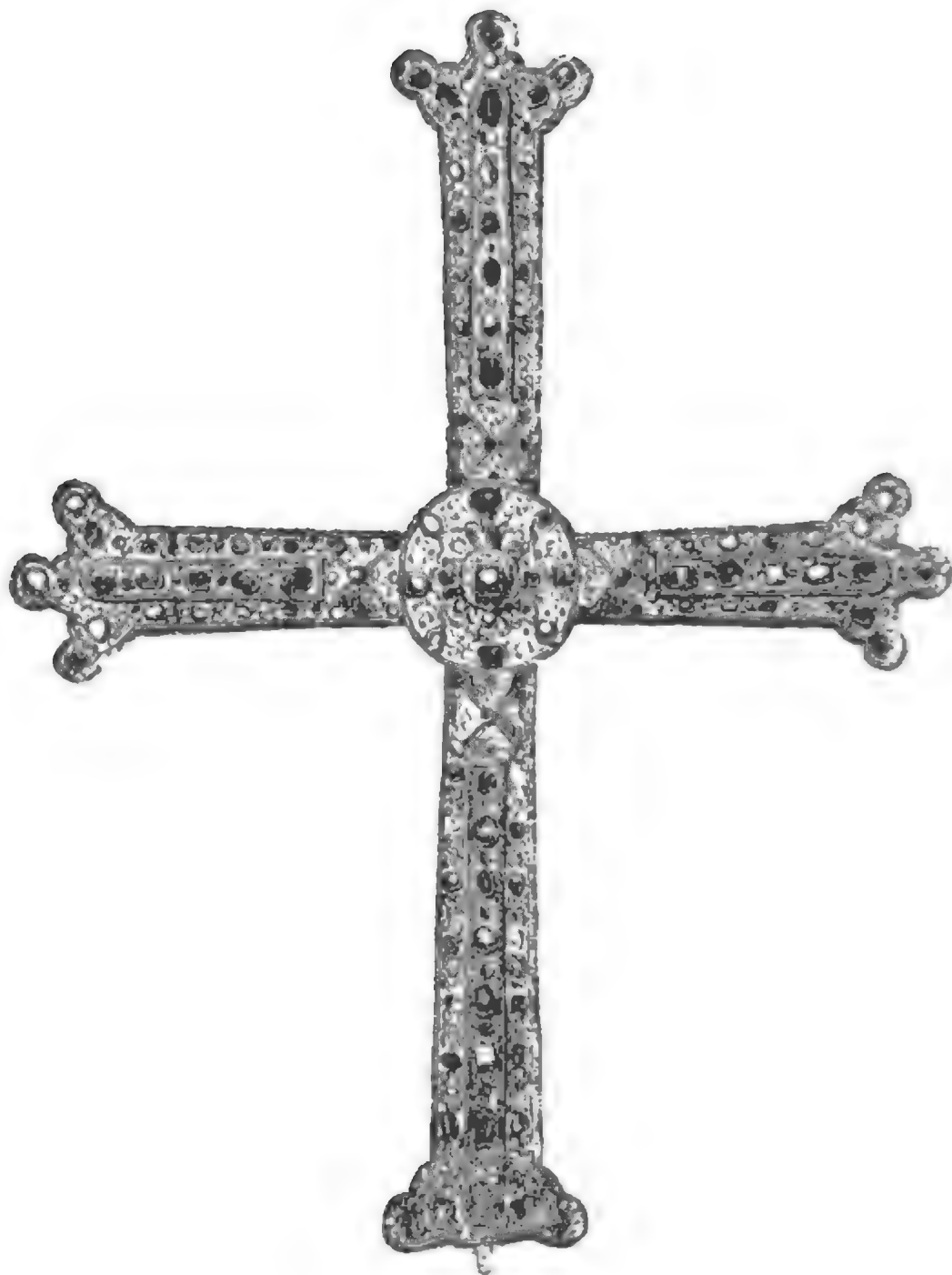
and crafty leader, some attempt was made to arrest the progress of the conquerors. His followers, however, before they could form, were overtaken and cut to pieces by the Moslems—Theodomir himself escaping with his life. Afterwards, when in most desperate straits, he succeeded by dint of ingenuity and daring in making terms with the unbelievers. The letter of the convention is still extant in a contract made between him and Abdelaziz, son of Musa, dated 713, by which Theodomir was permitted to remain in undisturbed possession of his states, on promising fidelity to the Khalif and paying him tribute—the Christians to preserve their religion and their churches, and their wives and daughters to be respected. These states of Theodomir, which included Murcia and parts of Valencia and Granada, were henceforth called by the Arabs the country of Tadmīr, and bore that name for four hundred years. Theodomir and Athanagild, his son, enjoyed their qualified independence, under the terms above recited, for some thirty-five years, when their territory was absorbed into a neighbouring Mahomedan kingdom. Some confusion has been made between Theodomir and his contemporary and rival, Pelayo (of whom we have presently to speak) by the Christian writers. While some omit all mention of Theodomir, others place him above Pelayo, whom they reduce to insignificance or pass over without a word. There is a third party, which, out of pure mischievousness as it would seem, is supported by Voltaire in his "*Essai sur les Mœurs*" which make one and the same individual of Theodomir and Pelayo. For ourselves, we may drop

Theodomir altogether out of the story, as he was at best but a passing episode—a Spaniard, who made terms with the Moor, surviving only for himself, and contributing nothing to the re-making of Spain.

The remnant of the Gothic host, together with all who were, as we may suppose, true and patriotic Spaniards, who scorned to submit to the infidel invaders and yet were unable to make head against them in the open country, fled from the field of battle towards the mountains of Asturias. There, entrenched within the rocky fastnesses which had been the immemorial refuge of Spanish patriotism—which had defied Carthaginian, Roman, and Goth—in the midst of a race who had never bowed the neck to any conqueror, the hardy Asturians, of the Cantabrian stock—the same whom the Roman poet declared to be “indomitable by cold, by heat, or by famine”—a people to whom “life was insupportable without battle”—the survivors of the Gothic army were secure. Thither were brought away from Toledo, by a happy provision of the ministers of religion who remained true to their faith, the holy relics of the saints, together with the books of the law, and the most precious of the ecclesiastical apparatus and furniture—a salvage held almost to compensate for the disgrace of surrender, which doubtless had a certain efficacy in keeping alive the sacred flame of patriotism, with which henceforth was inseparably combined faith in the one Catholic Church. Out of this small germ grew by slow degrees the tree of Spanish nationality. The remnant who survived to reach their Asturian retreat was but small—nay,

according to the ridiculous legend preserved in the chronicles, only thirty obeyed the call of their chief. Thus reduced and humbled the Goths had time to reflect on the sins which had brought them to ruin. Compelled by defeat to resign their pretensions to exclusive nobility, they were brought into touch with the native Spaniards whom they had despised and neglected. There was not room in the narrow Asturian valleys for more than one people. The claims of wealth and high descent had to be abandoned where all were from and on the same level. In Asturias was laid the foundation of the Spanish nation, and hence sprang that new nobility which knew no differences of race. Goth and Iberian thenceforth existed no more, being merged into one people, to be called Spaniards. The nobles were they who fought most stoutly. The king was the select man of the nobles. Henceforward it was from Asturias that all that was best in Spain descended—Asturias, which was the cradle of the nation, where every mountaineer was an *hidalgo*.

The refugees chose for their leader Pelayo, or Pelagius, not so much perhaps because he was a descendant of Chindaswind, of the Gothic blood royal, as because he was the most capable man for that burdensome honour and painful trust. The process of election was according to the old Visigothic custom, by the general voice of the people. It may be presumed that the electors in such a case were not inconveniently numerous. Pelayo established the seat of his authority at Canga de Onis—now an insignificant mining village in a picturesque Swiss-



CROSS OF PELAYO.

like region, with a dominion, scarcely yet to be called a kingdom—extending east and west as far as the Christians were yet unsubdued, bounded on the north by the sea and on the south by the mountains. Of Pelayo very little is known, except that he fought for the life of his infant state, and won the famous battle of Covadonga in 718. Covadonga, which is a name as sacred to Spaniards as Marathon was to the ancient Greeks, is memorable as the first victory gained by the Christians over the Moors—a victory which gave assurance to the world of the life which still resided in the Christian body and hope of resurrection. The Moors, who had hitherto neglected this mountain region as being not worth conquering, hearing of the stand made by “one Belay” sent a force under Alxaman to crush the nascent insurrection. Alxaman was accompanied and guided by the renegade Bishop Oppas to the retreat of Pelayo, which was a cavern, *La Cueva de Anseva*, up the small river called the *Rio Bueno*. We may presume that the cavern did not hold all the array of the Christian leader, for it is incapable of harbouring more than three hundred men. The Moorish army crossed the mountains, and descending on the other side came to where Pelayo’s small force was entrenched. They were met in a narrow pass by a shower of rocks and stones from the neighbouring heights, which threw the unbelievers, unaccustomed to such a mode of warfare, into confusion. Following up his artillery Pelayo and his band rushed from their hiding-places and made havoc of the Moors—slaying their leader with a hundred and twenty-four thousand of his men.

Sixty-three thousand more were drowned in the river. The remainder took refuge in France, where three hundred and seventy-five thousand were put away. So gravely assert Sebastian, Bishop of Salamanca, who composed his chronicle in 866-910, and Paul the Deacon who wrote after him.¹ Seeing that the nucleus of Pelayo's force is said to have been but thirty men, it must be confessed that this was a very handsome return for the heroism expended. At this rate the Moors should have been wiped off the Peninsula much earlier ; and it is all the more credit to Pelayo that he did this execution on the miscreant children of Mahommed, seeing that he had no assistance from any of the fighting saints, such as afterwards was so freely rendered to the Christians.

But the glory of Pelayo's exploit happily does not rest upon this terrible slaughter. The monkish chroniclers, writing in an age when there were few to read and none to contradict them, were most murderous in the treatment of the enemy, and not over-careful in their authorities. Seeing that in this case no miracle was pretended, later Spanish writers admit the number of the slain to be excessive. Not one-tenth part of those generally alleged to have fallen under the edge of Pelayo's sword and the rocks and stones of his mountaineers could have found standing room, much less sustenance, in that narrow valley. What is certain, however, is that a decisive blow was dealt at the Moorish power. The advancing tide of conquest was stemmed. The Spaniards gathered heart and hope in their darkest hour ; and the dream

¹ *Como canta el Abad responde el Sacristan !*

of Moslem invincibility was broken. Covadonga remains a word for ever linked with the holiest memories as the cradle of Spanish independence. The work done on that day by the sturdy mountaineers of Asturias was the making of the new Spain. The Moors made no further attempt to disturb Pelayo in his rocky nest, affecting to despise him as an enemy unworthy of serious notice. So they left him alone in peace, and never again attempted to break through the mountains. Asturias remained free, and thither, doubtless on the strength of that immunity, came all who were dissatisfied with the Moorish dominion, all who clung to the hope of a Christian revival, all who detested Mahommed, or who had cause to quarrel with the new order of things, including, as we may suppose, the best and stoutest among the old Gothic nobles. They began, we are told, to extend their bounds, to build new houses, to repair those that had been destroyed, and to cultivate the land. Of Pelayo, the hero of Covadonga, nothing more is known, though one chronicler, Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo (writing five centuries afterwards) speaks of other battles won from the Moors. The first of the Christian leaders (it does not appear that he ever called himself king) died in 737, and was buried in the small church of S. Eulalia, at Cangas de Onis, near the scene of his great victory. To him succeeded his son Favila, who, after a brief reign of two years, was killed by a bear while hunting—a fact which is enshrined in "*Don Quixote*" (chapter xxxiv. of the second part), and commemorated, as is still to be seen, in the doorway of the church of Villanueva,

built by his successor. Alfonso, the first of that popular name (which is the same as Alonso and Ildefonso, in Latin Alphonsus, Ildephonsus), sur-named the Catholic from the zeal which he displayed in the restoration of the churches, who came after Favila, was the son-in-law of Pelayo, who was chosen not because he was the direct heir to the throne, but because he was the best able of the family to support the weight of sovereignty. The law of hereditary succession was unknown to the old Visigoths, whose practice—invoked and imitated at a later age as we shall see—was to elect to the throne the eldest or the strongest of the royal race. Thus, the uncle was preferred to the nephew, the second or other son to a grandson, the eldest of a collateral branch to the younger of the main stock. Mariana, the historian, tells us indeed that Alfonso inherited under Pelayo's will ; but Mariana was a zealous advocate of the kingly right divine, and there is here, as always, great reason for not believing him. It is doubtful whether any of the royal Gothic family could write, and even if Pelayo had possessed this rare accomplishment, more than doubtful that he should nominate his next but one successor. Alfonso, who in the old days had been commander of the Gothic militia, proved his right to the throne by the vigour he displayed in its defence. He made large additions to his state, which under his management grew to proportions which might fairly entitle it to the name of kingdom. He annexed nearly all Galicia, a province which the Moors had never fairly occupied, including what is now Portugal as far as the Douro. He retook Leon, Sala-

manca, Zamora, Astorga, and Ledesma—extending his boundaries even to Castile, by the reduction of Avila, Segovia, and other important places. Eastward his dominion embraced Biscay and Navarre. These conquests, which included nearly a fourth of all Spain, are a testimony to the vigour and ability with which Alfonso took up the task of recovering the country from the Moors, and entitle him to the distinction which he enjoys in history as the greatest of the new race of kings. It is true that these conquests were made at a period when the Mahommedans were engaged in an intricate series of civil wars, before the establishment of the Cordovan monarchy; but the rapidity with which Alfonso extended his dominion seems to prove that in the northern provinces the Moorish hold was a slack one, and that their so-called colonies were really only military camps. Most of the places we have enumerated fell again into the hands of the Moors, to be taken and retaken many times in the course of the next two or three hundred years. In fact, in these early days, the measure of the Christian dominion was the character of the reigning monarch. The able and warlike king had a large territory; the feeble and the incompetent was reduced to a narrow kingdom. The true home of the Christians, during the early years, was in the mountainous country; just as the true home of the Moors was in Andalusia and the South. All between was debateable land, perpetually fought for, won, and lost, but not valuable as a possession, being by reason of chronic disturbance and frequent changes of owners, desolate and uncultivated.

Alfonso I. died in 757, and his son Fruela reigned in his stead. Fruela, who governed but for six years, is not known for any good. He was a cruel and sanguinary tyrant, who is said by the early Christian chroniclers to have won a great battle over the Moors. But he is claimed by the Moorish chroniclers as a tributary to their great king, the first Abderahman. It is certain only that Fruela lost some of the ground his father had gained, and was done to death by his own people in 768. Aurelio, his successor, was a nephew of Alfonso I., who lived in peace with his Moorish neighbours ; which makes credible the report that he was really a tributary and vassal of Abderahman. Of Silo, his brother, who succeeded him in 774, and reigned for nine years, even less is known. In his reign the seat of the court was moved to Pravia, on the western border of Asturias. Of Mauregato, the bastard son of Alfonso I., who came next, the name is held in evil memory ; for it was he who, according to Rodrigo de Toledo and the ballads, agreed to pay Abderahman a yearly tribute of one hundred beautiful maidens, in return for Moorish help to secure him on his ill-gotten throne. Of this shameful bargain nothing however is said by the Mahomedan writers, who would scarcely pass over such a matter in silence. Against the weight of tradition and the authority of the Archbishop of Toledo is to be set the improbability of Abderahman, who was a man of taste, exacting, or of Mauregato being able to furnish, the hundred beautiful maidens from out of his scanty dominions. The maidens of Asturias, though dowered with every excellent virtue, are not beautiful. It may

be, as has been suggested, that the agreement with the Moors only went to the extent of the two kings encouraging marriages between their respective subjects, which would be a policy quite in accordance with Abderahman's enlightened and liberal character, though naturally odious to the severer Christians. On the death of Mauregato in 788, Bermudo I., a nephew of Alfonso the Catholic, was elected to the throne—Alfonso, the son of Fruela, being passed over by the nobles lest he might be tempted to revenge on them the death of his father. Bermudo had taken holy orders, but he was compelled, much against his will, to accept the royal office, which included a wife. The double burden, however, was found too much for him, and after a short reign of three years he put off his wife, and retired in favour of his cousin.

But before we proceed with the story of the kings it is necessary that we should speak of an episode in the history of Spain, which, though it had no direct bearing on the destinies of the country, is still of importance as throwing light on the character of the age, and on the relations of Christians and Moors. This is the famous expedition of the Emperor Charlemagne into Spain, which, with all that rose out of it—a very rich and rampant growth—fills the early romantic literature of the three Latin races. Out of the dense mist which tradition and romance, aided by a lying chronicle and a forged record, have thrown over the story—a story which has furnished more matter to the poets and balladists than any subject ever selected by man on which to exercise his imagination—a few leading facts are to be discerned. To Charlemagne,

the Emperor, at Paderborn, there arrived in 777 an embassy from the Sheikh Suleiman-el-Arabi (the Alarabi of the Spanish chronicles), praying for aid against Abderahman, the Emir of Cordova, who had, to the scandal of the orthodox Mahommedan world, usurped the title of Khalif, together with the independent sovereignty of Spain. Charlemagne, as is well known, was an ally of Haroun-er-Rashid, the Khalif of Bagdad, in support of whose superior claims to the headship of Islam a large number of the Spanish Mahommedans, including the turbulent Berbers, were in arms. Alarabi himself, with his followers, had seized Saragossa, and was holding it against Abderahman's governor, Abd-el-Melic. For objects, doubtless, of his own policy, which we may fairly suppose had little to do with religion, seeing that he was asked to intervene in support of one Mahommedan against another, Charlemagne agreed to furnish the aid required, and marched into Spain with a large army in 778. His first conquest, to the disgust of all good Spaniards, was the Christian city of Pampeluna, in which there were no Mahommedans. Thence he passed into Aragon, where he received the submission of Saragossa, then in the occupation of the rebel Berbers, though he was refused admission into some other towns—a characteristic incident of Spanish alliances, which is curious as showing that even thus early some Moors had become good Spaniards. It does not appear that Charlemagne fought with any Moors, or that he did anything whatever to justify the character he enjoys in the French *chansons de geste* of being a Christian champion. As for

Marsilio, his great antagonist, the arch-Paynim ^{as to} the Italian and French romances, he is entirely a figment, unless we take him to be founded on Abd-el-Melic, the rightful Wali of Saragossa. But Abd-el-Melic is not known to have come across Charlemagne's path, nor his master Abderahman to have interfered in any way with the expedition of the Frankish Emperor. Doubtless Abderahman had learned to know that the enterprise of Charlemagne was not directed against him or his religion.

Leaving Alarabi established in Aragon, and setting governors of his faith (the Mahommedan faith) over principal cities, Charlemagne made a somewhat hurried retreat from the country—compelled to return, it is said, by news of a revolt among the Saxons. While passing through the defiles of the Pyrenees, the rear-guard of the Frankish army, under the famous Roland, the Emperor's nephew, which was encumbered with a vast load of spoil, taken either from Christians or friendly Moors, was set upon by a mixed body of Navarrese, Basques, Gascons, Spaniards, and even Moors, and cut to pieces to a man. *Usque ad unum omnes interficiunt*, says Eginhard, the Emperor's secretary.

Upon this slender basis of fact, not very honourable to Charlemagne or to Christendom, has been reared that huge pile of fiction, the legend of Roland at Roncesvalles, which to France has given an epic, to Italy two great romantic poems, and to Spain innumerable ballads. How the legend which describes the fight as one between the Christians and the heathen, with Roland or Orlando as the Achilles of the host on one

thede, and Marsilio the king of the Saracens or mis-believers as the Paynim Agamemnon on the other, with armies drawn from Egypt, Persia, and Tartary—with the treachery of Ganelon, which brought about the disaster at Roncesvalles, and the moving incident of the dying Roland with his ivory horn, whose echoes reached eight miles away—how this fiction, the fruitful mother of many fictions, arose, and of the many winding ways into which it wandered, it is no part of my duty to tell, however tempting is the digression. What is pertinent to our subject is to inquire into the part played by the Spaniards, whether Christian or Moor, in these transactions. And first, it is to be noted that the story of Charlemagne's expedition, even from the poetical side, is told quite differently in Spain from that of Theroulde, or Thorold, whoever he may be—the French *jongleur* who in the Thirteenth century composed the *Chanson de Roland*. According to the Spanish ballads—some of which relating to this matter are at least as old as the *Chanson de Roland*, while they must be credited with an authority even greater, seeing that they speak of events which happened on Spanish soil and reflect Spanish opinion—Alfonso the Chaste, being old and having no heirs, assigned his kingdom to Charlemagne on the condition that the Frankish Emperor would help him against the Moors. It is to claim the performance of this compact that Charlemagne crosses the Pyrenees. But Bernardo del Carpio, who is the son of Alfonso's sister, Ximena, hearing of the shameful bargain by which he would be disinherited, defies the king—vowing that rather than submit to the Franks he will

summon all the youth of Asturias and Leon to arms to repel the invader :—

Y ese rey de Zaragoza
Me prestará su compañía,
Para salir contra Francia
Y darle cruda batalla.

(And that king of Saragossa
Shall lend to me his company,
To march against the Frenchman
And give him bitter battle.)

Elsewhere the Moors of Aragon are claimed as allies of the Asturians, Bernardo even going to Granada to invoke the assistance of certain Moorish heroes against the Frankish invaders.

Here, then, is quite another story, in its essence more consistent, as I believe, with the truth of history, however the details may have been distorted or exaggerated. It is Charlemagne who is the national enemy, who is driven back from an unholy purpose. Roncesvalles is a glorious victory, achieved by native valour against a barbarous horde of foreign invaders. In this war Moors or Paynims do not appear except as allies of the patriot heroes who drive the French away. Roland himself cuts but a poor figure in the legend under his Spanish name of Roldan, for there is a better than he, even Bernardo del Carpio. He it is who leads the combined host, Christians and Moors, against the French, who, after performing prodigies of valour, ends by catching Roldan in his arms and squeezing him to death, as Hercules did the giant Antæus. The French may sing of Roland, the Italians of Orlando ; but it is Bernardo who is the

Spanish ballad-monger's joy, the hero of innumerable romances, admitted by the excellent Don Agustin Duran, acutest of Spanish critics, to be a true type and representative of pure Spanish *caballerismo* or knighthood.

With the hero of romance we are not here concerned, but with the hero of history. Who then was Bernardo del Carpio, the famous champion of united Spain against the French invaders in the Eighth century? If he is historical, his actions shed much light upon the character of the age. But unfortunately there is much reason to doubt whether there lived any such person. The first mention of Bernardo del Carpio is in the General Chronicle of Alfonso X., compiled in the Thirteenth century, assuredly out of the popular legends and romances. He is not known to any of the contemporary chroniclers, as he certainly would have been had he lived and performed the actions attributed to him. Again, the leading circumstances of his life and the dates of his performances do not correspond with the historical record. He is said to have been the son of Alfonso II.'s sister, by a secret marriage with the Count Saldaña. He is represented as opposing the king in his scheme of surrendering his dominions to Charlemagne, and as heading a revolt of the Asturians and Leonese successfully against this project, for which offence, and for the crime of being his nephew, the king punishes him by imprisoning his father, the Count of Saldaña. But none of these circumstances of the fable will square with history. Alfonso II., surnamed on account of a virtue un-

common among kings, the Chaste, is not known to have had a sister. There was no Count of Saldaña. The events which form the main burden of the romances, the defeat of the Franks and their slaughter at Roncesvalles, occurred not later than 780. But at that date Silo was king of Asturias, Alfonso II. did not begin to reign till 791, when he must have been a young man, seeing that he lived to 842. He could hardly, in 780, have had a nephew old enough to be the recognised champion of his kingdom. Again, Alfonso is represented in the ballads as having reigned more than thirty years, and white-haired, when the invasion of Charlemagne occurs. All this makes it difficult to reconcile the story of Bernardo del Carpio with the strict letter of history, although the main facts of that story may be true, as they indisputably are picturesque, and valuable as illustrating the national character.

But as myths do not grow out of nothing, there may be in this legend of Bernardo del Carpio (apart from what we know to be historical), a germ of truth, that is, as regards the hero himself. Even in the monstrous fable of Roland which has thrown its shadow over all Western romance, there is a grain of fact. We know from two lines of Eginhard that there was a Roland, that he was "prefect of the marches of Brittany," and that he died at Roncesvalles. So his rival may have had a real existence in some popular leader of those who fell upon Charlemagne's rear-guard, around whose name there clustered, in the process of ages, the wonderful deeds which were done in that adventure. What there is of interest to us in the

history is the light which is thrown upon the national character which, even at this early date, we find to be imbued with one leading Spanish feature, which is jealousy of the foreigner, Leonese and Asturians joining with Moors to resist an interference with their internal affairs, and hatred of the French overriding all differences of race and religion.

Alfonso II. reigned for over fifty years, a fact which alone justifies his being regarded as the best and most popular of the early kings. This long reign was not, however, unmarked by some of the incidents which hereafter will occur so frequently in the history of the Spanish kings. He was taken prisoner by a body of rebels and confined in a monastery. But he was rescued and brought in triumph to Oviedo, which henceforth he made his capital and where he established his court, enlarging and beautifying the city. He built a church and founded a bishop's see, which were endowed with special rights and privileges. Here Alfonso II. lies buried, in the beautiful cathedral erected in place of the original edifice in 1388, together with many of the early kings. During his reign, which lasted to 842, we hear of no wars with the Moors or accretions of territory. His successor was Ramiro I., son of Bermudo I., called the Deacon—the ex-monk who had preceded Alfonso. He had to dispute the throne, as usual, with some members of his family, but succeeded in disposing of them in the milder form, by putting out their eyes and shutting them up in monasteries. He won more renown by encountering and defeating the Norman freebooters, who for

the first time appeared on the Spanish coast to ravage the land and seek for a settlement, landing at Corunna, where they were defeated and lost seventy ships. A grander achievement, which Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo in the thirteenth century and Mariana in the seventeenth century have invested with extraordinary lustre, namely, the victory of Clavijo where seventy thousand of the misbelievers fell, and Santiago appeared in person "on a white horse, bearing aloft a white standard on which was depicted in red the form of a cross," to direct the fight and increase the slaughter, is now proved to be an impudent invention. No such battle was ever fought, no such victory was gained. No writer before the Thirteenth century, either Christian or Mahomedan, mentions such an event. Nor had any of the early monkish chroniclers a motive for the invention, seeing that the shrine of Santiago at Compostella was not established until A.D. 1120, so that there was no necessity for working up the miracle and calling for gifts and offerings to the saint. The very words of Mariana in relating the story, which Morales declares "none but a heretic could disbelieve," betray the object and purpose of the invention. "This battle was fought," he says, "in the year 846, being the second of King Ramiro. The victorious army, in gratitude to God for the divine aid, vowed to Santiago, under whose leadership the victory had been obtained, that all Spain should thenceforth be tributary to the church of Compostella; and that every acre of ploughed and vine land should pay each year a bushel of corn or wine to that church."

This is the first of the many childish legends intended to confirm and refresh the faithful, palpably invented in the interests of the shrine, which we shall find frequently in the annals of Spain, such as even her modern historians are not ashamed to repeat. Neither the patriotism nor the valour of the Spaniards need any such extraneous aid; and it is surprising that the native historians do not perceive how much they damage the reputation of their countrymen by attributing their successes in battle to supernatural agency. The schoolboy who reads of the meddling of the Homeric gods with the battles of the heroes, if of a healthy and manly turn of mind, is disgusted with the story, and certainly thinks no better either of the divinities or those they befriend. When Æneas is whisked away in a cloud by his mother, or Diomed is saved a beating by Juno, we are aware of an outrage on fair-play as well as on art. The story becomes insipid when we know beforehand that one of the combatants is secure of victory, having divine help—while another, though braver, fights in vain, being destined to defeat. The tendency of these legends, designed to glorify the national faith at the expense of the national valour, is to increase our sympathy with the Moors, who had no such preternatural allies, but fought against odds, with carnal weapons, and with only their stout hearts and arms to help them.

The next to succeed after Ramiro was Ordoño, his son, whose principal work, during the sixteen years of his reign, was to fortify his frontiers and to re-people the outlying districts which had been laid waste by the Moors. As we hear of Leon and

Astorga among the towns so restored, we must presume that these places, which had been won by Alfonso I. a century before, had since been either deserted or had fallen back into Moorish dominion. Ordoño was victorious over the unbelievers without magic or miracle, winning a signal victory at Albelda over Musa, one of the rebel Moorish kinglings, and compelling his son, who had seized Toledo from the rightful Emir, to become his vassal. These successes were brought about as much by craft as by valour, Ordoño taking advantage of the dissensions between Mahommed I., the incapable son of Abderahman II., and his rebellious Emirs, and allying himself with Moors on terms of mutual help, whenever it suited him to do so. Before the close of his reign in 866, Ordoño had greatly extended his patrimony, the Christian state now reaching as far south as Salamanca.





II.

THE KINGDOM OF LEON—RISE OF CASTILE—THEIR TEMPORARY UNION.

(866-1109.)

THE reign of Alfonso III., the son of Ordoño, marks the beginning of a new epoch for Christian Spain. The native Spaniards had now regained a large portion of their lost territory. Within the space of a century and a half they had thrown back the Moorish dominion at least to the Douro, and even, in one direction, to the Guadiana. They were undisputed masters of all the mountain region to the sea. The whole of Asturias, Biscay, Galicia, and Northern Portugal, with a great portion of Navarre, was theirs. In Castile, still but a waste land studded with castles (whence the name is supposed, by a dubious etymology, to be derived), they were supreme as long as they could command the field. For this happier condition of things, which lasted for a hundred years, the Christians were indebted to the valour and firmness of Alfonso III., who is fairly entitled to be regarded as the second founder of the state. Some of the ground he won by the sword was lost indeed

by the fatal policy which he was the first to introduce, of providing for the division of his estates after death—a policy which led to unnumbered evils in the hands of his successors, and was a principal cause of the retardment of Spain; but Alfonso, as great in war as he was in peace, must be reckoned one of the ablest of the early monarchs. His long reign of forty-four years, ending in 910, was disturbed at the outset by the usual troubles from two of his turbulent nobles; but the *Cortes* of Oviedo helped him to get rid of one of his rivals by assassination, and he himself put down the other by war. To secure a barrier in Navarre against the French, Alfonso set over that unruly province, which constantly abused its privilege of being neither wholly French nor purely Spanish, one Sancho Iñigo, a local nobleman of great influence. This was the beginning of much trouble to the public peace, Navarre being from that time forth an abiding thorn in the side of Spain, and by its double character and divided allegiance, sometimes French, sometimes Spanish, a perpetual source of quarrel between the two countries. In his wars with the Moors, which continued almost without intermission during his reign, Alfonso was more successful, beating them in several great battles, gaining victories over both the Khalif and the independent Emirs, raising the character of the Christians in arms to a higher point than it had ever reached, and establishing the kingdom on a solid basis. But what the unbelievers could not do was effected by domestic treason. A palace intrigue was got up against Alfonso in which his wife, his son

Garcia, and his son's father-in-law, Nuño Fernandez, the Count of Castile (a title which figures for the first time in the story) took leading parts—the object of which was to deprive the old king of his throne and set the young prince thereon. At first the king was successful in putting down the revolt, but the populace being moved to rise in behalf of Garcia, Alfonso was forced to abdicate in favour of his eldest son ; to Ordoño, the second son, being granted the government of Galicia, and to Fruela, another son, that of Oviedo. Thus an example was set of that fatal policy of partition, by which the natural accretion of Christian Spain was arrested, and the work of recovery undone. This policy, which more than once set the clock backwards—the good done by one able monarch in his life being spoilt at his death—was doubtless in accordance with the humour of the age, which was one impatient of unity and jealous of the kingly power. The nobles and the great fief-holders would rather be separated than united. The king was but the chief of the nobles, not always the richest or strongest of them. The idea of a state, in the modern sense, had not arisen, nor was there any deliberate or concerted design, as the frequency with which these partitions occurred seems to prove, of turning the Moors out of the country. When there was nothing particular doing at home in the way of internal battle and slaughter, the Count would take a hand in helping to ravage the Moors. Very often the crusade was got up, as other crusades have been, to keep the nobles out of mischief ; while the prospect of their being thinned off in the war was

probably not without its attractions both to king and people.

On the death of Alfonso III., after a last foray into the land of the Moors, Garcia moved the capital from Oviedo to Leon. Thenceforth the kingdom, which hitherto had been regarded as too loose in its borders and too unfixed in its foundations to have any particular designation, was called and known as the kingdom of Leon. The change of the seat of government was significant of the larger security and increased importance which the state had acquired. The Christians had now fairly emerged from their mountain shelter, and had arrayed themselves face to face against the usurpers of their soil. Oviedo was in the middle of a region which had scarcely known the presence of the Moor. Leon, half-way between the sea and the Douro, lay in the open plain in the full front of the enemy. The choice of such a spot for the centre of their strength seems to show that the Christians deemed themselves now on an equality with the Moslems, and had fairly entered into the struggle for ascendancy in the Peninsula.

The short reigns of Garcia and his brother, Ordoño II., are marked by perpetual war with the Moors, of which the result was, after various alternations of fortune, to strengthen the new frontiers and even to extend the power of the Leonese. Between the conflicting accounts of the chroniclers of the rival faiths it is difficult to make out the truth respecting the various stubborn battles fought about this period between the Christians and Moors, but it is certain that, after defeating the Moorish army under the



TOMB OF ORDOÑO II. IN LEON CATHEDRAL.

general of Abderahman III., Ordoño himself encountered a signal reverse at Val de Junquera in 921, where two of his fighting bishops were made prisoners. The succeeding period is one of the most confused in the Spanish annals, king resembling king in all the general features of his reign, so that Fruela II., who followed Ordoño II., and Alfonso IV., who succeeded Fruela II., are scarcely to be discriminated. Ramiro II. came to the throne in 930, after putting out the eyes of all the nearest of his relations, and won what is admitted to be a decisive victory over the Moors at Simancas. In his reign which lasted for twenty years, Castile first rises into historical prominence, under its famous Count Fernan Gonsalez—that is, Fernan (Ferdinand) son of Gonzalo.¹ Castile, hitherto a dependency of Leon, now began to lift its head as the land, once a march of the Christian kingdom and but a chain of scattered fortresses, came to be settled and repeopled. Fernan Gonsalez was the first of its counts who aspired to independence. Revolting against Ramiro II., he was beaten and confined in a castle. Afterwards on paying homage and making submission, he was restored to liberty, his daughter Urraca (not to be confounded with a more celebrated princess of the same name who comes hereafter) being married to the king's eldest son, Ordoño. This, which might appear to be an auspicious event for the two countries, was but the beginning of more troubles between Leon and

¹ The final *ez* in Spanish marks a patronymic. Thus Perez is the son of Pedro, Sanchez the son of Sancho, &c.

Castile, which in the next hundred years distracted the realm, throwing back the work of reconquest and giving the unbelievers (who, indeed, rarely lacked of such good fortune) much increase and encouragement. Ordoño III. had scarcely mounted the throne in 950, before he was confronted with rebellion in his own household, fomented by his own father-in-law, the turbulent and ambitious Count of Castile. Fernan Gonsalez, on whom many ballads were made (mostly Castilian), behaved with less magnanimity than might have been expected from a hero of romance. He sided with Sancho the king's brother and Count Garcia of Navarre against his daughter's husband; but after invading Leon at the head of a body of Castilians and Navarrese, unheroically retired, without battle, on finding the king well prepared. Ordoño III. punished him by putting away Urraca and marrying another lady—to the scandal of the Church, but by a license not uncommonly assumed by the early kings of Spain. Sancho, the first of that name, surnamed the *Fat*, had not long to wait for the throne, succeeding his brother in 955. He was himself to experience the vicissitudes of kingship, suffering at the hands of the unprincipled Count of Castile precisely the same fate which he had designed for Ordoño. Fernan Gonsalez found another Ordoño, son of Alfonso IV., who had been put away and blinded several reigns earlier, to whom he married his daughter, the divorced Urraca. The new Ordoño was set up as king against Sancho, who retired into exile—owing his ruin it appears, as much to the disfigurement of his person by excessive

obesity as to any other cause. Sancho was more fat than king besecmed — cursed with a corpulence revolting to Christian opinion. In this affliction poor Sancho turned for relief to a quarter which we should scarcely have suspected as being open to a dethroned and helpless Christian prince, the descendant of kings who had laid their chief glory in the harrying and slaying of the Moslems. Despairing of the Christian leeches Sancho wrote to Abderahman III., the Khalif of Cordova, to beg that he might be allowed to consult some of the famous *Hakims* of the Moorish capital upon his case. Abderahman sent a courteous reply. Sancho was hospitably received and splendidly entertained, and by cunning simples—the juice of certain herbs, we are told—his superfluous fat was removed, and his shape restored to its original grace and a slenderness consistent with princely dignity. But Sancho (who had probably that result in his eye when he went to Cordova) found relief for more than his bodily afflictions. He is said to have made himself so agreeable to Abderahman and the Moslem court that they gave him help in men and money to enable him to recover his kingdom. At the head of an army of Moors Sancho returned to Leon, driving the usurper out amidst the acclamations of his subjects. Ordoño, in his turn, was abandoned by the shifty and unscrupulous Fernan Gonsalez, deprived of his wife and children, and driven to take refuge with the Moors. The whole episode is of interest as confirming the views we have expressed as to the close communion of Moors and Christians in those early times,

in spite of their frequent wars and desperate battles. At this time, indeed, as both before and after, Cordova was the chief seat of European civilisation, and under the enlightened rule of the Omeyyad Khalifs, distinguished throughout the world for her eminence in learning and science, no less than as the centre of courtesy and the school of good manners.

The reign of Ramiro III., the son of Sancho, began with a long minority, and was marked throughout by disturbance and rebellion. The Normans, who were now in their flush of victory and height of power, made a determined attempt at the conquest of Galicia, penetrating to Compostella, and occupying the province for two years, until at last the people arose and expelled them. Afterwards a desperate civil war, fomented as usual by the Count of Castile, who had raised up Bermudo, grandson of Fruela II., as a competitor for the throne, rent the Christian realm in two. The calamities of the kingdom were aggravated by the disasters caused by the inroads of the Moors, who, under their celebrated leader, Almanzor, entered upon a career of victory such as recalled to the affrighted Christians the age of their first humiliation, and spread terror throughout Christendom. A humble letter-writer at the gate of the palace, Almanzor, who is ranked among the greatest heroes of the Arab race, rose, by one of those turns of fate so common in the East, and only possible under a system like that of Mahommed, where talent irrespective of birth had a free field and ample opportunity, to be the most powerful man in the Peninsula—the mightiest of the

soldiers of the Crescent since Tarik and Musa. Raising a large army, and proclaiming a *jihad*, or war of faith, Almanzor marched into the Christian kingdom, driving all before him, and scattering Castilians and Leonese as the Goths had been scattered three hundred years before. Town after town fell into the hands of the conquerors. In ten years Almanzor had nearly recovered all the territory which had been lost by the Moors. In 996 Leon itself fell, with all its treasures—the entire population being put to the sword. The sacred shrine of Santiago at Compostella felt the fury of the conquerors, who must have had a special grudge against this fighting saint. The newly-built cathedral was razed to the ground, and the idols of “the polytheists,” as the Moslem writers irreverently call them, overthrown and mutilated. The tomb of the tutelar saint himself was only saved from desecration by “a divine splendour,” which, according to Mariana, appeared from within, and dazzled the eyes of the audacious invaders. The bells of Compostella were sent as trophies to Cordova to be melted into lamps for the service of the great mosque. The terrified people seemed to have offered but little resistance, and we are told of counts and nobles who met the conqueror at Zamora and begged to be allowed to share his spoil. The ruin of the Christian state would have been complete but for the death of Almanzor, when his whole work, as usual with Oriental conquests, which have no other assurance than the life of the conqueror, fell to pieces.

Bermudo II., the son of Ramiro, who came to the

throne in those evil days, was little able to stem the torrent of ill-fortune, his nobles either openly joining the Moorish invaders, or stirring up dissension among the people. His son, Alfonso V., was only five years of age when he succeeded to his broken estate in 999. Two years afterwards, however, the great Almanzor himself died—out of chagrin, the Christians declare, at the loss of the battle of Calatañazor, where for the first time the three Christian states of Leon, Castile, and Navarre united their forces against the Moors. Over Calatañazor itself, the victory, there has raged a fight quite as hot, not only between Christian and Moor, but between Christian and Christian, as to whether such a battle ever took place, and whether it was not the Mahommedans who won and not the Christians. The latest authority on this subject, Dozy, pronounces the whole story to be a pious fiction. No Arab chronicler speaks of the battle; no Christian writer previous to the Thirteenth century has a word about it. The monk of Silos, a contemporary, draws a gloomy picture of the calamities which the terrible Almanzor had inflicted upon Christian Spain, but consoles himself by saying: "At the end God took pity on our great misery." But the relief he speaks of came by the death of Almanzor, whom "a demon" carried off—not by his defeat. For their consolation the Christians said, in this black hour of their adversity, what was said of Roderick and the "dolorous rout" of Guadalete—that Bermudo and his people, for their many sins, had deserved this chastisement. The Moors, for their acts of sacrilege, were punished by a dysentery

which carried off their entire army, so **that not a** man of Almanzor's impious band returned to **Cordova** alive. The honour of Santiago and of the **nation**, however, demanded that Almanzor should be **beaten** in the field ; and beaten he was accordingly at **Cala-tañazor**—by the Christian historians.

The death of Almanzor in 1002, which was followed by the rapid dissolution of the domains he had **raised** by his valour and genius, was the turning-point in the fortunes of Islam. With this great chief—the last who led the united Moors against the Spaniards—fell the Khalifate ; for though the Omeyyad dynasty lingered for a few years longer, the power of the house was broken and the empire of Cordova dissolved for ever. Thereafter, the struggle of the Christians is with the petty Moorish kings, who were divided among themselves even as the Christians were. That at this period, even with the horrors endured by the faithful at the hands of the demon-inspired Almanzor fresh in their recollection, the king, Alfonso V., should not hesitate to give his sister in marriage to Mahommed, the King of Toledo, proves that there was much comity of feeling between Christian and Moor. We must conclude, either that Alfonso could not help himself, which implies his subjection to the infidel king, or that he could, which argues him to be careless of the national faith. In this reign Leon was rebuilt and re-occupied, and the mischief done by Almanzor repaired. To get rid of the eternal jealousy with Castile, a bargain was struck by which, while the states were dissevered, the reigning families were united. The king's son,

Bermudo, was married to Ximena, the daughter of the Count of Castile, while the Count's son, Garcia, was wedded to the King's daughter, Sancha. On the Count of Castile was conferred the title of king, and he was made independent of Leon. This compact brought present peace but a crop of future troubles to the two countries, whose rivalry was henceforth continued for two hundred years longer.

Alfonso V. dying in battle against the Moors in Portugal, the tranquillity of the realm under Bermudo III., his son, was disturbed by the ambition of Sancho, called the Great, King of Navarre—who had risen by force of character and the fortune of marriage to be the most powerful of the princes of Christian Spain. Besides Navarre and the lordship of Sobrarbe, he was master of Aragon (at least of that small part of it which was independent of the Moorish kingdom of Saragossa); and in 1026 succeeded, in right of his wife Elvira (daughter of Garcia the last count), to the newly-created kingdom of Castile. This was a dominion exceeding that of Leon in importance and wealth, if not in extent. Had he waited, Sancho would have acquired for his family the kingdom of Leon also, for Fernando, his son, was married to a daughter of Alfonso V., and Alfonso's son, Bermudo, was childless. But the lust of dominion, or the greed of land, was too strong to be resisted. Sancho twice invaded the kingdom of Leon, on the last occasion making himself virtual master of the country as far as Galicia. The fair prospect, however, of a united kingdom for Christian Spain was once more dispelled, and in the usual manner. On

the death of Sancho the Great, in 1035, his states were divided between his three sons, who at once fell to war with each other. The King of Leon, taking advantage of the inter-fraternal strife, made an attempt to recover some of his own lost territory. In a battle with Fernando, the King of Castile, on the banks of the Carrion, Bermudo III. was slain, and with him ended the male line of the kings of Leon of the blood of Pelayo.

Here opens a new chapter in the history of Christian Spain. Fernando, the first of that name, became by the death of Bermudo II., and in the right of his wife, King of Leon as well as of Castile, and for a life-time the two crowns were united and there was peace in the country. Fernando was an able, wise, and energetic ruler, who contrived to win the favour of the jealous Leonese, while retaining the allegiance of his own people of Castile. After overcoming his brother Garcia, the King of Navarre, who had invaded Castile in 1054 at the head of an army of mixed Navarrese and Mahommedans, Fernando devoted himself to the extension of his borders in the south and west. He recovered a large part of Portugal from the Moors. He advanced the frontiers of Castile from the Douro even to the Tagus. He would have taken the city of Toledo had not the Moorish king made submission and promised tribute. He carried his arms even into Andalusia, and went so far as to lay siege to the city of Valencia. He compelled the Emir of Seville to give up to him the remains of Saint Isidore, to cover which the present cathedral of Leon was erected by his son Alfonso in 1063. He would have done even

more for the faith and for Spain, but that he fell ill of a sickness and had to return to Leon. He died in 1065 in what is called the odour of sanctity—doubtless one of the best of the Christian kings, whose love of justice and zeal for the welfare of his people were as distinguished as his piety and his liberality to the Church.

Fernando, by his will, left his kingdom divided among his sons ; thus once more throwing back that Christian union through which alone the recovery of Spain was possible, and relieving the Moors, then in their darkest hour, of the dread of extermination. To Alfonso, his favourite son, were left Leon and Asturias ; to Sancho, his eldest, Castile ; to Garcia, Galicia with Portugal as far as the Douro. To Urraca, his eldest daughter, he gave Zamora, and to Elvira, Toro. The brothers of Leon and Castile reigned for two years in peace, when, in 1068, the inevitable fratricidal war broke out. After a series of indecisive engagements it was settled by the two brothers that a battle should decide their rival claims, the conqueror to be recognised, as in a duel, to have the better right and to acquire the double kingdom. On these conditions the battle was fought on the frontiers of the two kingdoms. For some time the issue was doubtful ; but at last the Leonese were victorious. Their king, Alfonso, however, would not permit his soldiers to pursue their victory, as by the terms of the compact he was already master of Castile. In the Castilian camp, however, was one Rodrigo Diez, the king's standard-bearer—famous since to all ages as *The Cid*—by whose counsel the Castilians fell upon the vic-

torious Leonese as the latter lay reposing in their tents at night, and dispersed them with great slaughter. Thus by a trick, of which no one in that age seems to have been ashamed (it was before the age of chivalry), Sancho got the better of Alfonso. The latter had to fly for sanctuary to the church of Carrion. He was dragged out thence and clapped into prison, but at the intercession of his sister, Urraca, permitted to retire into a monastery, whence he fled shortly after to take refuge with the Moorish king at Toledo. Sancho then turned his attention to the other members of his family, attacking his brother Garcia and stripping him of his estates, then assailing his two sisters. Elvira abandoned to him her town of Toro ; but Urraca was obstinate, and defended herself stoutly in her fortress of Zamora. The siege of that place by Sancho endured so long as to have passed into a national proverb, *No se tomó Zamora en una hora* (Zamora was not taken in one hour). Foremost in the camp of the besiegers was the Cid Rodrigo, who witnessed with his own eyes, though he was unable to avenge, the death of his master, King Sancho, at the hands of Bellido Dolfus (Adolphus)—the murderer to be known throughout the realm of Spanish romance and fiction as the typical traitor, whose name is linked with the names of Judas, of Julian, and of Ganelon.

The death of Sancho left the Castilians no choice but to make Alfonso, the ex-king of Leon, their king. They did so most unwillingly, for they feared that Alfonso would make Castile subject to Leon, and punish all those who had helped to keep him out of

his inheritance, and especially those who had defrauded him of the fruits of his victory of Golpejara. Chief among these, pre-eminent among the Castilian lords not so much by birth as by his skill in war and influence among the people, was Rodrigo Diez, the Campeador. The news of his brother's death came to Alfonso while staying at Toledo with the Moorish king, his father's tributary. Flying secretly from the city, where he had reason to believe that his host desired to detain him, Alfonso repaired to Zamora, whither the Leonese and the Castilians hastened to recognise him as their king. Being now in possession of the double throne, he next made himself master of Galicia, a province which had been left to his brother Garcia. Thus about the year 1073 the estates of Fernando were united and held under one authority, to the dismay of the Moors. Torn by their own civil wars and family quarrels the infidels appeared to be in the last stage of dissolution; and there is no doubt that, had the Christians remained in union, they had now a good chance of recovering their ancient dominion.

Alfonso VI., however, though master of Leon and Castile, had much to disturb him in the enjoyment of his power. His long reign was one perpetual conflict with adverse fortune; the contrary forces, tending to disorder and disunion, being recruited from quarters the most unexpected. In the first place, Alfonso had an enemy in the great Campeador, who had tried to cheat him out of his prize in the battle with Sancho (as we have related); who had done his best to oppose his election to the throne; and who,

when he could no longer refuse to accept the Leonese for his king, tendered his allegiance in the manner most insulting to his sovereign. It was the Cid who was charged by the Castilian nobles to require Alfonso, as the condition of his being recognised as king, to make a solemn oath before twelve select nobles of Castile, that he had no part in his brother Sancho's death. Thus roughly did the Cid, according to one of the oldest of the ballads, perform that duty. I quote from the admirable English version of Mr. J. G. Gibson :—

“ Alfonso, and ye Leonese,
I charge ye here to swear,
That in Don Sancho's death ye had
By word or deed no share.

Alfonso, if thou tell not truth,
Be thine a death of shame ;
May villain peasants strike thee down,
Not gentlemen of name.

Not nobles of Castilian blood,
But, to thy soul disgrace,
Asturian men of Oviedo,
That fierce and cruel race ! ”

“ Amen, amen ! ” Alfonso cried,
“ I scorn so foul a thing ! ”
“ Amen, Amen ! ” the twelve replied,
“ We answer for the King ! ”

Three times the Cid has given the oath,
Three times the King hath sworn ;
With every oath his anger burned,
And thus he cried with scorn :

“ Thou swearest me, where doubt is none,
Rodrigo, to thy sorrow ;
The hand that takes the oath to-day
Thou hast to kiss to-morrow ! ”

The Cid's answer is very much to the point, and bears early witness to the business-like and practical character of that hero :—

“ Agreed, Señor ! ” replied the Cid,
“ If thou wilt give me pay ;
As other kings in other lands
Do give their knights this day ;
Whose vassal I consent to be
Must pay me like the rest ;
If thou agree to do so now,
I yield to thy request ! ”

The King grew pale to hear his words,
And turned him from the Cid ;
And from that hour for many a day
His wrath could not be hid.

After this the relations between the king and his great vassal must have been somewhat strained. Reserving for a separate chapter the recital of all the woes unnumbered that came out of this quarrel, with the story of the Cid Rodrigo Diez, and of his extraordinary adventures, we will follow the main current of Spanish history under Alfonso VI., of Leon and Castile. Though neither a great man nor a good king, Alfonso contributed materially to the development of his country. He has been somewhat unkindly treated by the tongue of contemporary report, being so unfortunate as to have the balladists against him—the balladists, who in Spain have made history. He has been so overshadowed by the towering figure of the great Campeador, and so dwarfed and obscured as that some of his own deeds, which were neither unimportant or inglorious, are forgotten or neglected. But it was

under the reign of Alfonso that Toledo, the old capital of the Goths, was recovered from the Moors. This event, which occurred in 1085, made a great noise throughout Christendom. Loud was the lamentations among the Mahommedans for the loss of that "pearl set in the middle of the necklace," that highest tower of strength in their empire. But the easy acquisition of Toledo, after a three years' siege, rather demonstrates the growing feebleness of the Mahommedan hold over Central Spain, than redounds to the credit of Alfonso or the Christian chivalry.

Toledo was given up, not won by force of arms, as part of a bargain between Yahia the Arab ruler, and the Castilians—a bargain doubly dishonourable to Alfonso, for it was made at the expense of an old ally, who had befriended and sheltered him when in adversity—and it was not carried out fairly. The bargain was that in return for the cession of Toledo Yahia should be put in possession of Valencia, Alfonso engaging to furnish him with men and funds to recover that rebellious city. But there was a lion in the path, as we shall see, who had marked Valencia for his own prey. Alfonso did nothing to help the unfortunate Yahia, having probably quite enough to do at this time to maintain his authority against his own turbulent vassals, not to speak of a new and very formidable danger which he had now to face, namely, the invasion of the Almoravides.

The Almoravides, or *Mourabitins*,¹ who derive their name from Arabic words signifying those who are

¹ From which is derived the modern word *marabout*, a Mahommedan fanatic.

consecrated to the service of God, were a sect who, by one of those revolutions which are so common in Mahommedan history, had acquired political supremacy in Morocco. Under the vigorous guidance of Yussuf, the son of Tashfin, who claimed to be of ancient Arab descent, they had overrun all Northern Africa, displacing the old worn-out dynasties in the name of the purer faith. To the Almoravides the Moors of Spain, in this their dark hour, turned for help. In a great conference of the principal Mahommedan chiefs and their representatives held at Seville, it was agreed to implore the assistance of the King of Morocco to resist the growing power of the Christians, and to preserve the Mahommedan realm from extinction. Yussuf at first pretended to be indifferent to the prayers of his co-religionists. But at last, on condition of the port of Algeciras being made over to him as a foothold and a place of retreat, he promised his assistance. Landing in Spain with a powerful armament, composed of much the same material as that of the conqueror Tarik, that is, of Berbers and Moors, with leaders of Arabian descent, Yussuf lost no time in joining battle with the Christians. Alfonso, who was then engaged in the siege of Saragossa, was invited in an arrogant letter, written in the strain of the early Moslem conquerors, either to embrace the faith of the Prophet or prepare for destruction. Alfonso collected all the forces he could muster, and with King Sancho of Navarre made haste to accept the challenge. The two armies met in the plain of Zallaca, on the banks of the Guadiana, between Badajoz and Merida. The battle

which ensued was one of the most bloody ever fought between Christian and Moor. The softer Andalusians gave way before the shock of the Spanish horsemen, but Yussuf, with his body-guard of Africans, retrieved the fortune of the day, defeating Alfonso with great slaughter, so that the King of Castile himself, severely wounded, had to fly with but five hundred horsemen. This first encounter between the Christians and their new enemy was indecisive in its results, the Moors being too much weakened to follow up their victory. Yussuf returned to Africa, but came again the next year with a large body of Africans and proclaimed a *jihad*, or holy war, calling upon all the Mahommedan princes of Andalusia to join his standard. But whether by reason of their own dissensions, or from an apprehension which proved to be well founded, that they had as much to fear from the greed and ambition of their own ally as from the Christian enemy, the Mahommedans of Andalusia, who by this time had discovered the Africans to be rude barbarians, without culture or refinement, and had probably had reason to be offended by their excess of religious zeal, responded but languidly to the appeal. Again, a third time, Yussuf returned to Spain, but now he threw off the mask, and openly signified that his ambition was less to recover the dominion of Spain for the Spanish Mahommedans than to acquire what was left of the Mahommedan kingdoms for himself. At the head of a hundred thousand Africans devoted to his cause, Yussuf had an easy work in subjugating the kings of Seville and of Granada, then the two most considerable

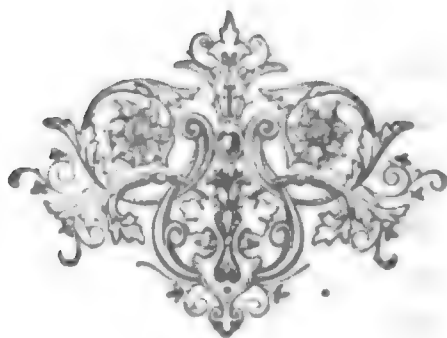
of the Mahommedan rulers. In vain did Alfonso send an army of twenty thousand men to aid the King of Seville. Valencia fell into the power of the conqueror in 1102. By the beginning of the Twelfth century the dynasty of the Almoravides was firmly established over all Southern Spain, with Cordova as their capital. Thus was new vigour imported into the effeminate and feeble race of Andalusians, and the date postponed of their final perdition. Henceforth Mahommedan Spain was but an appanage and a dependency of the African empire of Morocco, a change fatal to the Arab civilisation, and involving the work of the Christian re-conquest in new dangers and difficulties.

To strengthen himself against the formidable Africans Alfonso, whose talents were ever more conspicuous in diplomacy than in war, sought alliance with French princes. He was himself already connected with France, through his wife Constance, the daughter of Philip I.¹ To the Count of Besançon he gave his daughter Theresa, with a dowry which included all the territory he had won in Portugal from the Moors—a fatal gift, out of which rose all the subsequent mischief between Portugal and Castile. Andrea, daughter of Alfonso, was given to the Count of Burgundy with Galicia, while a third daughter was bestowed on the Count of Thoulouse. Thus did Alfonso VI., in imitation of his ancestors, repeat the error of dissipating at his death the estate he had

¹ Alfonso VI. was six times married—one of his wives being a Moorish princess, Zayda, the daughter of Aben Abet, King of Seville, with whom he got Cuenca as a portion.

accumulated during his life, thereby cancelling his good deeds and falsifying the character he had earned of one of the shrewdest and ablest of the Castilian kings. At his death in 1109—his only son Sancho having fallen in battle with the Almoravides—the united kingdoms of Castile and Leon fell to his eldest daughter Urraca who had married, for her second husband, Alfonso I. of Aragon.

But before pursuing the history of Castile and Leon, in which Aragon now for the first time finds a place, it is necessary that we should follow the story of the Cid, which is so large a part of Spanish life and so closely connected with the process of the national deliverance.





III.

THE STORY OF THE CID.

(1026-1099.)

THE history of mediæval Spain without the Cid would be something more barren than the Iliad without Achilles. He is the hero of the piece; the protagonist in the drama; the central figure in the picture. He is the epitome of all that is most characteristic of his age; an image in which is reflected the spirit of that heated and bustling period, the Eleventh century, which in Spain was the turning-point in her fortune. To omit his story from this narrative, though it has been told many times before, were to rob my readers of much entertainment and deprive the history of Spain of its most delightful and fascinating chapter. All that is most heroic and splendid and magnanimous of Spanish achievement is centred in the Cid. He is the glory of Spain and the envy of the surrounding nations, the darling of his race and people, in whom are embodied all the virtues Castilian in their purest form and most potent efficacy. His enchanting personality has taken captive the Spanish imagina-

tion, and dominates all Spanish literature. No hero of romance or history — no Arthur, Roland, or Rustum — has so deep a hold of the national heart in any age or country. He is the incarnation of all the highest aspirations of the people ; the realisation of all that a Spaniard would wish to be. He is the perfect warrior, the ideal man-at-arms, the shining model of that kind of fighter in that kind of fighting in which Spaniards are always most excellent, the *guerillero*, of the type of Sertorius, *El Empecinado*, and Zumalacarreguy.

There are some, it is true, of an incredulity incredible, bold enough to assert that there never was a Cid—that his whole story is a fabrication. There have been found, even in Spain, historians of a scrupulousness so nice and so rare as to reject the Campeador altogether as a fabulous monster. The Jesuit Masdeu (of the present century), who believes in almost everything, will not believe in the Cid. He is followed in this pestilent heresy by the judicious and painful Dunham, the English historian. Masdeu refuses to include the Cid among the genuine fighting men of his nation, with Santiago on his white horse, or any of the heroes who gave real help to their country in battle. Masdeu, who accepts the story of St. James the Greater, who, after being beheaded at Jerusalem in A.D. 42, landed at El Padron on the coast of Galicia, to become the patron of Compostella and the champion of his country against the Moors—Masdeu, in his specially “critical history” of Spain, will not allow poor Rodrigo a niche in the gallery of Spanish worthies, holding his deeds to be incredible

and his whole story absurd and extravagant. Yet that there was a Cid—a very man, of palpable flesh and blood—who played a very conspicuous part in the affairs of Spain in the Eleventh century, there is now no just ground for doubting. Professor Dozy, the distinguished Arabist, late of Leyden, has re-constructed the Cid's figure out of the old bones which lay scattered in the chronicles, Spanish and Moorish, and in the older poems and ballads (which are not less historical because they are in metre), so that we can now realise what manner of man this was—the great Spanish hero, whose deeds have been the theme of innumerable romances and plays, who has filled so large a space in the drama of the recovery of Spain. The Cid of history is different in character from the Cid of romance. He is less perfect and less pious, though certainly not less picturesque. He is a far truer representative of his age—the fighting age of Spain, as distinguished from the age of heroism or of chivalry. The Cid of the ballads, which were chiefly composed in the Sixteenth century, when the Moors had ceased to be, and orthodoxy was regnant and rampant, was a champion of the faith, the scourge of heresy, a relentless persecutor of the Moslems; who was distinguished above all things for the purity of his life, and the correctness of his principles as a patriot. How good and perfect a Catholic and a Spaniard the Cid had come to be, by process of balladising, in the Sixteenth century, is proved by the remarkable fact that Philip the Second tried hard to persuade the Pope to canonise him as a champion of the faith.

Yet assuredly Philip would have burnt this impious Rodrigo for heresy and sacrilege, if he did not banish or poison him for his liberal opinions, had the Cid lived in Philip's age. Our Cid was indeed of no stuff of which to make a saint. The main secret of his great renown in his own time, and of the ever-green enthusiasm which his name evokes among the Spanish people, is to be read in the true story of his life, which shows him to have been a champion of popular rights, a fearless assertor of the ancient privileges of the commons, an upholder of the old Castilian independence, a redresser of social wrongs—who took his own way, *maugre* King and Pope, and scorned to bow the knee to Christian or Moslem. In his character are united all the best qualities of his race with the worst defects of his age. He was generous, crafty, magnanimous, brutal, merciful, and cruel—in the minor morals austere, but in the large ethics loose—capable of feats of noble self-denial, such as amazed and puzzled that barbarous age, and descending to acts of blood-thirstiness such as shocked even contemporary opinion. He was, on the whole, of an amiable mood; and though he burnt his enemies alive, he was tender of their women and children. Insatiable in his appetite for plunder, he would be liberal of his largesses to the poor and needy. In his relations to the other sex he was a Galahad, never swerving from his fidelity to his faithful Ximena. In his conduct to his bitterest enemy, the Count of Barcelona, he showed a gentlemanly feeling worthy of the purest age of chivalry—an age which had not yet dawned in Spain. His king, Alfonso, his life-long rival and

jealous adversary, he would serve and betray by turns, as it seemed good to him ; a game of double-dealing in which the king was at least as great an adept as his vassal. And in excuse for the Campeador's breaches of loyalty and offences against patriotism—in those days too common to be severely regarded—we should consider that there was yet no Spanish nation, that Alfonso was a Leonese and the Cid a Castilian, with little claim on the one part for loyalty and small duty on the other to patriotism.

Rodrigo Díez de Bivar, who came of an old Castilian stock, was born in 1026—others say 1040—and was thus a contemporary of William the Conqueror, of England. Díez was his patronymic, meaning the son of Diego (in English James), and Bivar, the village of his birth, near Burgos, where the site of his house is still shown. His name of *El Cid*, the Lord, or *Mio Cid*, which is exactly *Monsieur*, was given him first by the Moors, his own soldiers and subjects, and universally adopted by all Spaniards from that day to this. Such a title is significant, not only of the relations between the two peoples, but of Rodrigo's position as at once a Moorish and a Spanish chief. *El Campeador*, the name by which Rodrigo is also distinguished, means in Spanish something more special than "champion." A *campeador* was a man who had fought and beaten the select fighting-man of the opposite side, in the presence of the two armies ; which points to a custom derived, as much else of early Spanish, from the East. Rodrigo earned the name, not at the expense of any Moor but of a Christian, having when quite a youth slain a Navarrese

champion in a war between Castile and Navarre. The first mention of his name occurs in a deed of Fernando I., of the year 1064. In the war between Sancho and Alfonso, the two sons of that king, Rodrigo energetically espoused the cause of the former, becoming his standard-bearer and commander-in-chief of his armies. When the day had gone against Castile in the decisive battle of Golpejara in 1071, it was Rodrigo who (in breach of the laws of honour and of the engagement between the brothers) retrieved the fortunes of Sancho by a night attack on the sleeping victors. At the siege of Zamora Rodrigo took an active part, but was not able to save his master from the treacherous blow struck at him by Bellido Dolfus, nor to avenge his death. When Alfonso was chosen king by the reluctant voice of the Castilians, for want of any other, it was Rodrigo who suggested the condition that the king should publicly swear that he had no hand in his brother's death; and it was Rodrigo who tendered his sovereign that oath, before the select men of the nation, with rough words and scant ceremony, as the ballads have recorded.

There never was after that any good feeling between King Alfonso and his proud and powerful vassal, who never cared to hide his suspicions of the monarch or his repugnance to the Leonese dominion. As a Castilian, Rodrigo's loyalty was due to Castile alone, which is a spirit very characteristic of his age, and, indeed, of many succeeding ages in Spain. Alfonso dissembled for a while, and even married Rodrigo to Ximena, his cousin—daughter of the Count

of Oviedo, one of his most powerful nobles. This lady, hereafter the faithful mate and counsellor of her husband—equal to him, according to the chroniclers, in body as in soul—makes a figure in romance only less than that of her doughty spouse. According to the ballads, the match was brought about in a manner far more romantic than the histories allege—Ximena having insisted that Rodrigo should marry her because he had slain her father. The lady thus pleads before King Fernando :—

“ I am Don Gomez’ daughter true,
In Gormaz Count was he ;
Of all the daughters that he had
I’m youngest of the three.

Rodrigo, with h’s arm of might,
My honoured Sire did slay.
I come to ask a boon, my lord,
A boon from thee this day :

That Don Rodrigo thou wilt give
To be my lord and head ;
I’ll hold me honoured by the gift
And think myself well wed.”

This more picturesque version of the Cid’s courtship, which accords not ill with the character of the age, is confirmed by the *Crónica Rimada*, or Rhymed Chronicle, one of the oldest of the documents relating to the Cid, now admitted to be of the Twelfth century, and mainly historical. The contract of marriage between Rodrigo and Ximena is still extant in the archives of Burgos, bearing a date corresponding to the 19th of July, 1074. This is one of the few authentic memorials surviving of the great Cam-

peador—though if the date is right, the ballads must be wrong, for in 1074 Alfonso, not Fernando, was the reigning king. This, however, is a small matter; and it is pleasanter to believe with Sancho Panza that, “after all, the old ballads are too old to tell lies.”

Some time afterwards Rodrigo was despatched by King Alfonso on an errand to Motamid, the Emir of Seville, to collect the tribute due from that prince. Motamid was then at war with Abdallah, the King of Granada, who had engaged the services of several Christian cavaliers, including Garci Ordoñez, of the blood royal, late standard-bearer to King Fernando. Rodrigo intervened as peacemaker, trying to keep the King of Granada from attacking Motamid, but Abdallah, in scorn of his protests and menaces, advanced into the territory of Toledo with fire and sword. He was met by Rodrigo with his own following and the army of the Emir of Seville, who defeated Abdallah with great slaughter, and took prisoner Garci Ordoñez with other Christian knights. Then receiving from Motamid his tribute and many presents for Alfonso, the Cid returned home. Henceforward Garci Ordoñez, a principal man in the state—who seems to have lost nothing of character or influence among the Christians by having served with the infidel king of Granada—was added to the number of Rodrigo's enemies. A tale was brought to Alfonso that Rodrigo had kept back part of the presents which Motamid had sent. The king, who had never forgotten the injuries and affronts put upon him by the Campeador, took advantage of

Rodrigo's attacking the Moors without leave, to banish him from the kingdom.

At this point the story is taken up in the grand old *Poem of the Cid*, which was undoubtedly written not more than a century after the Cid's death. By the general testimony of the best scholars this is entitled to be regarded, not only as the oldest of European epics and an ever-living example of early Castilian verse, but as essentially an historical monument, taking the form in which all history was then expressed. Of the *Poema del Cid*, which ranks above all the *chansons de geste* of that or any succeeding period—which is of an authority as well as of a quality vastly higher than the *Song of Roland*, unfortunately only a fragment remains. What survives, however, is of priceless worth, as a living picture of the age. The poem, as we have it, begins abruptly with the banished Cid taking leave of his native town of Bivar. He looks back upon the towers of his castle, weeping bitterly, lamenting his household goods in disarray, his doors lying open, his chests dismantled, his perches without falcons. Then My Cid sighs, for he has great sorrow, but speaks calmly, thanking the Lord that they were wicked enemies who had done him this scathe. Entering Burgos with his company, the men and women flock to the windows to see him pass, weeping with all their eyes, and saying, "What a good vassal was here had he but a good Lord!" But though they loved the Cid and lamented his fate, they did not, for fear of the king, dare to give him harbourage, or sell him any viand. The Cid, however, who is never wanting for worldly prudence,

is found, like other great commanders, to have made provision for his men at the expense of the Jews.

Rachel and Vidas had made him an advance on a chest of gold. As a matter of brutal fact there was no gold there but only sand ; but was not the Cid's honour security enough for misbelievers ? Promising his men that if he lived he would double their pay, the Cid started for the frontier with three hundred choice companions. It was the resource of every cavalier of broken fortunes in that day to go forth to plunder the infidel—a resource not only not condemned by public opinion but held to be worthy of every man of good descent and a high independent spirit.

Thus did the Campeador, leaving his wife and daughter behind in a religious house, embark on that trade by which he became so famous—the trade of a freebooter or *condottiere*. Having gathered around him a body of well-armed retainers, young men, doubtless of the first families, who were glad to have an opportunity of seeing life under the conduct of so distinguished a leader, the Cid began that new career which, though it divorced him from his country and his fealty to his liege lord, opened to him a path of glory and profit, more suitable to his ambition and character. Henceforth the Cid was a free lance, fighting for his own hand. He offered himself first to the Christian Count of Barcelona, but there being no opening for him there, he went, being always without prejudices, to Saragossa, where Moctadir, the Arab, of the Beni Hud, had lately established his seat. Moctadir engaged Rodrigo's services, but dying soon after, a civil war broke out between his two sons

Moutamin and Mondzir. The Cid took the part of the former, Mondzir receiving the help of Sancho, King of Aragon, and of Berenger, Count of Barcelona. Then commenced that series of adventures which made of the Cid a name of terror throughout all Eastern Spain, among Mussulmans and Christians alike. With a mixed company of Moors and Castilians, trained by himself and doubtless recruited from the choicest of the fighting men of the age, under his famous lieutenant, Alvar Fañez, with the scarcely less renowned Martin Antolinez the Burgalese, and Pero Bermudez, his cousin, and Martin Pelaez, whom he had turned from coward to hero by his instruction and example, the Cid went forth conquering and to conquer—scattering his enemies right and left, devastating the land, burning and spoiling churches and mosques, extending the dominion of the Beni Hud to the gates of Valencia, and spreading the fear of his name throughout the country. The Christian chroniclers, of course, pass over delicately those passages in our hero's career which represent him as strictly impartial in his raids—as never deterred from a fight by any scruple of faith, any more than by a consideration of numbers. Even in the Poem, which is truthful as far as it goes, this side of the Campeador's character is treated with reserve. In the Poem, it is the Moors who administer to the Cid's glory, and lend colour to the fighting. Here is a picture (which loses none of its force and brilliancy in the English of Hookham Frere), of how the Cid rescued his standard, which was nearly lost through the rashness of its bearer :—

Their shields before their breasts forth at once they go,
Their lances in the rest, levelled fair and low,
Their banners and their crests waving in a row,
Their heads all stooping down toward the saddle bow ;
The Cid was in the midst, his shout was heard afar,
" I am Ruy Diez, the champion of Bivar ;
Strike among them, gentlemen, for sweet Mercy's sake ! "
There where Bermuez fought amidst the foe they brake,
Three hundred bannered knights, it was a gallant show,
Three hundred Moors they killed, a man with every blow ;
When they wheeled and turned, as many more lay slain ;
You might see them raise their lances, and level them again.
There you might see the breast-plates how they were cleft in twain,
And many a Moorish shield lie shattered on the plain,
The pennons that were white marked with a crimson stain,
The horses running wild whose riders had been slain. ¹

But we must leave the poetical Cid to follow the more practical warrior. For seven years the Cid continued faithful to his salt, serving the Emir of Saragossa while using every opportunity to enrich himself and increase his power. He now felt strong enough to start in the kingly business on his own account, setting up what seems to have been a very extensive though loosely defined dominion, got together by conquest from the Moors and encroachments upon his Christian neighbours. He was powerful enough to treat, not only with the outside Christian princes, but with his own sovereign, the King of Castile, on equal terms. He lacked nothing that a king should have. He visited Alfonso in his newly-recovered capital of Toledo, and was received with every mark of honour—Alfonso giving

¹ The English closely follows the Spanish text, and the translation is not less faithful than spirited. Mr. John Ormsby has more recently brought out an excellent version of the entire poem. (1882.)

him a charter by which all the lands conquered from the Moors were conferred on him and his posterity for ever. In 1090, when the realm was in danger from the Almoravides, Alfonso urgently besought the aid of the greatest of the Christian warriors, but the Cid was apparently in no great hurry to obey the call. Either the messages miscarried or their tenor was mistaken, for Rodrigo did not arrive on the field in time to prevent the Spaniards from being beaten. Then again the old feud broke out between the king and his over-great and unruly vassal. Rodrigo was deprived of all his patrimonial estates and his wife and children imprisoned. The quarrel was patched up, but there never was any goodwill between the Cid and his king. From 1090 forward, Rodrigo assumed all the state and dignity of an independent chief, throwing off all pretence of fealty, and acting in the character which was really his, of a prince independent of both Christian and Moor—assuming all the state and functions of royalty, and affecting a style which was rather Moorish than Spanish. He preferred to dress, when not in his armour, in the Arab garb, and took delight in hearing recited the deeds of the Arab heroes.

About this period occurred that episode in his strange, adventurous career which illustrates very vividly, not only the Cid's relations to the Christian princes of the time, but his own character for an eccentric and lofty chivalrousness far in advance of the custom of the age, when chivalry was not yet, either as an institution or as a sentiment—at least among the Christians. Raymond Berenger, the Count

of Barcelona, was the bitterest of the Cid's enemies, having very good cause for the resentment against the man who had ravaged his territories, defied his authority, beaten his allies, and diverted to himself a great part of the revenue the Count used to derive from the tributary Moorish princes. Burning to avenge himself on the Cid for these injuries, Raymond assembled a large army, and secretly helped with money by King Alfonso, his cousin, marched suddenly against Rodrigo, who, with a small force, was encamped in a small valley hemmed in by mountains. Taking advantage of a dark night, Berenger occupied, without being perceived, the surrounding hills, whence he descended on his unsuspecting and unprepared foe in the early morning. The Cid was caught in a trap. His soldiers had hardly time to arm themselves. Their chief himself, while trying to rally them, was wounded. At last, however, after a desperate fight the Cid, as usual, was victorious. Berenger himself was taken, with his whole camp and a vast booty. Then followed a very dramatic scene between the Cid and his captive, which is given with admirable simplicity and life-like effect in the Poem. The Count Berenger being brought into the Cid's tent, the Cid regarded him sternly, and would not let him be seated. Melting a little at the sight of the rich booty and the Count's distress, he deigned to talk of ransom and to take notice of his prisoner. Setting all the poorer soldiers free to return to their country, when they declared that they had nothing to give, the Cid commanded a table to be spread in his tent, to which Berenger was invited. But the Count was

sulky, and would not eat a mouthful for all there was in Spain. "Perish rather my body and soul, since these vagabonds" (*malcalzados*—literally "ill-breached ones") "have vanquished me in battle." "Eat, then, Count, of this bread, and drink of this wine," said My Cid. "If you will do what I ask you, you shall cease to be a prisoner; if not, you shall never in all your life again see the Christian land." Count Raymond replied to him: "Eat yourself, Don Rodrigo, and be glad; but me—leave me to die, for I will not eat." Till the third day they were not able to shake his resolve. While they were sharing their rich spoils, not a morsel of bread could they make him eat. Says My Cid, "Eat something, Count, for if you eat not, you shall not see Christians again; but if you eat, and do my pleasure, I will give you liberty—you and two of your knights." When the Count understands that, he becomes more gay. "Cid, if you do what you have said, I will marvel at you as long as I live." "Eat, then, Count, and when you have dined, I will let you go, you and two others. But all that you have lost and that I have won on the field of battle, know that I shall not give you aught, not even a bad farthing. I will give you naught of what you have lost, for I have need of it, for these vassals of mine, with myself, are necessitous men; I will give you nothing. What is taken from you we have to give to them in payment; we shall lead this life as long as it may please the Eternal Father, as a man who has brought upon himself the wrath of his king and is banished his country." The Count, on hearing this, is overjoyed. He asks for water to wash his

hands. They bring him water at once. Together with the two knights whom the Cid has given him, the Count sits down to eat. Heavens! with what a good grace he does it! Opposite to him is seated he who is born in a fortunate hour (*i.e.*, the Cid). "If you do not make a good meal, Count, so as to please me, we shall remain together—we shall not be quit." Then says the Count: "Willingly, and with all my heart!" He dines fast, with the two knights. My Cid regards him, and is content for that the Count Raymond does move his hands so well. "If you will permit it, My Cid, we are ready for the start. Order them to bring us our horses, and we will depart at once. Since the day I was Count, I have not dined with so much appetite. I shall never forget the good meal I have had."

This curious picture of mediæval life and manners, which brings the Cid before us in an amiable light, is made complete by what follows. Count Raymond is mounted upon a palfrey, richly accoutred and provided sumptuously with travelling gear, the Castilian escorting him to the bounds of the camp. He is there set free without ransom, the Cid himself saying he is well repaid in what he has won in booty, and telling the Count that he can be always found when wanted. But the Count has had enough of the Cid, and departs, converted from an enemy into a friend.

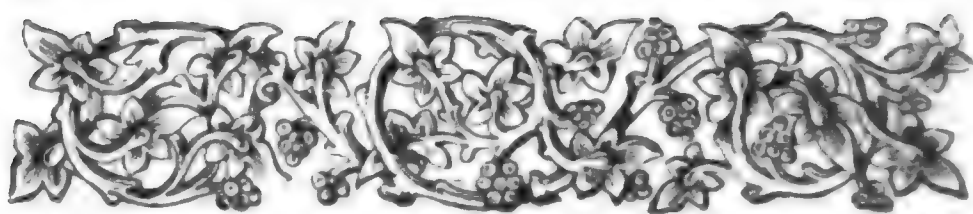
It was by these feats of simple generosity and sublime self-denial—as they were then regarded—that the Cid moved the wonder of his contemporaries even more than by his prowess in arms. At last, having extended his conquests to the gates of Va-

lencia, which city was then the richest in Spain, the Cid set the crown upon his achievements by a conquest which must be reckoned as the greatest blow up to this time inflicted upon the Moorish power and prestige. Toledo, it was true, had been recovered five years before, but Toledo, after all, was a military camp to the Moors, whereas Valencia was a colony—their favourite seat, the richest, the most refined, and most luxurious of Arab cities, now that the glory of Cordova had been dimmed. In June, 1094, the Cid captured the city of Valencia after a desperate resistance—to the despair of all Moordom, and the wonder and delight of Christian Spain. In vain did the Almoravides, under their redoubtable chief, Yussuf, attempt the recovery of the city. They came about Valencia with a vast army, and sat before it for ten days. Then the Cid made a sortie, and dispersed them with great slaughter. Rodrigo was now at the apogee of his glory and power. The vastest projects presented themselves to his imagination. He dreamt of nothing less than the re-conquest of the whole Spanish land. “A Rodrigo had lost the country,” an Arab heard him say; “another Rodrigo should recover it.” The Almoravides came once more against him with a formidable host, but the Cid allying himself with Pedro, King of Aragon, met them on the sea-coast near Gandia, encamped on a high hill, with a powerful fleet of ships defending their flank. Once again the Cid was victorious, chiefly through his personal efforts in the field. Returning to Valencia with an immense booty, the Cid, who felt that his end was approaching, began to make peace

with God and with men. He was as magnificent in his benefactions as he had been in his depredations. He who had destroyed so many churches became distinguished for his zeal in church-building. He was already keeping a bishop in Valencia, having turned the grand mosque into a cathedral, which he endowed with everything handsome in the way of furniture and vestments. By these tokens the Cid was clearly sick. The mortal blow was dealt to him by an event which was quite out of his experience. His army which he sent out—he was too ill to go himself—to meet the Almoravides, who had just won a decisive victory over King Alfonso's general—the Cid's old lieutenant, Alvar Fañez—at Cuenca, was cut to pieces close to the walls of Valencia. Rodrigo fell dead when he heard the news, of mingled grief and rage. For two years longer did his widow, the doughty Ximena, hold the city against all the attacks of the enemy. At length, despairing of help from the Christian princes—Alfonso, the king, was otherwise employed, and the others were probably not ill-pleased at the overthrow of a dominion carved out of lands they had marked for their own—Ximena was compelled to abandon the city. The slender band of the Cid's old companions filed out of Valencia with the body of the great Campeador, according to the grisly legend, set on horseback in their midst, in his panoply as he lived, with his famous sword Tizona in his hand. Terrified at the spectacle, and believing that the Campeador had come to life again, the Moors fled in dismay. Thus in death the Cid appeared but to conquer. He was buried, with his faithful Ximena, in

the cloister of the church of San Pedro, at Cardena, whence his bones, more than once disturbed by the irreverent foreign invader or the ever-curious native admirer, have been removed to the town-hall of Burgos.

With the death of the Cid in July, 1099, there crumbled to the ground the whole fabric of his power. Valencia, which still boasts to be "Valencia of the Cid," fell back into the hands of the Moors—being easily recovered by Yussuf, the Almoravide, who possessed himself also of the greater part of the territory which had been conquered from the Moors. But the example of the Cid and the influence of his character and actions were to be a possession to Spain long after his reign was over. And although the true image of the great Campeador has been greatly altered in the process of the ages, which has transformed him from an honest fighting man and simple freebooter into a champion of the faith and a patriot, yet enough lingered in the memory of the Spanish people of the Cid—the popular hero, the assertor of the liberties of his country, the maintainer of the *fueros*, the tamer of kings and nobles—to make his name one of power in battle, to give hope and encouragement to his nation and assurance of final victory.



IV.

THE PERIOD OF DISSEVERANCE—RISE OF THE SMALLER STATES — CASTILE AND LEON DI- VIDED AND UNITED.

DURING the latter half of the Twelfth century Spain exhibited an extraordinary spectacle of disension, dislocation, and incohesion. The country was split into sections, interspersed and intermixed, without regard to physical, racial, or religious distinctions—a chaos of governments, municipalities, and powers—a huddle of tangled creeds, jarring lusts, and struggling ambitions—a network of war, conquest, and plunder, through which it is difficult to trace the process of national development. The line of cleavage was no longer between Christian and Moor. The Christians were divided into several states, of whom neither their chief nor their highest concern was the extermination of the Moor. After the fall of the Khalifate of Cordova with Hisham III., the last of the race of Omeyya, the Moorish Empire fell to pieces. Every governor of a city, every emir or sheikh who held a hereditary fief or had credit enough in arms to secure a following, called himself king. Toledo, Seville, Granada, Sara-

gossa, set up their own independent princes. These kinglings never ceased to make war upon each other, using the services of Christian mercenaries, as we have seen in the case of the Cid, as freely as the Christians used Moors in their feuds with Christians. Some of the richer cities, like Valencia, in despair of a choice between rival heads of families, took their own government in hand, and started republics, giving the first examples in that kind to modern Europe. By the middle of the Eleventh century there was left no united Mahommedan power in Spain to dispute the sovereignty of the country with the Christians.

Before pursuing the fortunes of Castile and Leon, it is necessary to give some account of the smaller kingdoms which had now risen into existence, which took part in the work of driving out the Moors, though their jealousies and dissensions rather retarded than advanced the cause of Christian Spain. The rise of Navarre is wrapped in a veil of obscurity, which we need not be at much trouble to lift. Whether her kings were more French or Spanish has been always in dispute; and though they played a busy part in the internal affairs of the Peninsula, they were too far removed from touch with the Mahommedans to give material aid in the recovery of Spain. The Navarrese proper, on the southern slopes of the Pyrenees, had a common root with the Aragonese. They had also their Pelayo, in the legendary Don Asnar, who gathered together a remnant of the Goths and established a kind of patriarchal state in their mountain fastnesses—suffici-

ently developed by 819 to have a code of laws, which, as the *fueros de Sobrarbe*, have served as the source and model of those customs and usages which were the proudest heritage of Aragon. In the beginning of the Tenth century the first of the Navarrese kings who is distinctly visible out of the mists of tradition is Sancho, who is found defending his capital of Pampeluna against the neighbouring Moors or Berbers, and defeating them with the usual expense of blood. He followed up his victory by extending his bounds eastward, reducing the Moorish dominion on the Ebro and carrying his arms even to Saragossa. On the fatal field of Val de Junquera, in 921, Navarre suffered very severely, in concert with Leon, though Sancho managed to hang upon the army of the conquerors as they passed by him into Gascony, cutting up their rear and despoiling them of their plunder in the immemorial Basque manner. He was so successful in winning back some strong places on the frontier that at the close of his reign there remained no Mahommedan in the whole kingdom north of the Ebro. To him succeeded Garcia, oddly surnamed *El Tembloso*, or The Trembler. In spite of his name—due not to any moral but a physical infirmity—the Trembler took an active part in the troubles between Castile and Leon. His son, Sancho the Great, who in right of his wife succeeded to the throne of Castile, and through his daughter became virtual ruler of Leon, we have spoken of in a former chapter. In his time, for a few years, all Christian Spain was united, to be afterwards broken up at his death. His sons fought among themselves,

the end being that, from 1076 to 1134, their patrimony was absorbed into the kingdom of Aragon, to be separated afterwards, and again merged, and again created into an independent state—whose history henceforth is of no individual interest. Such part of it as does not belong to France is the history of Aragon.

Aragon, whose origin was a mountain nest at the foot of the Pyrenees in a region inhabited by the ancient Vascones—who may be taken to be represented by the modern Basques—began life in a very humble way as a fief of the Asturian kings. When created into a separate state in 1035, upon the death of the pluralist, Sancho the Great, Aragon fell to the lot of Ramiro, who is entitled to be called the first of her kings. At this period Aragon was but a small section of the country afterwards so named, being limited to one or two valleys in the extreme west, bordering on the Navarre, with the Pyrenees for a base of defence. The Moors still possessed Saragossa, Huesca, and the whole plain country in a straight line thence to the mountains, including all the districts of the east up to the border of the countship of Barcelona. The first care of Ramiro I. on coming to his throne was to take advantage of his brother Garcia's absence in Rome to extend his borders in the direction of Navarre. But Garcia came back in time to repel the attack. Ramiro was more fortunate in his more legitimate enterprises against the Moors, defeating them in several battles, extending his kingdom eastward along the southern base of the Pyrenees, and compelling the Emirs of Saragossa, Tudela, and Lerida to pay him tribute. In respect to the

first a difference broke out between the kings of Aragon and Castile, Sancho claiming the tribute of Saragossa for himself, on the ground that his father Fernando had been recognised as lord paramount of that Moorish state. The difference led to a battle between the two Christian kings, perhaps the first of the many which marked the troublous intercourse of Castile and Aragon. Ramiro was defeated and slain, and Sancho his son reigned in his stead, who won some towns from the Moors and carried his standards to the north bank of the Ebro. Being slain at the siege of Huesca in 1094, his son Pedro succeeded in reducing that place, but not until two years afterwards, when a great battle had been fought under its walls between the King of Aragon and an allied Moorish and Castilian army which had been sent to its relief. This battle, which is one of the most memorable in the annals of Aragon, as setting the seal to her independence, was fought in 1096, on the plain of Alcoraz. On one side was Aragon, on the other the Moors of Saragossa with a large contingent of Castilians under the Christian Count of Najera, who represented Alfonso, King of Leon and Castile. The issue was long doubtful, until St. George appeared personally in the field to help the Aragonese, as St. James had helped the Christians at Clavijo. In token of this splendid and valuable assistance the grateful King Pedro—so the national Aragonese historian, Zurita, relates—ordered a church to be built on the spot; the kings of Aragon taking for their device, in memory of the illustrious ally, the cross of St. George upon a silver field.

Having brought down the history of Aragon to the beginning of the Twelfth century, it is time that we should tell how the eastern province of Catalonia, with the great city of Barcelona, came within the Spanish fold, and of the part it played in the making of Aragon. Catalonia, which comprises the north-eastern corner of the Spanish peninsula, had been inhabited from the earliest ages by a fierce, active, turbulent, and fickle people—impatient of foreign dominion, proud of their separate character as of their local privileges, and for ever rebelling against the destiny which made them Spaniards. From their neighbours over the border they have borrowed much, as their language, which is a branch of the Provençal or Limosin, still bears witness. Their earlier history was rather French than Spanish—the Frankish kings, under Charlemagne and his successors, being regarded as lords paramount of the soil, though the people were in perpetual rebellion—sometimes against the dukes of Aquitaine, who were their feudal superiors, and sometimes against the Moors, who more than once succeeded in winning back this province and in establishing their supremacy. In the beginning of the Ninth century Barcelona, the principal town of Catalonia, was reckoned to be a part of the loosely defined dukedom of Septimania.

At what date the countship of Barcelona was first established as a separate and independent fief, belonging rather to the circle of Christian Spain than of France, is not clearly to be made out from the scanty and obscure records. The Moors seem to have been much impressed with the importance of this region,

for though it was at the farthest extremity of their European domain, they clung stoutly to its possession. In 852 they retook Barcelona from the Franks, after a great slaughter of the Christians and a wholesale devastation. One Wifredo, or Hunfrido, in 858, is spoken of as the first count who ruled Barcelona as a separate portion of Spain, independent of the Franks, owning the King of France for his feudal superior. Wifredo, his son, named the Warlike, having cleared all Catalonia of the infidels, was the first to throw off the suzerainty of France. His successors, who were concerned in consolidating their possessions, now secure from any foreign enemy, and in works of peace, need not occupy our attention. The Moors had withdrawn from the neighbourhood, and their central power was so far removed from Barcelona as to assure that city, now beginning to be distinguished for its maritime and commercial activity, of undisturbed tranquillity. In 984, however, when the great Almanzor swept the Christian states, Catalonia fell, in her turn, under the conqueror's heel. The native army, under Count Borello, attempted to arrest the Arab general's progress at Moncada, but it was overthrown and destroyed. Barcelona was stormed and taken, the inhabitants put to the sword, and the city fired. On Almanzor's departure, Count Borello came down from the hills, whither he had fled for refuge, and rallied the broken and disheartened Catalans. He laid siege to Barcelona, and drove out the Moorish garrison, eventually expelling the Moors from the land, and restoring it to peace and order.

His successors are heard of as sometimes in alliance

with rebel Moors, and sometimes on their own account, extending their borders at the expense of Christian and of infidel. The second and third Raymundos, who figure most conspicuously in the wars of the Cid, being that hero's most determined and bitter enemies, returned more or less to the French connection, through marriages with heiresses of the fiefs in that country. In the reign of Raymundo IV., an expedition was sent against the Balearic Isles, then a stronghold of the Mahommedan pirates, whose ravages on the coast had caused much loss to the Christians and injury to their commerce. Majorca was taken in 1116 by a combined body of Catalans and Frenchmen, aided by the Pisans and Genoese, and a severe blow inflicted on the maritime power of the Moors. This was the first of those enterprises beyond the sea, in which the people of Eastern Spain became afterwards so conspicuous. In the reign of the next Raymundo, the Fifth, Catalonia became part of Aragon, by the marriage of the Count of Barcelona with Petronilla, the daughter and heir of Ramiro, the last King of Aragon of the old line. From the date of this auspicious event (1135) begins a new epoch in the development of Eastern Spain. The scattered provinces and lordships being consolidated with the kingdom of Aragon, a formidable barrier was raised in the east against Moorish aggression, and a new power added to Christian Spain. It is doubtful, however, whether it did not tend rather to prolong the infidel dominion by the establishment on Spanish soil of two rival and equal states, which henceforth were in perpetual enmity.

Upon the death of Alfonso VI., the King of Castile and Leon, in 1109—his only son, Sancho, having fallen in battle with the Almoravides, on the fatal field of Uclés in 1100—his eldest daughter, Urraca, the third of that unlucky name in Spanish history, succeeded to the united kingdom. Urraca¹ was married to Alfonso I. of Aragon, her second husband ; and thus an opportunity arose for joining the two crowns, had their subjects been disposed to unity. Alfonso, who assumed the title of Alfonso VII. of Castile and Leon, had no right to that designation, and ought not to be numbered among the Castilian kings. He could not even agree with his queen, much less with her people, who at this time hated the Aragonese as much as Leonese and Castilians hated each other. The conduct of Urraca, whether as queen or wife, was such as to cause much disorder and scandal throughout the land ; and very soon after her succession the two countries, as well as the two sovereigns, were at open war. Alfonso attempted to extend the Aragonese dominion over Castile, filling all the strong places with his own countrymen, and claiming sovereign power over Castile and Leon. Castilians and Leonese gathered round their own queen, and what is called a civil war—which was really an international conflict—raged between husband and wife and their respective adherents.

After various turns of fortune, the Castilians, who

¹ The first Urraca, the daughter of Fernan Gonsalez, was queen of Ordoño III. The second was sister to Alfonso VI. Dunham, in his history, confounds aunt with niece.



QUEEN URRACA.

had taken up arms not so much for love of their queen as for dislike of the Aragonese, became so disgusted with the conduct of Urraca as to seek a reconciliation with Alfonso. A truce was patched up between the rival powers on the condition that Alfonso should take back his wife and share the dominion of the joint states with her. The couple, however, could not agree—Urraca pretending to have scruples of conscience at having her first cousin for a husband, and Alfonso having ample cause to complain of Urraca's misconduct. The king repudiated his wife publicly, and sent her back to Castile. Once more the Castilian nobles took the field in resentment of the insult offered to their queen. A battle took place, in 1111, near Sepulveda, in which Alfonso was victorious. He succeeded in making himself master of the whole country, using his victory so cruelly as to drive the Castilians and Leonese once more into rebellion. By this time a third party was formed in the state, which, disgusted equally by the scandalous behaviour of Queen Urraca and the tyranny of her Aragonese husband, interceded with the Pope to nullify their marriage, so that Alfonso might be deprived of all pretensions over Castile and Leon. The Pope pronouncing the marriage void, Alfonso had no further excuse to meddle with Castile and Leon, and retired to his own kingdom, where he found ample employment of a more congenial and righteous kind in battling with the Moors. Left to herself and to internal discord, Urraca continued to reign in Castile and Leon until her death, in 1126—her evil dominion being marked by an uninterrupted succession of

troubles, of which civil war and domestic strife were not the worst.

As for Alfonso, the First of Aragon—surnamed, for his incessant wars, *El Batallador* (The Battler)—he survived, when freed from his wife and the ungrateful sovereignty of her dominions, to do much good service for his native country against the infidels. He is to be reckoned among the greatest warriors of the age, who contributed materially to the extension of the frontiers of Christian Spain. Having conquered all the districts north of the Ebro, he laid siege to Saragossa, which important city, a stronghold of the Moors from the earliest days, fell into his hands after a long siege, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Almoravides for its relief. Tudela and other strong places on the frontier had fallen by treachery and force of arms before this. In 1120 Alfonso encountered a large army under a general of the Almoravides, near Daroca, over which he gained a decisive victory; while another army of Africans, under Ali, the Emperor of Morocco, in person, was forced to retreat before Castile and Leon. In the same year Alfonso captured Tarragona and other places on the sea-coast. He then carried his arms south of the Ebro, reducing the strong fortresses of Calatayud and Daroca. He even made a raid into Andalusia, from which country he brought back ten thousand Mozarabic¹ families, the descendants of those who had accepted the conquest

¹ Mozarabe (*Mosta'rib*—almost Arab—*pene Arabus*) was the name given by the Moors to the Christian who submitted to their rule and lived under their jurisdiction.

and had remained in their original homes, whom he settled in the lands won back from the Moors. Going hither and thither, sometimes to take up his quarrel with his wife and his affairs in Leon, sometimes ravaging the Moorish territory, and sometimes turning his arms even across his northern border into France, Alfonso fairly earned the name of the Battler by his industry in war. In 1130 he crossed the Pyrenees, to punish the Duke of Aquitaine for injuries suffered at his hands, and captured Bordeaux after a long siege. The next year he was again at work in Catalonia, fighting the Moors. In attempting to reduce the fortress of Fraga, however, he met at last with his fate. The Moors, under the governor of Valencia, reinforced by a large body of Almoravides from Africa, advanced to the relief of the town, and in a desperate battle which ensued outside of the walls, Alfonso and the Aragonese were put to utter rout. The fate of the king himself is left in the same doubt as that of Roderick, the last of the Goths. Some allege that he was slain in battle; others that he lived to fight and fall another day; others that he died in a monastery.

With Alfonso the Battler who is also called *The Emperor* from his wide dominion, fell, as often happened before in Spain, the structure he had raised with so much pains. He was a valiant soldier and conspicuous among the conquerors of the Moors, and though so much of the ground he won so painfully was lost after his death, he is entitled to the remembrance of posterity as the first who set Aragon on her feet, to assume a rank among the

Spanish provinces second only to Castile. He made of his small patrimony a great kingdom—a service perhaps not so great for Christendom as for Aragon, for it led the way to a new series of intestinal wars and postponed the date of the final deliverance of Spain from the Mahomedans. Alfonso left no issue, bequeathing by his will Navarre to the Knights of St. John and Aragon to the Templars—a foolish testament, by which was undone all the work the Battler had accomplished in his life. Neither Navarre nor Aragon would acknowledge the sovereignty of the foreign knights, though they agreed with alacrity to the separation—the Navarrese choosing for their king Garcia Ramirez, a scion of the old royal stock ; and the Aragonese fetching Ramiro, the brother of their late monarch, from a monastery, and setting him on the vacant throne. The two kings renewed the old strife between their two countries, and a period of desultory internecine war ensued, in which the Moors were forgotten, or used as instruments by one side or the other. Ramiro returning to his cloister in disgust of the kingly life, the conflict of Aragon was taken up and continued by his son-in-law, Raymundo, the Count of Barcelona, who was lord also of Provence. In this reign the campaign against the Moors was renewed, the Aragonese capturing Tortosa, Lerida, and Fraga, so that by the year 1153 the Moorish dominion was extinguished in all Aragon and Catalonia.

But it is time to return to the main current of our story, and take up again the tale of Castile and Leon, now for a time united. Alfonso VII., who came to

his double inheritance in 1126, was the son of Urraca, of evil memory, by her first husband, Count Raymond, of Burgundy. In his early years he was much disturbed by the legacy of bad blood left him by his mother, and by quarrels with his neighbour and kinsman of Aragon for the possession of some frontier places. Profiting by the death of the Battler and on the strength of the help given alternately to Navarre and to Aragon against the Moors, Alfonso claimed the homage of their princes—a claim to which each, for a time and for his own ends, submitted ; even the Count of Thoulouse acknowledging him as his superior. Flattered by this access of dignity Alfonso had himself solemnly proclaimed *Imperator totius Hispaniæ* in 1135. How vain was this assumption and how empty the title was shown immediately afterwards, for a new league was formed against Alfonso, in which Navarre and Portugal, the latter recently advanced to the rank of a kingdom and henceforth to take a hand in the internecine war, joined their forces against the Emperor. In the campaign which ensued the Portuguese, now entering for the first time upon the path of conquest, gained some advantages, but they were called back to defend their own territory against the Moors. The great victory which they won over the misbelievers on the field of Ourique was undoubtedly one of the severest blows ever inflicted on the Moorish dominion, which tended materially to abridge its term and hasten its dissolution. But now a new flood of Africans was to be poured over Spain. Just as the Almoravides, fresh from the desert and mountains, had prevailed over the

effeminate Andalusians, so a fresh burst of fanatical warriors from regenerate Islam was to supersede the Almoravides, a century after the first coming of Yussuf. The Almoravides, who had won their influence as unifiers of the faith, had made their rule intolerable by their tyranny and their excesses. Under a new prophet calling himself the *Mehdi*, one Mahommed, the son of Abdalla, the son of a lamplighter in the great mosque of Cordova, there arose a sect called the *Almohades*, or Unitarians, which drove out the Almoravides from Morocco, and then poured over into Spain, as their predecessors had done. The Almohades were the fiercest and most fanatical of all the Mahommedan hordes which had yet visited the country, and their coming once more gave unity and strength to the Moslem power. Abdelmumen, the coadjutor and successor of the Mehdi, succeeded in bringing all Moorish Spain within his dominion, which henceforth became a province of Morocco, ruled from Africa. Thus once more was the process of Mahommedan decay arrested, and the Moorish hold on Spain strengthened and renewed. The Almohades were for a time more successful against the Christians than their predecessors had been, and many of the conquests made by the kings of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal, after their desultory and divided victories, fell back into the hands of the Moors.

But even more was the Moorish cause helped by disunion and disruption among the Christian kingdoms than by the new force acquired from Africa. Alfonso VII. could neither beat the Almohades in the field nor keep his two kingdoms together. Although



ELEANOR OF ENGLAND.

he had advanced the frontiers of the Spanish dominion, over the whole interior table-land, from Tagus to the Sierra Morena, by his death this gain was more than lost through Castile and Leon being again divided. Sancho, the elder of his sons, became king of Castile, and Fernando the younger, of Leon. The brothers remained on good terms, their only enemy being their cousin of Navarre. Sancho III., after a short reign of one year, gave place to Alfonso, his son, called the Eighth. Being only three years old when he succeeded, a civil war broke out between the two powerful families of the Castros and the Laras for possession of the king's person and the direction of his affairs. The intervention of Fernando of Leon, the king's uncle, made the confusion worse confounded until the quarrel as to who should be the king's guardian was settled by Alfonso assuming the sovereign power on his marriage with Eleanor, the daughter of the English king, Henry II., in 1170. This was the beginning of that connection between the royal families of England and Spain which was attended with results so happy to both kingdoms—giving to Spain at least two of her best queens, and to England the beloved and worthy consort of the best of the Plantagenets. Alfonso VIII. was only in his fifteenth year when he assumed the crown and a wife. His reign was one so fortunate and memorable for his country as fairly to earn for him the honourable appellation of Alfonso the Noble. It is not always safe, indeed, to accept the distinctions given to the monarchs by the early chroniclers. The only people who could write in those days were the ecclesiastics,

and they praised the kings not so much for what they did for the people as for their conduct towards the Church. He who founded religious houses, endowed churches, and benefited the priesthood, was called, whatever his civil character might be, *The Good*. Alfonso VIII., over whose life the chronicler is very effusive, calling him "the best king who had ever been in Christendom—the light of Spain—the shield and sustenance of Christianity—a king most loyal and truthful, in all things straightforward and pious, and perfect in all good manners"—seems to have deserved this flattering character better than any of his predecessors. He was a great benefactor to the Church, and he specially distinguished himself by a decree exempting all ecclesiastics of every order and class from any kind of tax or tribute to the state for ever. He showed his goodness in other and more practical ways by paying more heed than the kings of Castile had been wont to pay to the interests of the people under his care. He seems to have been of a simple, amiable, unaffected disposition, much under the sway of his English wife Eleanor, who would have been untrue to her Plantagenet blood had she been deficient in force or firmness of will.

The chief passages in Alfonso's life were, as usual, those connected with domestic treason or with foreign levy. A civil war with his cousin and namesake of Leon was suspended only by the advance of the Almohades at the head of a formidable army. Alfonso rashly went forward to meet the enemy, without waiting for the promised reinforcements from Leon and Navarre. The battle which was fought in 1195 at

Alarcon, on the banks of the Jucar, is memorable in the annals of Spain as one of the most calamitous reverses ever sustained by the Christian armies—a victory for the Mussulmans so complete as to promise to bring back the days of Almanzor. Alfonso, whose rashness as a general can scarcely excuse his valour as a soldier, was beaten and his army routed—the king being with difficulty prevented by his nobles from plunging into the midst of the Moors and redeeming his lost honour by death. Retreating to Toledo he met his cousin of Leon with reinforcements. From hot words the kings came to war, and a fierce and bloody strife ensued, to the scandal of alarmed Christendom. By the intercession of the bishops, however, peace was at last made—Alfonso giving his daughter Berengaria in wife to her cousin, the Alfonso of Leon. The marriage was afterwards dissolved by the Pope as being within the prohibited degrees, but as we shall see it was fraught with the happiest results for the cause of Spanish unity.

The one exploit of Alfonso which remains to be recorded is of a glory so surpassing and a value so great as more than to redeem his reputation and to justify his name to posterity. After their victory at Alarcon the Mahommedans recovered a large part of the territory they had lost in the hundred years previous—possessing themselves of Madrid, Salamanca, Guadalajara, and other important towns, and filling the Christians with dread of the return of their evil days. An army larger than had yet been seen on Spanish soil was transported from Africa, including contingents from every part of that continent and

from Asia—Egyptians, Nubians and Negroes, Persians and Scythians. The terrified Pope, Innocent III., proclaimed a Crusade against the infidel. The Archbishop of Toledo, as distinguished in war as in letters, went about the courts of Europe to solicit aid from the Christian princes. A large number of foreign knights, chiefly English and French, took the route to Spain to engage in this new holy war. Navarre and Aragon suspended their quarrels, and even Portugal promised her assistance. The Almohades, who seem to have been badly led, wasted their strength in laying siege to fortified towns, and gave time to the Christians to concentrate their forces. Some loss of men and greater scandal were caused to the latter by the desertion of a large body of their foreign allies, who returned home disgusted at the small opening for plunder. But at length King Alfonso, with the two kings of Aragon and Navarre and their joint armies, came up with the Mahomedans, who had occupied the defiles of the Sierra Morena. This range of mountains, dividing Castile from Andalusia, rises from the high plateau on the north by a gentle ascent to its crest, then dips suddenly to a level nearly two thousand feet lower to the plains, thus giving to an army attacking from Castile the better position to one defending the steep and abrupt declivities on the Andalusian side. The chief scene of the battle, which was decided on the 16th of July, 1212, was certain small upland valleys, girt by trees and rocks, called *Las Navas de Tolosa*.¹

¹ Nava is an old word, signifying a small plain among the mountains. It is contained in the name of Navarre.

The King of Navarre commanded the right wing of the Spanish army and the King of Aragon the left, while Alfonso himself, with the flower of the Castilian cavaliers, led the van and the centre. Among them figured several fighting prelates, the celebrated Rodrigo Ximenez, Archbishop of Toledo—

turning his tongue divine
To a loud trumpet and a point of war ;

Arnaud, Archbishop of Narbonne, the Papal Legate ; the Bishop of Nantes, with other native bishops. The vast army of the Moors, comprising all that was best of Andalusian chivalry—with contingents from all the Mahommedan states, and a strong body of Africans, the immediate followers of the Emperor—was led by Mahommed himself, the Miramolin (as the Spaniards called him), or *Amîr-al-Mouminîn* (Commander of the Faithful), with a scimitar in one hand and the Koran in the other. The battle raged furiously all day, and for a time the issue was in doubt. The Christians were on the point of giving way to the vastly superior force of the infidels. The Templars and the knights of Calatrava, who were in front, were overborne and destroyed. King Alfonso himself, who showed himself here, as before, a better soldier than a general, was in despair, and calling out to Archbishop Rodrigo, "Let us die here, prelate !" made ready to throw himself into the enemy's ranks. The Archbishop, however, to whom the chief glory of the day belongs, was of a cooler head, and himself fighting in the van restored the battle. The Anda-

lusians were the first to flee. Entangled among the rocks and woods, fighting on ground the least suited to their tactics, the very numbers of the enemy were a hindrance to their rallying and an impediment to their flight. An enormous multitude of the Moors was slain. The king himself, in his letter to the Pope, giving an account of his great victory, estimated the slaughter at more than a hundred thousand of the enemy, besides many who were taken captives. Of the Christians, according to the same authority, there died only twenty-five or thirty in the whole army. The Miramolin himself fled from the field, and did not rest till he was safe in Morocco, whence the Almohades or any other sectaries never afterwards came over in any combined body to the relief of their fellow-religionists or the disturbance of Spain.

Not content with the honour won by their countrymen in this famous fight, the early chroniclers, with Archbishop Rodrigo at their head, insist upon claiming the victory of Las Navas de Tolosa as due to the miraculous interposition of Heaven. It is related, with the usual circumstantiality, that when the Christians came up to the enemy they found them strongly posted along the ridges of the Sierra Morena. At this critical moment there appeared before King Alfonso a rustic, clad in the garb of a shepherd—*missus a Deo*—who showed the king how that by taking a narrow path across the hills he might come between the vanguard and the rear of the Moorish army. This was no other than Isidro himself, the holy shepherd, who for this and other good deeds

was canonised in the Seventeenth century at the instance of Philip III., to become the patron saint of Madrid. His stone image, set up in token of his patriotic service, is still to be seen in one of the chapels of the cathedral of Toledo. Moreover, as though this victory was not miracle enough, it is related that at the crisis of the battle, when the Christians were beginning to despair, there appeared in the air a great sign of the Cross in red, which inspired the Spaniards with fresh courage and filled the Moors with consternation. But this, though a report credited and celebrated throughout Spain for generations after, is not to be traced to any authority earlier than the middle of the Fourteenth century, and probably rose out of the actual standard carried before the martial archbishop in the battle, which was a gigantic red cross, fortified in the lower part with a shield of iron for the defence of the bearer.

The battle of Las Navas de Tolosa was the most glorious ever fought by the Spaniards against the Moors; and though not followed up, it broke for ever the power of the Mahomedans. From that day forth they can no longer be said to have disputed on equal terms with the Christians for supremacy in the Peninsula. Excepting some desultory raids the Moors never afterwards attempted anything against Castile proper, but confined themselves to Andalusia and the districts adjoining, where the air and soil were more congenial to the children of the south. The whole country from the Bay of Biscay to the Sierra Morena and from Lisbon to Barcelona was now recovered, after a tedious and



QUEEN BERENGARIA.

troubulous process of five hundred years. Even the divisions among the Spanish princes, though they delayed, could no longer render doubtful the final result.

Alfonso VIII. survived that great day which is his title to the gratitude of his countrymen only two years, leaving an only son, Enrique, to inherit his kingdom. This prince was but eleven years old on his accession, so that his sister, Berengaria, was appointed regent of the kingdom. Berengaria, for wisdom, goodness, and prudence, was a princess whose only rival in the annals of Spain is Isabel, of the same English blood. The two queens much resembled each other in character, and it is no less to the good fortune of Spain to have possessed as to the honour of England to have contributed, at two passages perhaps the most critical in Spanish history, two women strong enough and virtuous enough to preserve the state. Berengaria, though beset by the unprincipled and ambitious nobles, and especially by the turbulent house of Lara, who seem to have pretended to a hereditary right of guardianship over royal minors, discharged her duty with fair success. The premature death of Enrique, by an accident, led to a renewal of the civil strife. According to the law of Castile, Berengaria was now queen in her own right; but, with a mixture of prudence and self-denial rare in those days, she resigned in favour of her son Fernando, who was also, in right of his father, heir to the crown of Leon. Fernando was acknowledged King of Castile in 1217. Thirteen years afterwards, by the death of Alfonso IX., King of Leon, Fernando became

king of both countries ; and thus once more, never afterwards to be separated, were united the two states which up to this time and henceforth played the leading part in the restoration of Spain.





V.

UNITED CASTILE AND LEON—RISE OF ARAGON.

(1217-1254.)

FERNANDO III., better known in Spanish history as San Fernando—owing his promotion to a saintship less to his goodness, which was much, than to his austerities and his piety, which were more—mounted the throne under happier auspices than any of his predecessors, coming to a dominion which, thanks to his excellent mother, was peaceful and prosperous—reigning over a kingdom in which, Leonese and Castilians, weary of their quarrels, were for the first time really united—having nothing to fear from any domestic rival or foreign enemy. The empire of the Almohades in Spain was broken to pieces. Of the once powerful Moorish kingdom there survived only the governments of Seville, Cordova, Jaen, Granada, and Valencia, each under a separate chief. Castile had for her only competitor for supremacy in Spain her sister of Aragon, with whom she was presently at peace.

Relieved from all cares at home Fernando was able to resume those schemes of conquest from the Moor to which his predecessors had been so often



SAN FERNANDO.

impelled by political ambition or by religious zeal ; from which they had been so constantly diverted by civil dissension. The victory of Las Navas de Tolosa had laid open to the Christians an easy passage into Andalusia. The ancient capital of the Moors, Cordova, lay at their feet. Almost immediately upon his accession to the throne in 1230 Fernando prepared for a campaign in the south. At this time a descendant of the Moorish Emirs of Saragossa, Mahommed Ibn Hud, profiting by the feebleness of the Almohades and of the divisions among the smaller Mahommedan states, by his courage and address had gained the adhesion of the native Moors, and had possessed himself of the sovereignty of the greater part of Andalusia. Aben Hud even aimed at restoring the former glories of the Cordovan empire, taking advantage of the despair and alarm which now had seized the Moors at the near prospect of their total extermination. Murcia, Granada, Cordova, and Seville were brought into one dominion. The attempt to preserve the wreck of the Moorish power came, however, too late. The differences among the Moors and the jealousies of the rival kinglings were but partially healed when the troops of Fernando poured down into the plains. The important frontier cities of Ubeda and Baeza—the former of which had been sacked and destroyed by Alfonso VIII. after his victory, and reconquered and rebuilt by the Moors—were finally recovered. Another Castilian army had already defeated Aben Hud on the banks of the Guadalete, avenging after five hundred years the fate of Roderick. In 1235 a

still more valuable prize was made by the Christians, the fame of which resounded through Europe. The great city of Cordova, which had been the pride and glory of Spanish Mahommedanism—the seat of the highest civilisation to which Islam had ever attained—the centre of light and learning—the second Mecca to the faithful—fell easily into the hands of Fernando. Cordova, indeed, was no longer what she had been. The famous capital of the Omeyyad Khalifs, which had been a light to Europe when all around was darkness, had fallen greatly from its old splendour. Still it was a name held in reverence throughout Islam. The fall of the sacred city, with its great mosque, the wonder of the world—its treasures in art, in science, and in letters, was regarded as a presage of the impending final doom.

The consternation among the Moors at Fernando's rapid march and easy conquests reached its culminating point in the news, which came almost simultaneously to the remnant of the faithful in Andalus, of the capture of Valencia by the King of Aragon—Jayme (James), known in his own Catalan tongue as *Lo Conqueridor*. Aragon, since last we took up the thread of her story, had increased steadily in power and in importance. The incorporation of Catalonia and the accession of the wealthy and industrious city of Barcelona had tended to the promotion of internal peace and the cultivation of that spirit of commercial and maritime enterprise for which Eastern Spain was always conspicuous. Pedro II., the grandson of Petronilla, who brought Aragon to be one with Catalonia, was a prince who contributed

greatly to the development of Christian Spain, though renowned rather for courage than for wisdom or goodness. After loyally helping his kinsman, Alfonso of Castile, in the great battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, in which he took a conspicuous and very active part, King Pedro was moved to intervene—less perhaps from sympathy with their religious views or zeal in the cause of free opinion than from motives of state policy—in the quarrel between the Albigenses and the Papal Crusaders. Inspired by his allies, the Counts of Thoulouse and of Foix, who hoped to use him as an instrument in working their own ends, Pedro led an army of Aragonese and French across the border into Western Gascony, where the Albigenses were besieging the fortress of Muret, near Thoulouse. To the relief of the beleaguered town came Simon de Montfort, the elder of the two foreign Earls of Leicester so conspicuous in the history of England, at the head of a body of Papal Crusaders. In the battle which ensued the Aragonese, though greatly superior in numbers, were utterly routed. The victors, inflamed by religious fury, gave no quarter, and in the wholesale massacre King Pedro was slain, fighting manfully. "Thus died my father," says his son and successor; "for such has ever been the fate of my race, to conquer or to die in battle."

Pedro being slain, his son, then six years old, was left in the hands of the bitter enemy of his house, Simon de Montfort. De Montfort, who wanted to keep the young Jayme to marry him to his daughter, was persuaded by the Pope to give him up to the Aragonese. Jayme, upon his release, was taken

charge of by the Templars. In his early years he was subject to much trouble from his two uncles. Gaining possession of the throne at last he began to distinguish himself by his vigorous efforts to enlarge his dominion. Of his enterprises against the Moor, and of his dealings with his refractory subjects we have a full account in a record which is unique in history, being a memoir of the king by himself, in the Catalan language. This is written in a simple, manly style, with obvious sincerity of purpose, and regarded either as a monument of literature or an historical document, is a very striking picture of a busy and troublous period. It passes over lightly King Jayme's notorious coarseness of life and personal misdeamours, but on the other hand it speaks with a modesty of his exploits in war and a *naïveté* of some questionable public actions, which entitle it to favourable consideration as a true piece of history. King Jayme, who towers over all the kings of Aragon by his conquests as high as he towered over common men by his stature—he was nearly seven feet high, and of a bulk to match his inches—having subdued all his enemies turned his thoughts to the increase of his kingdom at the expense of the Moors. His first achievement was to recover the Balearic Islands, which, conquered by a former Count of Barcelona, had since fallen back into the hands of the Mahomedans, who by their depredations had become the terror of the narrow seas. In 1228 an expedition in a hundred and fifty vessels was despatched against Majorca, which succeeded in wresting that island from the Moors. The other islands were captured during

the next three or four years. Flushed with the glory of this exploit, King Jayme next meditated the conquest of the Moorish kingdom, with its capital, of Valencia. Valencia, the city of the Cid, had been recaptured, as we have seen, by the Almoravides on the death of that hero. It was now one of the chief strongholds of Moorish dominion in Spain. King Jayme, whose discretion was at least equal to his valour, before making his attempt on Valencia, sought counsel of one of his nobles, Don Blasco de Alagon, who was reported to "know more of war than any man in the world." Don Blasco gave his opinion thus shrewdly: "Valencia is the best land and the first in the world. My lord, I stayed two years or more in it, when you drove me from your country. There is not in these days so desirable a place as the city of Valencia and the surrounding region; the land is seven days' journey long; if it be God's will that you conquer it, I can assure you that no land of more fertile and luxurious plains and stronger castles is to be found in the whole world." The king being advised that there were many strong castles in the land, with five or six thousand cross-bowmen and men so numerous "that they will not allow an army to approach the walls of their city," proceeded cautiously to his work; first taking the outlying places which guarded the sources of supply to Valencia, and blocking the access to the city by sea. Several years were spent in thus gradually drawing closer the chain around Valencia. At length, his generals having beaten the enemy in several engagements, the Moors were closely invested within the

city. In vain did a fleet from Tunis attempt to throw in reinforcements and supplies. The Valencians were starved into surrender. On the 25th of September, 1238,¹ King Jayme entered the city, thus achieving a bloodless conquest—having, to the mortification of some of the zealots in his camp, agreed to let the Moorish king depart safely, with as many as chose to go with him, and giving him five days to take away their families. The king himself, when he saw his standard hoisted upon the tower, writes: "I dismounted from my horse, turned myself towards the east and wept with my eyes, kissing the ground for the great mercy that had been done to me."

Thus was Valencia, one of the remaining strongholds of the Moorish power, finally taken by the King of Aragon, to the great enhancement of his fame and the grief of the Mahommedans. The conquered land was divided among the Christians, such of the Moors as preferred to remain being guaranteed security of life and property and the free exercise of their religion—a guarantee afterwards broken, whenever convenient, as were all such guarantees given by the conquerors.

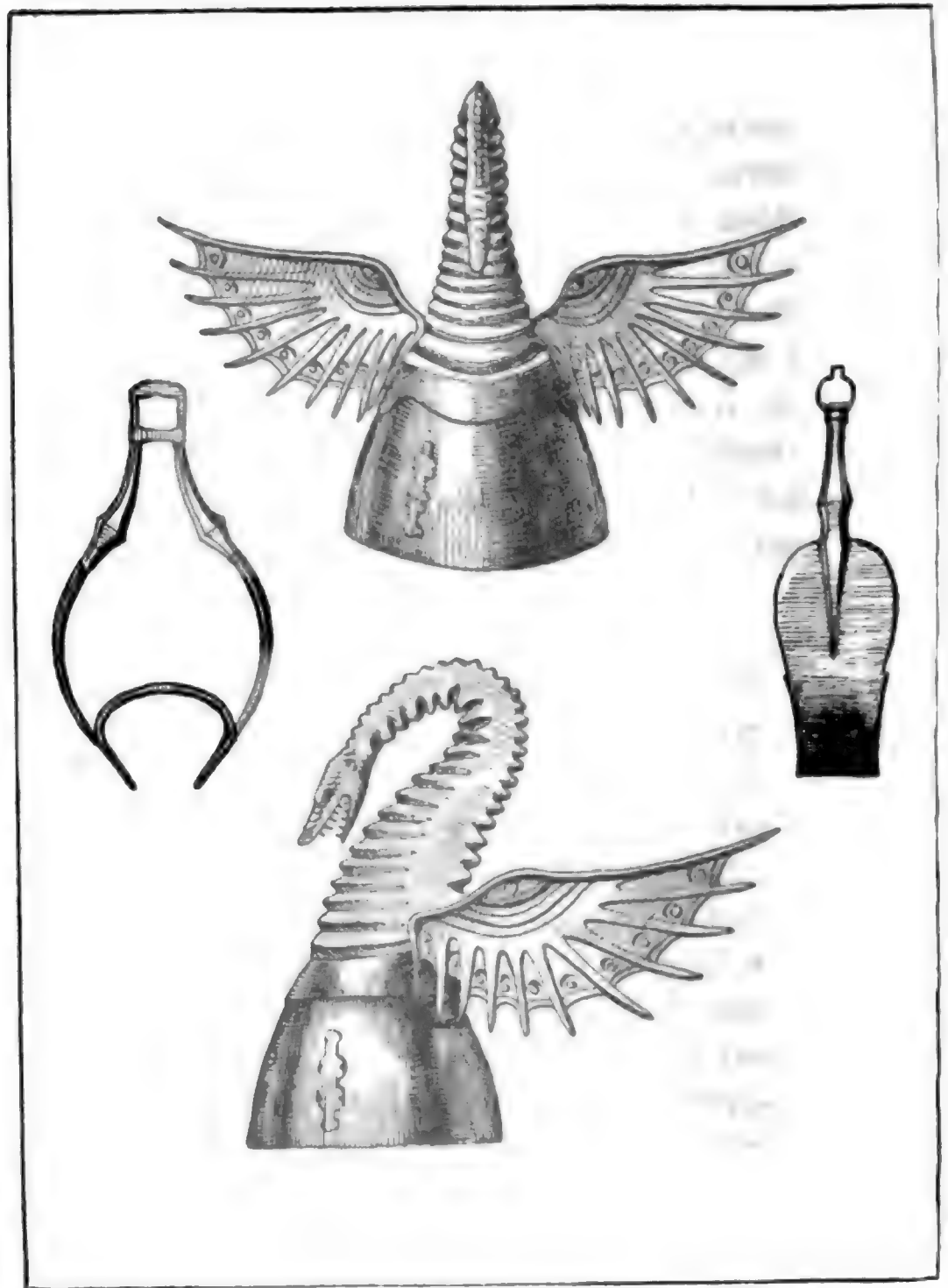
Having subdued all Valencia, with very little more trouble than came of the jealousies of those among whom the spoils were distributed, King Jayme then

¹ King Jayme himself says 1239, but Gayangos in a note to the passage (*Royal Chronicle of King James of Aragon*, vol. ii. p. 403), proves that the date was 1238. There is much confusion of dates in the early Spanish histories, owing to the difference of Eras. Some reckon by the Spanish Era, some by the Incarnation, and some by the Nativity. The Era of Spain, abolished in Aragon in 1350 and in Castile in 1393, requires thirty-eight years to be subtracted from—the Era of the Incarnation, nine months added to—the common Era.

marched westward towards Murcia. That kingdom, which was now the most northern of those possessed by the Mahommedans, lay on the frontier between Castile and Aragon, and was an object of ambition to both these Christian powers. The King of Castile at this time was Alfonso X., who was King Jayme's son-in-law, being married to his daughter Yolande (Violante). Some jealousies ensued between the two kings in respect of Murcia, a collision between them being warded off for the time by King Jayme's singular, and for that age most unusual, moderation and some clever family diplomacy on the part of Alfonso. The latter sent his wife to plead with her father, ostensibly to seek his aid against the Moors who were threatening him with a fresh invasion of Africans from beyond the sea. At this time there ruled in Granada, which had now become the centre of the Mahommedan power in Spain, Mahommed-ibn-Alhamar, the founder of a new dynasty—a man, like all founders of dynasties, of brains and pith, who aimed at absorbing the whole Moorish dominion, and even of restoring the glories of the Khalifat. He had made an alliance with the Emperor of Morocco, who was to send over a large force of Africans to help to recover the land from the Christians. According to King Jayme, “the Granadine had besides laid his plots in all the towns and castles of the King of Castile, wherever there were Moors still, as well as in Seville, where a great number of them were living. All together they were to rise on a given day, and attack the Christians everywhere, so that the King of Castile and his wife should be taken prisoners, and the lost towns and castles recovered at

one blow." A formidable rising did take place, so that in less than three weeks the King of Castile lost three hundred large towns and castles. Such was the situation which the Queen of Castile came to report to her father, who was then preparing for an expedition against Murcia. She prayed King Jayme "for God's sake, for our kindred, and for our own credit, not to let her be disinherited. They had no one to consult how to assist them. The Moors had taken possession of all their country, except perhaps a little." In this state of things, which was not without some consolation to Jayme, then at the height of his power and renown, the King of Aragon, before seeing his daughter, took counsel with his barons and prelates. Their opinion was that, though the king could not very well deny his daughter's suit nor refuse to give help to his son-in-law in his present strait, now was the time to get amends for the wrongs which the King of Castile had done him—that at least he should ask for an indemnity, since the expedition of help would be an expensive one—that the king should give no aid until he had got back the castles he had so often demanded from Castile. In his reply to his Cortes, King Jayme admits that this advice is not unpalatable to him, and declares his resolution in terms which prove him to be at once a prudent ruler in his own interests and a dutiful father-in-law. He avers that he cannot decline to render the aid sought of him by Castile for three reasons : first, because he cannot absolutely desert his daughter and her children when it is sought to take their heritage from them ; secondly, because, even if he were not obliged by honour and duty to

help the King of Castile, still he should wish to do so "owing to his being one of the most powerful men in the world," who, if he were not now helped and ultimately managed to extricate himself from his difficulties, would regard the King of Aragon as his mortal enemy hereafter, and certainly seek to do him harm; thirdly, that if the King of Castile should lose his land, the King of Aragon would hardly be safe in his own. Therefore it was resolved by the nobles of Aragon that aid should be given to Castile. In appealing to the States of Catalonia, however, the king was less successful. They even sought to make that an opportunity of seeking redress for certain wrongs of their own. They answered the king so "ill and basely"—even the clergy, whom he could not persuade of the danger of losing their churches and having the name of Mahommed proclaimed therein—that Jayme went away angry to his own house. Afterwards terms of accommodation were arranged with the Catalans, ever stubborn on a question of their privileges, by which, in consideration of charters being confirmed, they promised the necessary supplies. The King of Aragon met the King of Castile, and after that, the city of Murcia having been encompassed about by Jayme's knights so as to be isolated from its neighbours, fell without a blow. There was some difficulty about the great mosque, which the Moors were reluctant to give up, saying, "it was the best place they had for their prayers." But the king insisting that, for the same reason, he wished the place to be a Christian cathedral, and making a demonstration with his knights and cross-bowmen,



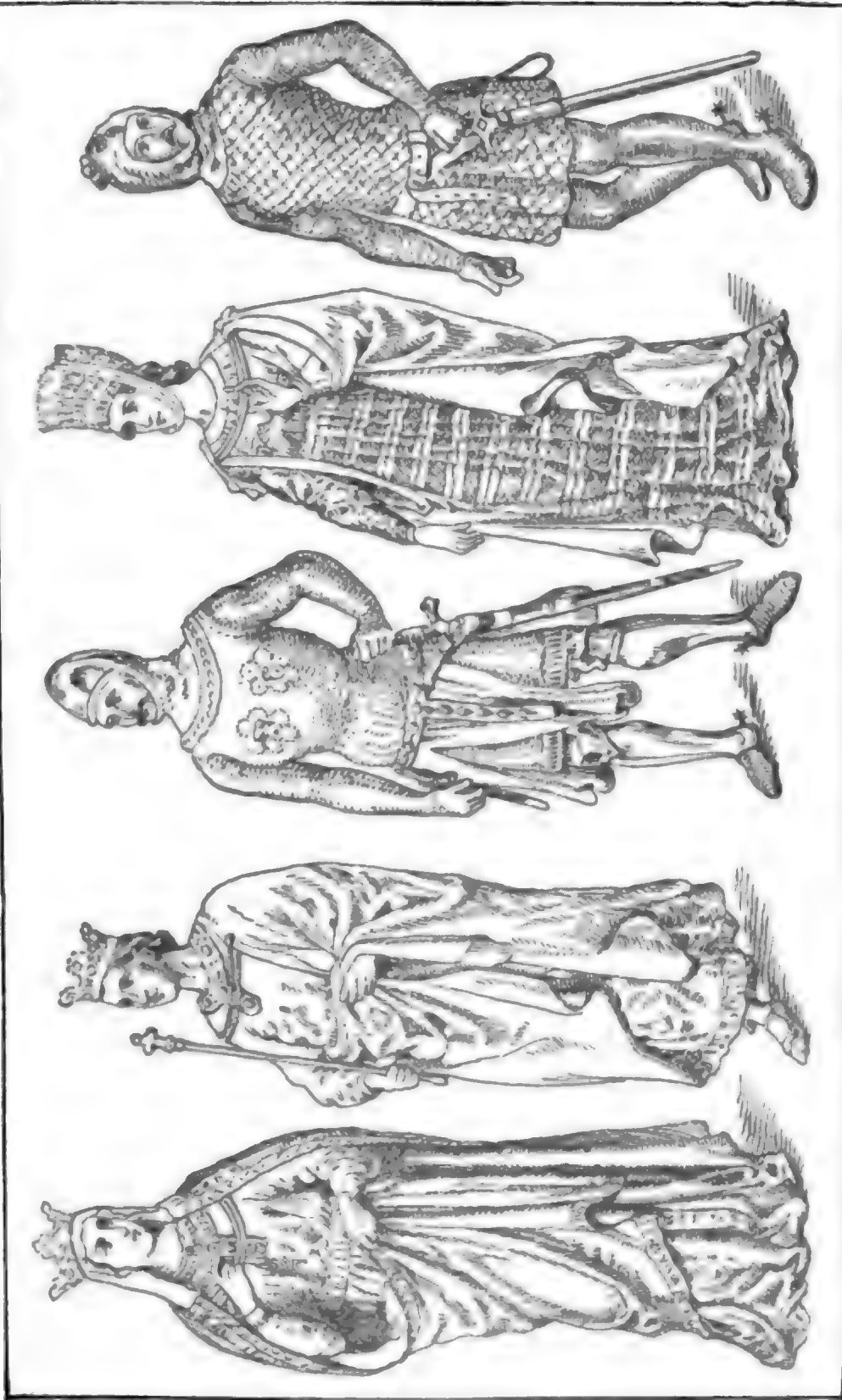
HELMET AND STIRRUPS OF KING JAYME, EL CONQUISTADOR.

the mosque was given up—the Moors being secured in the enjoyment of all the other mosques and of their liberties, such as it was usual to grant them. Murcia and the adjacent territory were given up, in fulfilment of some pact with Castile, to King Alfonso. Further, that king received advice from his father-in-law as to seven things he was to observe in the conduct of affairs—advice which proves Jayme to have been a shrewd man, whose name for wisdom should have stood higher with posterity than it does. Among these seven things Alfonso was advised that, “if some only were to be kept in his grace, and he could not keep the others, he should keep at least two parties—the church, and the people and cities of the country; for they are those whom God loves more even than the nobles and the knights, for the knights revolt sooner against their lord than the others; if he could keep with him all of them, well and good; if not, he should keep these two parties, for with their help he could easily destroy the others.”

The character of King Jayme, if closely examined, is less admirable than would appear by his own account of his conquests and his dealings with his people. He was perfidious, dissolute, and cruel, abusing even the privileges of his time and rank. For the conquests which won him his proud appellation he was indebted as much to his craft as to his valour. He broke all his promises to his own people as well as to the Moors. He violated with impunity the laws of his states, artfully setting up Aragon against Catalonia or Catalonia against Aragon, whenever convenient for his own safety. He was magnanimous by calculation

and merciful only out of self-interest. When his favourite confessor reprimanded him for his profligacy, he caused the prelate's tongue to be torn out by the roots—an offence for which the Pope excommunicated him and placed his kingdom under an interdict. To make atonement for his many sins he undertook, in his old age, to go on a crusade to the Holy Land. He started from Barcelona with a thousand knights, but the wind and waves were contrary, and after buffeting about for nearly two months, the bishops decided that it was not the pleasure of heaven that the party should touch the Holy Land, so they returned to a port in the South of France. In 1276 King Jayme ended his long reign of sixty-three years, leaving his realm greatly developed and Aragon advanced to a rank equal with Castile.

Meanwhile the older kingdom, under Fernando III., was steadily growing in greatness. The capture of Cordova in 1255 was followed up by attacks on the outlying places in Jaen and Murcia. One by one the cities were taken from the Moors, and either merged into the territory of Castile or reduced to vassalage. The city of Jaen itself, the frontier stronghold of Aben Alhamar, the King of Granada, was invested; and the Moors defeated in a great battle outside of the walls. Alarmed for the safety of his own kingdom, the King of Granada took a step which, while it proves how low the ancient Moorish prestige had fallen, seems to throw a not unpleasing light upon the relations which the kings of the opposite faiths held to each other, and upon the honourable allegiance of both Moors and Christians to the laws



COSTUMES OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, KINGS AND NOBLES.

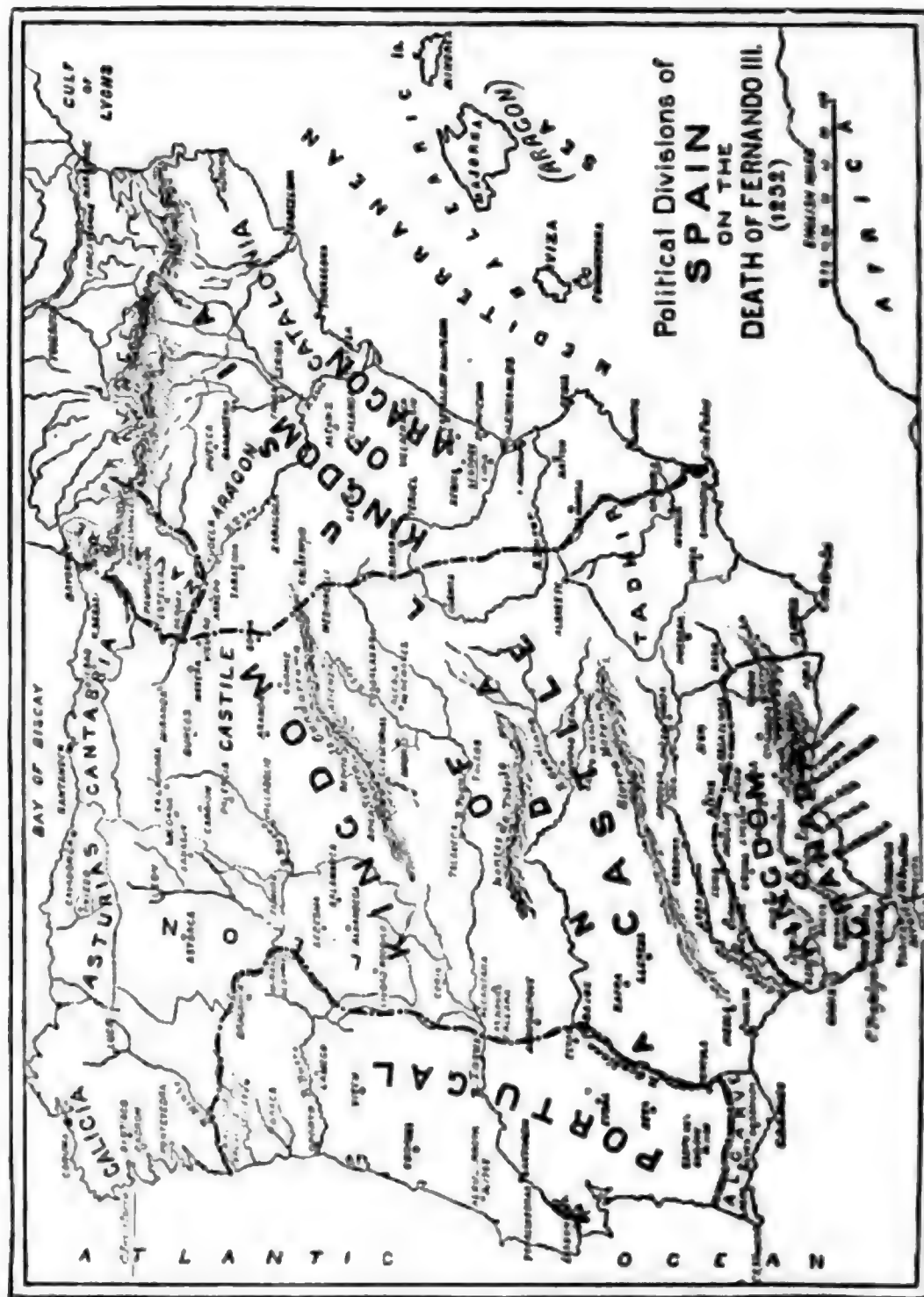
of chivalry. Mahommed-ibn-Alhamar went in person unattended to the camp of King Alfonso, declared his name, and submitted himself to the king's pleasure—offering to become a vassal of Castile. Fernando proved himself equal to the Moor in generous feeling, receiving him cordially with all honour and respect, and calling him his dear friend and ally. Terms of peace and mutual support were agreed upon between the two kings. Jaen was surrendered to the Christians. Aben Alhamar agreed to pay tribute to Alfonso and to furnish him with a contingent of Moorish knights when he went to war—engaging, which appears to be the most singular condition of all, considering the deadly strife which had raged between Moor and Christian for more than seven hundred years, to attend the Cortes at Toledo, when summoned as a feudatory of Castile.¹ Aben Alhamar, on his part, was confirmed in his possession of the Kingdom of Granada, and promised assistance against his enemies.

It was not long before the King of Granada was called upon to render service to his Christian suzerain. Fernando's next enterprise was the capture of Seville. Having made himself master of all the intervening towns and fortresses on both banks of the Guadalquivir, with the assistance of his Moorish ally, Ferdinand advanced to the siege of Seville—then the largest and richest of the cities remaining to the Moors, and the centre of their traffic with Africa and the East. A strenuous defence both by sea and land was made by

¹ The attendance of Moors, as vassals, at the Cortes of Castile was not unusual in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries. At the great Cortes of Toledo, summoned in 1135 by Alfonso VII., to confirm his title of Emperor, there were Moorish princes.

the besieged. Finding that it was impossible to take the city so long as the mouth of the Guadalquivir was held by the Moorish fleet, Fernando had a number of ships built in Biscay, and sent round to the entrance of the river, which is the first mention in history of the Castilian navy. The Christians having triumphed in a sea battle, and a relieving army of Mahommedans coming from Algarve being beaten by land, the city surrendered on the 23rd of November, 1248. The conduct of Fernando to the vanquished, who had made a very brave resistance, was conspicuous at once for clemency and good policy. Such of the Moorish inhabitants as chose to remain were guaranteed the security of their lives and property, under a tribute equal to that which they paid to their own princes. Those who elected to depart to Africa or elsewhere had free permission to go, and were furnished with means for the journey. The greater number of the Mahommedan citizens chose to take refuge with their fellow-countrymen in Granada, which now remained the sole refuge of the Moors under their King Mahommed-ibn-Alhamar.

Fernando made his entry into the city in December 1248, proceeding to the great mosque which, purged and sanctified, was turned as usual into a Christian temple. The conquest of Seville was one of great importance, not only because of its intrinsic worth as a rich and populous city, but because it gave the Christians of Castile, for the first time, a secure port and harbour for their ships in the south—the river Guadalquivir being navigable up to Seville for the largest vessels then in use in those seas. The rich



lands adjoining, together with the houses in the city, were divided among the conquerors—the deed of partition, or *Repartimiento*, being still extant, and testifying at once to the value of the spoil, and the names and characters of the participants. Fernando did not long survive his conquest. Worn out by the hardships of the siege, as well as by the austerities he was accustomed to practice on his person by way of devotion, he died on the 30th of May, 1252, leaving to his son Alfonso a heritage greatly enriched and enlarged, and a character which, in 1671, was thought good enough by Pope Clement X. to merit canonisation.

Alfonso X.,¹ surnamed *El Sabio*, or *The Sage*, deserved that epithet less by his wisdom than his learning. His character may be likened to that of our James I. While deeply versed in books, with a taste for literature and a capacity for science far in advance of the age, he was shallow in himself, vain, frivolous, ostentatious, feeble, and irresolute—for ever aiming at greatness beyond that of a King of Castile, but devoid of all the strength and skill needed for its achievement. His misdirected ambition and his extravagant follies brought on himself many humiliations, and involved

¹ There is much confusion among the many Spanish Alfonsos, the name being common to the kings both of Castile and of Leon, as well as of Aragon. In the western kingdom the enumeration follows the line of Leon as the most ancient. Thus Alfonso, the grandson of San Fernando, is called the *Tenth*, the Ninth Alfonso being his father, who was king of Leon only. Dunham, following some native historians, rejects this intercalary Alfonso, making the numbering straight by calling Alfonso of Aragon, *El Batallador*, Alfonso VII. But this Alfonso has no business to be in the line of succession, having never been acknowledged as king, either of Castile or of Leon.

him in endless quarrels with his neighbours and with his own people. The first of his many projects for exalting his name in the eyes of Christendom was a scheme for the acquisition of Gascony, which province he claimed on the strength of its having been promised by the King of England as a marriage portion to his great-grandfather, Alfonso VIII. Gascony was then held for the English king, Henry III., by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, as governor. Obtaining the aid of some of the discontented barons, such as the Counts of Béarn and Limoges, the Castilians laid siege to Bayonne. But with his usual fickleness Alfonso was led to withdraw from the enterprise, upon condition of giving his sister Eleanor in marriage to Prince Edward, son of the English king—the bride to take with her as dowry all the rights of Castile over the disputed territory. The marriage, which turned out notably happier than most of the marriages arranged by state policy, was celebrated with great magnificence in the monastery of Las Huelgas, near Burgos—Prince Edward receiving knighthood at the hands of his brother-in-law, and performing his vigils in the chapel. Alfonso's next ambition was to be Emperor of Germany—resting his claim on being the son of Beatrix, who was a daughter of Philip, the late emperor. For some twenty years the King of Castile urged his rights, vexing Pope after Pope for his support and expending large sums of money upon the electors, out of the treasure which had been amassed by his frugal father. The electors passed him over with scant respect, choosing on the first occasion his rival,

Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of our Henry III.; and on the next, in 1273, when Alfonso was able to secure but one vote, Rudolph of Hapsburg. In the end Pope Gregory I., wearied by Alfonso's importunities, ceased to correspond with him and excommunicated his supporters.

These follies, for which the country had to pay in the unwonted form of direct taxation, made Alfonso very unpopular at home. The discontent of the nobles came to a climax when Alfonso, in marrying his natural daughter, Beatrix de Guzman, to the King of Portugal, gave away with her the Castilian rights over the province of Algarve. A league was formed against the king, headed by his brother, the Infante Felipe, and supported by the ever-rebellious family of the Laras, which was joined by the Moorish King of Granada. Alfonso temporised with the insurgents, whose demands went to the extent of claiming exemption from taxation and from fixed military service for the nobility. The Cortes were summoned at Burgos to treat of the matter between the king and the nobles, who, although favourably disposed to support the former, were by Alfonso himself induced to concede nearly all the arrogant demands of the nobles, with whom he sought to be reconciled with most unkingly alacrity. Another cause of quarrel arose out of the succession to the throne. In 1275, the king being absent in France, his eldest son Fernando, known in history as the *Infante de la Cerda*,¹ died,

¹ So called from a tuft of hair (*cerda*) growing out of a mole on his face.

leaving two sons of tender age by his wife Blanche, sister to Philip IV. of France. According to the old Visigothic law, the second son of the king, if of age, was recognised as heir in preference to any infant child of the eldest son, on the abstract ground that he was one degree nearer in blood, but perhaps for the more practical reason that he was better able to maintain his state and dignity. To settle the question the Cortes were convoked at Segovia in 1276, who decided in favour of the native as against the foreign law. King Alfonso's second son was Sancho, who was thus proclaimed heir to the throne. The decision of the Cortes offended the French king, who demanded that at least his sister's dowry should be restored, and herself and her children permitted to return to France. These demands being refused, war was declared by France against Castile. The transactions which ensued were complicated by the flight of Alfonso's own queen, who had taken the part of the Infante de la Cerda, into Aragon, and the murder of Prince Fadrique, his younger brother, by order of the king.

All these things together, with sundry petty acts of oppression, of vindictiveness, and of greed, tended to aggravate the temper of the people and to fill up the measure of their contempt and hatred for their sovereign. His son Sancho was induced to lead the malcontents, who quickly gained possession of Toledo, Cordova, and all the important towns. Alfonso, reduced to despair, even besought aid from the Emperor of Morocco—while applying at the same time, by a curious double policy, very characteristic of

this king, to the Pope to excommunicate his rebellious son. Some kind of reconciliation was come to at last. The last act of Alfonso's life brings his reign to a dramatic close. He died of grief and anxiety, because his penitent son Sancho had fallen suddenly sick.

Of those acquirements which earned Alfonso X. the name of *The Learned*, we may speak with greater respect than of his conduct as a king. Making every allowance for the not very high standard by which the accomplishments of a reigning prince are measured, in an age when most princes could scarcely spell, Alfonso, by what he has left behind, is proved to have been a man in culture and in knowledge far in advance of his time. He has left us, as proof of his attainments in astronomy, the *Alphonsine Tables*, in which doubtless he was assisted by the Arab mathematicians. He compiled the *Siete Partidas*, which are a digest of the laws in force in ancient Spain, derived from the Roman and the Visigothic Codes. He wrote, or rather caused to be written, and edited, the *Crónica General*, the first great history of Spain, which, in spite of its abundant faults and fables, deserves to be ever remembered because it is the first prose writing of any importance in the Castilian tongue. He was a poet, and wrote Canticles to the Virgin oddly enough not in the Castilian but in the Galician dialect—a proof among many that up to this time the national language was still in process of formation—that there was a doubt whether the language of Castile or of Galicia (which is akin to Portuguese) would prevail. Many other works, of philosophy, history, and poetry, are credited to Alfonso, which prove that though a bad





VI.

LAWS AND GOVERNMENT OF CASTILE AND ARAGON —THE CORTES AND THE FUEROS—PROGRESS OF ARTS AND LETTERS.

THE mention of the Cortes in the previous chapter suggests that this is the proper time and here the proper place to describe the laws and institutions under which the people lived, of whose kings and conquerors only we have been hitherto treating. The early Christian Spaniards inherited from the Goths a very elaborate and complicated code of laws, founded partly on the system of jurisprudence which was introduced by the Romans, but deriving its most characteristic features from that Northern stock of which the Visigoths claimed to be a scion. For three hundred years at least after the revival of the Spanish monarchy under Pelayo, the Christians of Leon and Castile were subject to the Visigothic code, called anciently the *Forum Judicum*, which became corrupted during the barbarous age, when very few remained who used the Roman tongue, into *Fuero Juzgo*, whose origin goes back to Euric, a Gothic king of the Fifth century. This code was, indeed, never formally superseded, but continued to be quoted in the acts



state, or of men to one another, every right and every obligation, is minutely defined, prescribed, and provided for. Beginning with the celestial system and citing the obedience rendered to God by the angelic host, the Code goes on, in a descending series which in the higher stages is axiomatic rather than statutory, to tell what every man should do, and what, in default of his duty, is to be his punishment; to enumerate each several offence of which a man in any of the orders can be guilty, to arrange the process of trial; and to fix the penalty, varying not only according to the nature of the crime, but according to the degree of the offender and the rank of the injured. So minute and searching are the distinctions and the grades of offending, so particular the penalties, and so precise the terms and conditions of justice, that scarcely any transaction in which a man could be engaged remains omitted from the schedule. The first thing to remark in this code, as illustrative of the character of the people and their condition under the early kings, is that the offence was prescribed with due regard to the degree and standing of the offender, and of him against whom it was committed. Such a principle as equality before the law was unknown and could not have been understood in old Spain. The privileged classes were the clergy and the nobles, especially in the earlier days the former, when the prelates were at once the chief possessors of wealth and of learning and the most prominent fighting men. The nobles who, as an order, did not rise into prominence until the Eleventh century, were not so much favoured by the laws as by the circumstances which enabled them

to set those laws at defiance. There being no proper feudal system such as prevailed in Western Europe, and the noble's property being what he conquered for himself from the Moors, or what was given to him by the king as a share of the general spoil, there is no social distinction to be traced in the *Fuero Juzgo*, except between freeman and slave. An offence by a freeman against a slave was deemed less than an offence against another freeman. If a freeman killed a slave he paid only half the penalty he would have paid had the victim been free. If a master punished his slave so that desertion ensued, he had only to show that the punishment was more severe than he intended, to be acquitted of all blame. The slaves were of three classes—those born so, those captured in war, those condemned to be such by justice. As for slavery, it was a recognised institution in the Visigothic period, and it seems to have been maintained for at least three or four hundred years later. There being no record of its formal abolition we may presume that it was suffered to die out, at least in name, and to lapse into villeinage.

Under this code, which probably had ceased to be obligatory, as its provisions could not but have been impracticable, in the disturbed condition of old Castile and Leon, long before its re-publication by Fernando III., the people could hardly have been content, in the times when they were at perpetual war with the Moors. It was formally superseded, or rather supplemented, by the *Siete Partidas*, or *Seven Sections*, compiled by order of Alfonso X., which appeared in 1258. The *Siete Partidas*, which are still the basis of

Spanish common law, was an adaptation of the *Fuero Juzgo* to a more advanced state of society. The jurists employed by Alfonso to draw up this celebrated code seem to have been inspired by a greater respect for Roman than for Visigothic law. As in the *Fuero Juzgo* the whole fabric of society was dealt with in the abstract and in detail. Whatever men do—whatever they suffer—is here provided for. It is a whole body of morality and of religion. The scope of the new code was even more comprehensive than of the old. In some points we may perceive an advance to a higher civilisation, as in the abolition, as a legal process, of the trial by ordeals and in the mitigation of torture. In other points there is a very perceptible growth of the prerogatives and privileges of the kings. Treason against the sovereign is made the greatest of crimes, involving death and confiscation of the traitor's substance. By many ingenious ways the royal authority, for which the sanction claimed is nothing less than divine, is fortified and extended. On the other hand, there is an obvious design, carefully disguised as it is in the *Siete Partidas*, to lower the knightly order, and to reduce the privileges of the nobles, by exalting at their expense the Church and commonalty. This last order had been much strengthened in political importance by the number of new settlements which had been created in the lands conquered from the Moors, and was beginning to be a formidable power in the state.

The people, long before Alfonso X. had issued his new code, which at first did not get much acceptance among any order in the community, had already

secured many valuable privileges from their kings in the shape of local *fueros* or charters, wrung from the necessities of the sovereign or won as trophies of war. By degrees there arose the *comunidad*, which was originally a colony planted on the border, in lands recovered from the Moors, which was endowed with special privileges, as being exposed to the enemy and a barrier against invasion. On condition of defending the land and of cultivating it, the settlers were exempted from the jurisdiction of the nobles. They were empowered to elect their own magistrates, to form municipalities, to raise and spend a great part of their revenues on themselves. These *comunidades* became so rich and flourishing as province after province was recovered from the Moors, as to excite, we are told, the jealousy and the greed of the nobles, some of whom were even tempted to renounce their own caste and to enrol themselves among the commoners, in order to be qualified for places in the community. Sometimes a *comunidad*, in the belief that it was richer than plebeians ought to be, was subject to predatory excursions by the neighbouring count, just as though it had been Moorish territory.

In this way insensibly the commoners increased in wealth and in power, so that in the Thirteenth century they had begun, even in Castile, to be a power in the state, on which the sovereign was accustomed to lean when hard pressed by his nobles. At what precise period the voice of the people, such as it was, began to make itself heard in the state, it is not easy to decide. Councils in which the nobility, the prelates, and "the people," were represented are spoken as

having been held in Leon even before the close of the Tenth century. But these could only have been occasional assemblies, summoned to consult with the king in some extraordinary crisis. From the plural term *Cortes* (*Courts*), which came to be used to signify a parliament, we may assume that these representative bodies deliberated not in one general assembly but separately—the clergy apart from the nobility and either distinct from the cities—to meet together perhaps, formally, to register their final decision. The early authorities speak of the great Cortes which was summoned at Toledo to acknowledge Alfonso VII. emperor as having been attended by vassal princes, prelates, and *ricos hombres*—noble men, including not only the men of title, who were few in those days, but those possessed of estates. At this council the people were present, but only “to see, to hear, and to praise God”—according to the chronicler. The first Cortes in Castile which can properly be called a parliament were held at Burgos in 1169. Here, besides the two privileged orders of the clergy and the nobles, were present delegates from many cities and towns, each of whom had but one voice, irrespective of their rank or importance, though not an equal number of representatives. They deliberated in common with the other orders, but consulted apart on domestic affairs, such as taxation and local administration. Afterwards, except on great occasions such as the accession of a new king or the settlement of the throne, the clergy and nobility were not present, nor was their sanction needed to what may be called the legislative acts of the Cortes. From that time forward, as long as a

native dynasty kept the throne, the Cortes were recognised as an authority in the state, whose special functions were to control the public income and expenditure, to help the king to money when he wanted it, and generally to maintain the old *fueros* and the privileges of the communes. Such a body of course was very far from being a popular assembly in the modern sense. There was no system of representation. The deputies were chosen arbitrarily, sometimes by lot, from such towns as the king might select. They met only on the king's summons, who we may suppose, did without them as long as he could, calling them together only when he needed a buffer against the growing power of the nobles or money for his wars. Lastly, there was no recognised right of voting or process of election. Such power as the Cortes had grew, as it did elsewhere, out of the necessities of the times, the expansion of territory, and the development of wealth and civilisation. Yet even at an early period the Cortes seem to have exercised a real authority in the correction of notorious abuses in the state, and enjoyed much freedom of speaking. By the middle of the Thirteenth century they had begun to concern themselves with the public morals—a branch of their prerogative in which they were ever afterwards very zealous. They remonstrated with their weak King Alfonso X. on his personal extravagance, requiring him not only to diminish the expenses of his table, but to bring his appetite within a more reasonable compass. They took advantage of the quarrel between Alfonso and his son to assume a much higher tone in political matters—claiming to interfere in the admini-

stration of justice, in the making of treaties with foreign powers, in deciding war or peace, and even in the settlement of the title to the crown.

It does not lie within the scope of this work to pursue this investigation into the nature and business of the government in early Castile. Suffice it to say, that by the closing years of the Thirteenth century there had grown up a civil polity in the kingdom which was perhaps on a level with that of any European state. The king was still absolute in theory, and, according to his temper and ability, absolute in fact ; but the communes had attained to a substantial power, and were able to exercise, at times, a degree of influence in the affairs of state such as was unattainable under the two first kings of the Asturian dynasty.

If the possession of old charters, or at least the assertion of ancient rights, be admitted as a proof of liberty, then was Aragon even freer than either Castile or Leon. The *fueros de Sobrarbe*, which date from some early year of the Eighth century, are supposed to be the foundation of Aragonese freedom ; but though often appealed to they have never been seen and perhaps never had a real existence. The laws and customs of Aragon, as of Catalonia and of Navarre, were always different from those of Castile, and may be said, partly through the circumstances of their political growth, and partly from the more independent and stubborn character of the Eastern races, to have developed at an earlier period into what may be called a settled constitution. There has been doubtless much exaggeration, arising from over-trust in some native authorities, as to the degree of liberty anciently

enjoyed by the Catalans and the Aragonese. The statement of the historian Robertson that the government of Aragon, though monarchical in form was in its genius and its essence purely republican, is absurd. The *fueros* were not so much charters of freedom as customs expressive of the independent character of the people. The genius of the Aragonese was undoubtedly one tending to impatience of authority and to self-rule. There was at all times, up to the date when their native laws were violently trodden under foot and their privileges abrogated by Philip II., much more individual liberty in Aragon than in the neighbouring kingdoms. As to popular rights, in the modern sense, they can scarcely be said to have existed. It is true that the Aragonese *cortes* were more of a real parliament than the *cortes* of Castile. The several orders were more sharply distinguished, and their powers more precisely defined. The communes, who seem to have been admitted into the Cortes as early as 1133—that is to say, earlier than in Castile, had a real and distinct authority. In Catalonia, where commerce and industry occupied the people rather than war or conquest, there was a strong democratic spirit, which, from first to last, gave much trouble to the kings. In the internal administration the Cortes of Aragon and of Catalonia were far more prominent and active than in the neighbouring states, as we perceive by the constant attention paid by the early kings, even by King Jayme the Conqueror, to the wishes and feelings of the nation. One peculiar feature of the Aragonese administration was the *Justicia* or Justice; a functionary of very high and solemn character, who

may be said to have combined in his own person the powers of the Lord Chancellor of England with those of the Supreme Court of the United States. He was the highest interpreter of the law, the keeper of the king's conscience, and the final referee in all disputes, not only between subjects, but between the subjects and the sovereign. He could interfere, of his own authority, in any cause, and remove it to his own jurisdiction. He could review the royal decrees, and declare whether they were agreeable to law or not. He could exclude any of the king's ministers from the conduct of affairs, and call him to account for mal-administration. He was *ex officio* a permanent counsellor of the king, and had to accompany him wherever he went. He was regarded as a power between the king and the people—the controller of the one and protector of the other.

It is true that he owed his appointment to the king, removable for "a just cause or some considerable crime"; and in this limitation lay his defect, which was a very serious one in those days, when a good cause for the Justice's removal could so easily be found, and the temptation to fasten a crime on him was so great. There is no doubt, however, that the *Justicia*, whose very existence under that name is a proof of the liberty claimed by the Aragonese, did exert a powerful influence in the government, superior to that of the Judges in Castile, and of a kind which is without parallel in any contemporary European state. This was all the more necessary, seeing that the Aragonese aristocracy, though less formidable in numbers than that of

Castile and of Leon, was of a specially turbulent and arrogant sort. The great barons, who affected to be peers of the king, claimed to derive their descent from twelve principal nobles who, sometime in the middle of the Ninth century, elected a king of Aragon upon his swearing to observe certain rules limiting his authority—being entitled, according to the letter of the compact then made, “to substitute any other ruler in his stead, even a pagan, if they pleased.” These powerful barons were called *ricos hombres de natura*—noblemen by nature—to imply that they had not been created by the sovereign, and to distinguish them from the ordinary *ricos hombres*, advanced to that dignity by the king, who were called *de mesnada*, or of the household. No superior baron could be deprived of his fief except by the *Cortes*; and it was among these, the “nobles by nature,” that the king was obliged to distribute the lands conquered from the Moors. In return the barons were required to render him military service; so that the feudal system may be said to have existed in Aragon and Catalonia before it prevailed in Castile, if it ever did so in the latter kingdom. According to the law, these barons had other privileges peculiar to themselves, and in excess of those enjoyed elsewhere by their class. They were allowed to throw off their allegiance to the king on certain conditions. They had the right of making war on each other without interference; and they did so frequently, with a zest and ferocity which tended not a little to spoil the otherwise excellent system of the Aragonese domestic administration. One other

feature is to be noted in the government of Aragon, that, up to the Thirteenth century at least, the clergy had less power than in the other states—not so much because the people were less devoted to religion, but because of their strong and abiding jealousy of the temporal power of Rome. A large portion of the bishops and dignitaries of the eastern kingdom were drawn from Aquitaine and Provence, a fact which would alone account for the smaller influence exercised by the Church in the civil and political affairs of Aragon.

This independence of Rome was a characteristic of the people throughout Spain, and was a more important factor in shaping the national destinies than some native historians, in their zeal for orthodoxy, are willing to allow. From the date of their first conversion to Christianity, the Spaniards were among the most disobedient of all the nations to the central religious authority. The Goths, for the greater part of their reign, were Arians—scarcely admitted to be Christians. Even after they were restored to the Catholic fold under Recared I., they claimed and exercised entire liberty in their own country, using for centuries an independent ritual, which differed in some essential points from that of Rome. This, called the Mozarabic ritual, from the Mozarabes, who retained its use throughout the period of their subjection to the Moors, is characterised by the simplicity, beauty, and earnestness of the prayers, and especially by the absence of any mention of auricular confession. It was in force throughout all Christian Spain until the reign of Alfonso VI. That uxorious king, at the

instance of his wife, Constance of Burgundy, who was under the influence of the Frenchman Bernard, the first Archbishop of Toledo, was induced, in spite of the protests of the native clergy, who were unanimous in favour of the ancient service, to insist upon the Roman missal being used in all the churches in place of the Mozarabic. But before that decision was arrived at the matter was submitted to what was called "the judgment of God," that is, trial by battle. As a concession to the people, a champion was appointed on the Mozarabic side to fight against the Roman. The duel took place in the presence of the king and court, with all the usual formalities. After a severe fight, the Mozarabic representative, to the delight of the populace, overcame his antagonist. Still the king was unconvinced. A second trial was arranged, this time, of two bulls, one baptised "Toledo," and the other "Rome." Again the national champion was victorious, the Mozarabic bull slaying the Roman. Once more the king refused to abide by the result, demanding the ordeal by fire. A fire was kindled in the king's presence, and after being duly consecrated, the two missals were cast into it, the king declaring that the one which was unconsumed should have the preference. The Roman was scorched by the flames; the Mozarabic came out whole and sound; when the king, in a passion, flung it back again, and insisted, in spite of all these clear indications of its lesser sanctity, that the Roman missal should be universally adopted; and adopted it was accordingly, everywhere but in one small chapel of Toledo Cathedral, which still

preserves the daily use of the ancient Gothic ritual.¹

These stories, gravely reported by native historians, usually jealous of the honour of their Church, throw a curious light, not only on the relations of the king to the ecclesiastical establishment, but on the attitude of the people to both. It is eminently characteristic of the age when the religion was nothing if not national, when the struggle for the faith was also a contest for independence, when truth as well as liberty was promoted by hard blows, and patriotism and orthodoxy were one—that a bull-fight should decide a question of breviary, and a liturgy be determined by single combat. Up to this date, at least, that is, in the latter half of the Twelfth century, the claims of the Pope of Rome to universal dominion over the churches was not acknowledged by the Spaniards—not even by the Aragonese and the Catalan, whose connection with Rome, through France, was closer than in Castile. But though the temporal jurisdiction of the Pope was resisted both by king and people, as indeed was the case up to the last—even in the reign of Isabel, specially designated *The Catholic*—there was no country in which the national Church was so closely linked to the national sentiment and so intimately allied to the national policy as in Spain. It mingled in every transaction of life; it was the abiding spirit and moving influence in the great transaction of all, which was every man's business, the recovery of the land from the Moors—the business

¹ From this incident is said to rise the old proverb, *Alla van leyes a donde quieren reyes*:—"The laws go where the kings will."

which, however interrupted or suspended for other matters, never ceased to be the chief concern of every Castilian. It was the bishop whose voice called to war, who led the fighting. Thus piety went hand in hand with patriotism, and the true nationalist was he who was the good Catholic. Amidst these conditions and these environments, when the daily care of every man was to keep his store with his strong hand, and the only hope of increase was by taking from the infidel, the people and their faith grew together in that indissoluble connection which ever afterwards gave its peculiar character to the Spanish nation.

In those early ages, when Leon and Castile were battling for existence, there was small space for the development of the arts of peace. The Christians were a rude, unlettered people, doubtless far behind their Arab conquerors in civilisation. As they advanced from a small band of rustic mountaineers into a settled nation, the contact with their more refined and luxurious neighbours led to a higher civility. Even the competition in arms was fruitful of good, for out of it came chivalry, and the good manners which war teaches—the sense of mutual respect, the spirit of generous emulation, the cultivation of the sentiment of honour, which was carried afterwards to so great an excess as to become a national infirmity. By the Thirteenth century the dawn of a brighter day had begun to appear.

The long darkness, which lay for centuries like a pall upon Christendom, when art after art had gone out in Europe, and the lamp of knowledge flickered

dimly in a few monastic cells, was perhaps more intense and of longer duration in Christian Spain than elsewhere. The people, engaged in continuous warfare, had small time for learning or literature. What little the Goths had possessed of letters, inherited from the Romans, had perished amidst the confusion and trouble of the Moorish conquest. In the mountains of Asturias, where every man was a soldier, the only art which could be safely practised was that of fighting.

It was not until the Spaniards had recovered their hold over the greater part of the country, and until the struggle for supremacy among the Christian states had resulted in the assured predominance of Castile in the north and centre, and of Aragon in the east, that the national genius began to assert itself in works of peace. By the middle of the Thirteenth century the long and doubtful conflict of the tongues born of the Latin—which was perhaps never a spoken language in the Peninsula after the Gothic conquest—had resolved itself into the victory, happily for literature, of the Castilian. The rival dialects of the Galician (from which descended the Portuguese) and the Catalan, or Valencian, the off-shoot of Provençal, were confined to the districts of the north, west, and the east respectively. Latin continued, indeed, to be the language of the Church, of the law, and of the official decrees up to the Twelfth century; but few, even among the most learned of the clergy, were able to write it with purity after the Eighth century. The speech of the people had come, by corruption and phonetic degradation, by the influence of physical,

social, and political causes, by the nature of their occupations and the character of their surroundings to take a shape of its own—nearer Latin in genius than any of the children of Latin, but considerably modified in structure, with large additions to the vocabulary from the Arabic as from the Gothic. The nouns ceased from declension. The preposition was called in to help the case, just as the verb had to invoke an auxiliary. The final *us* was universally rejected for the final *o*. The infinitive dropped its tail vowel, and the noun got itself fitted with the article. According to the best authorities the Castilian language was fully formed, pretty nearly as it is now written and spoken, by the middle of the Twelfth century, though it was not perhaps until a century later that it came to be adopted as the universal speech of central Spain, the dialect of the court and of society.

The beginning of the national literature in Spain, as probably everywhere else, was the ballad. This eldest born of the poetic progeny rose quickly in the Peninsula to a stature and a dignity such as were attained in no other country of Europe. The ballads extant number nearly two thousand, and though for the greater part they are of a date subsequent to the period of which we are speaking, many of them retain the spirit and even the form of older compositions, transmitted from mouth to mouth, and all are characteristic of their age and their nation. They form a body of verse which is to be regarded as more than poetry. In the language of Richard Ford: "They are not merely ballads, but historical and national poems; they record events and popular

notions ; they speak out for the whole nation what lies in every man's heart ; they are the means of expression to those who want words not feelings." It is the ballads which are the basis of all Spanish history ; and in Spain at least there are no other literary documents so trustworthy. Handed down from mouth to mouth until the Sixteenth century, when they were first reduced to print, it is certain that the ballads have lost much in the process of oral transmission ; but enough remains to furnish much valuable aid in reading the character of the people of old Spain.

Of the famous *Poem of the Cid* we have already spoken. It is the beginning of literature proper in Castile, and though intended to be rather history than poetry, it deserves to rank, for its poetical merit alone, as the first of European epics. The best authorities fix the date of the Poem at 1200 ; which would make it a generation older than Gonzalo de Berceo—the first known poet, avowedly such, who wrote in Castilian—chiefly devotional verses. But with Alfonso X. may be said to have been born the age of Spanish literature. He was a king, as Mariana says, " more fit for letters than for the government of his subjects ; he studied the heavens, and watched the stars, but forgot the earth and lost his kingdom." He was a wise man, only in an abstract sense, to whom may be applied the saying of Tacitus—*capax imperii nisi imperasset*. He contributed greatly to the advancement of Castilian prose ; and though his poetry was chiefly written in the inferior Galician dialect, he shows himself a master of the art of rhyming and of metre. As a

lyricist Alfonso may probably claim to be the first who introduced into Spain that form of composition—a form not natural to the Castilians, and marking a higher degree of culture than that to which they had then reached. That the accomplishments of the tenth Alfonso can be safely taken to reflect the temper and spirit of the age, may be greatly doubted. By his subjects the king was held in undisguised contempt for his effeminate arts, and by his more knowing contemporaries chiefly regarded as a magician of supreme powers, who owed his science to unholy inspiration.

Of arts, industrial and useful, except such as administered to war or to religion, the early Spaniards had but little knowledge. From the beginning of the Eighth to the middle of the Eleventh century, when the kingdoms were yet in the process of making and battle with the Moor the one all-engrossing business of life, the condition of the people was perhaps ruder than that of the corresponding age in any country of Western Europe. Such civilisation as the later Visigoths had inherited from the Romans had expired. There was scarcely any intercourse with the outer Christian world. From Cordova came but a pale reflection of the light, touching but the highest souls—received with a resentful impatience, when admitted at all. The science taught by the Arabs had something suspicious to the mind of the true believer. Such learning could not be conceived as coming from aught but an unholy source. The luxuries created for the Arabs by their superior taste and skill in art were detested, even more than they were envied, as being the product of a reprobate and

ungodly creed—the creed of the usurper and conqueror. The pride of the native Spaniard was to make himself as different as possible from the Moor. The flesh of the swine became to him the sweetest of meats, because it was rejected by the unfaithful. That the Moor loved frequent ablution was to the true Spaniard “old and rank,” reason enough to eschew baths. In everything the Christians aspired to be unlike the Mahommedans—in their mode of life, their dwellings, their dress, their pursuits, exercises, and amusements.

Yet in spite of their national and religious antipathies there was much, as we have shown in the foregoing pages, that brought Christian and Moor together, and perhaps the real feeling between the peoples was less unfriendly than the chroniclers would have us believe. The larger and more catholic spirit such as shone in the relations between that good Catholic, Sancho Panza, and his fellow townsman, the Morisco Ricote, probably reflects the tone of the commerce between Moor and Spaniard, as to which there is much reason to believe that it was less bitter in the Tenth than in the Seventeenth century.

That the Moors had early attained to a very high degree of excellence in the arts, the monuments which they have left behind throughout all the country which they ruled sufficiently attest. Their palaces, mosques, castles, bridges, and aqueducts—of which the best are those of the period when Cordova was the centre of Arab civilisation—were works far beyond the capacity of the native Spaniards of that

age. As builders, engineers, mechanics, and handicraftsmen the Moors were unrivalled. Their proficiency in all the industrial arts, their excellence in taste as in skill, made them the wonder as much as the envy and the scorn of their opponents, who yet were compelled to use the talents they affected to despise. To the true Spaniard it was a degradation to put his hands to these base mechanical uses—war being held to be the only trade of the good cavalier, and fighting the sole pursuit worthy of an honourable Castilian. Art and handicraft, even the cultivation of the soil, were relegated to the lowest of the people. In the early days the Mahommedan slaves were put to these disgraceful callings, from which, as far as possible, every Christian gentleman removed himself.

A curious proof of the extent to which all industry and art were monopolised by the Moors is furnished by the fact that, even in the building of their churches, the Christians had recourse to the skill and the knowledge of the infidel workmen. It was the *mudejar*¹ who drew the design, a *mudejar* who laid the stones, a *mudejar* who painted the walls. As seen in the two or three churches of the Tenth century which are still extant, as that of Santiago de Peñalva in the Vierzo, it is Moorish art throughout, with the horse-shoe arch and the tracery and the capitols, as in Cordova, and of the same school from which came the glorious Mosque. Nor must these buildings,

¹ *Mudejar* was the name originally applied to the Moor who lived under Christian dominion—derived from the Arabic *mouddedjan*, a tributary.



ROMANESQUE CAPITALS.

which probably were more numerous than their few and scanty remains would seem to show, be taken to be Moorish places of worship converted to Christian uses, such as is the great Mosque itself, but churches designed and built for Christians by Mahomedan hands. Even when the Spaniards, in a later age, came to have a style of their own, or at least a style imported from Christian Europe, it was still the Moorish artist and the Moorish mason and carpenter who raised the walls and did the hewing and the carving.

It was not until the reign of Alfonso VI., in the later half of the Eleventh century, that the architecture borrowed from the Moors gave way to the Romanesque, introduced from France. Alfonso, the first to whom may be applied the name *Afrancesado*, as being the first who cultivated that connection with France which is held by patriotic Spaniards to have been so calamitous for their country, took from France, with his Burgundian wife, much ecclesiastical apparatus—including, besides the Roman missal, the Romanesque style, then dying out in Western Europe, though new to Spain. In the train of Queen Constance came Bernard, who was made Archbishop of Toledo — a Frenchman, who brought into his adopted country all the ardour of building which then distinguished the prelates of the age. Of his works in the Romanesque style, which replaced those edifices of Moorish art with which, till then, the Spanish kings had been content, very few entire specimens now remain. The next century witnessed the introduction of the Pointed or Gothic style, of

which one of the purest and most beautiful examples is Leon Cathedral, which was begun in 1181 though not completed till 1303. In this latter style are most of the cathedrals and churches of Spain, with variations introduced by native architects, which have been overlaid since, in the process of ages, by much inferior modern work, so that it has become difficult to recognise, in any one building, the true Spanish-Gothic. The most perfectly finished specimen of the mixed style, and one of the most glorious remains of Christian art, is the famous *Portico de la Gloria*, on the western front of the Cathedral of Santiago, executed by *Maestro Mateo*, or Master Mathew, about 1168-1188.¹ In this, as in other works, there were employed, by the close of the Twelfth century, native architects and native builders, but they derived their inspiration and their teaching from France.

In all the common work of the building, as in the mechanical and industrial arts generally, the Spaniards were undoubtedly much indebted to the Moors, who, either as hired workmen or in after years as slaves captured in war, contributed greatly by their industry and skill to the development of the comforts of life and the wealth of the country.

¹ Of which a fac-simile is in the South Kensington Museum.



VII.

THE REIGNS OF SANCHE IV., FERNANDO IV., AND
ALFONSO XI. IN CASTILE—VICTORIES OVER THE
MOORS—AFFAIRS OF ARAGON.

(1284-1387.)

UPON the death of Alfonso X. the Cortes, acting on behalf of the nation, set aside the provisions of the king's will, under which the dominion of Castile would have been once more sundered, and recognised Sancho, his eldest surviving son, as king—to the exclusion of the Infantes de la Cerda, the children of the deceased Fernando. Thereupon ensued a long train of intestinal troubles, fomented by the partisans of those who were disappointed of their expected heritage. Sancho IV., called *El Bravo*, though deficient in filial virtue, was a man of vigorous character, who had acquired popularity by his success in the wars against the Moors. Among the foremost of his enemies at home was his younger brother Don Juan, to whom the late king had bequeathed the city and territory of Seville. The province of Murcia had already been assigned in Alfonso's life-time to the La Cerdas. This kind of bequest, so common in the

early history of Spain, which implied that the king's domain was but a parcel of properties which could be disposed of at the owner's will, proves how loose and unsettled was the kingdom of Castile, in which the idea of a nationality was hardly yet engendered. But for the select men of the country in the Cortes, who more than once interfered to save the integrity of the realm, the domain so painfully recovered from the Moors would have fallen in pieces, just as the Moorish Empire had done. The Infante Don Juan, prevented from seizing Seville, went into permanent rebellion, having for his chief adherent the powerful Count Lope de Haro. These two in the west, with the partisans of the La Cerdas in the east, involved the country in a perpetual disturbance as long as Sancho IV. reigned. The King of Aragon was induced to side with the rebels. Alfonso, the elder of the Infantes de la Cerda, was proclaimed King of Castile and Leon, and engaged in return for the support of Aragon to surrender Murcia to that kingdom. A desultory war between the two countries, in which each did much damage to the other without either obtaining any decisive advantage, continued for some years. At length a peace was patched up by the intervention of the King of France. Murcia was abandoned to the Infante Alfonso. The king's daughter Isabel was given in marriage to her cousin King Jayme of Aragon. Don Juan, the king's rebellious brother, was driven to take refuge with the Moors in Africa—sometimes engaged in their civil wars, sometimes joining with them in their attacks upon Christian Spain.

King Sancho, the Valiant—who earned that title by his prowess in the field—in the brief intervals of legitimate war allowed him by his Christian kinsmen and competitors, gained some important places from the Moors in Andalusia. He conquered Tarifa in 1292—a strong frontier town on the coast, at the furthest extremity of Spain—which dangerous post, fronting Murcia, was committed to the charge of Alonso de Guzman, the first of that noble name so famous in Spanish history. His story is connected with a deed of exalted virtue worthy of the classic ages of old Iberian and Roman heroism. Don Alonso, who had pledged his honour to the king that he would hold Tarifa for a twelvemonth, found himself beleaguered by an overwhelming host of Moors, serving with whom was the recreant Prince Juan, the king's brother. Being unable to overcome the stout resistance made by the governor, the besiegers brought out Don Alonso's eldest son, a lad of nine years, who had been entrusted to Prince Juan's keeping as a page, and threatened to slay him before his father's eyes if the town was not surrendered. But Don Alonso made answer that he held the town for his lord the king, and would yield it to none else. Then drawing his dagger he threw it to the Moors from the top of the wall, crying : “ Kill him with this if you will, for I would rather have honour without a son than a son without honour.” Whereupon the traitor Prince Juan plunged the dagger in the boy's throat, in a rage at being foiled in his base purpose. When the king heard of this deed he honoured Don Alonso with the name of *El Bueno* or *The Good*, which was borne hence-

forth by all his posterity—however little the Guzmans, in after years, who came to be Dukes of Medina Sidonia, were deserving of the epithet. It is curious to read in the ballads that this same patriotic hero Alonso the Good was, shortly before this date, in the employment of Aben Yussuf, the Moorish king, at the “customary wages”—distinguishing himself, in a service evidently not considered unbecoming a Christian knight, by slaying a terrible serpent and training a fierce lion, so that he filled all the land with wonder and envy of his singular prowess.

After a distracted reign of eleven years, Sancho IV. gave place to his eldest son Fernando, who being only nine years old at his accession in 1295, the regency of the kingdom was entrusted to the queen-mother.

The crown rested as uneasily on Fernando's head as it had done on his father's. A new crop of pretenders to the throne and claimants of the king's estates sprang up, greatly favoured by the disorder into which the country had fallen during a long course of civil war. The irrepressible Don Juan, the king's uncle, aided by the Moorish King of Granada, asserted his claim to the crown. The Count de Haro laid his hands on Biscay as being a family estate. The King of Portugal took advantage of his neighbour's helplessness to seize some frontier places. The ever-disloyal Laras, commissioned by the queen-regent to recover Biscay and furnished with moneys for the purpose, went over, with characteristic perfidy, to the rebels. Amidst all these troubles the hapless queen-mother found a new enemy in her partner in the regency, the Infante Enrique, the young king's

grand-uncle. The climax of the country's misfortunes seemed to be reached in 1296, when a league was formed between the La Cerdas, the Laras, the rebel princes, and Aragon, under the sanction of France, Portugal, and Granada, to divide the patrimony of Fernando IV. among them. The Infante Juan, the king's uncle, was to have Leon, with Galicia and Seville; to Alfonso de la Cerda was allotted Castile; and to the King of Aragon, the province of Murcia.

The fortunes of Fernando IV., himself a man of small ability and of feeble character, were now reduced to their lowest point, and with treachery in the innermost circle of the king's advisers in the person of the co-regent, the Infante Enrique, who diverted the money voted by the Cortes for the defence of the state into his own pockets, there seemed to be no way of safety open to the distracted country. Don Juan was proclaimed King of Leon, and Don Alfonso de la Cerda, King of Castile. While the Aragonese invaded the kingdom from the east, the Portuguese seized several fortresses on the frontier, the Moorish King of Granada profiting by the opportunity to ravage all Christian Andalusia. The kingdom was saved by the fortitude and devotion of the queen-mother, aided by dissensions among the king's enemies. The Pope intervened to draw Aragon away into the Sicilian war; while Portugal was induced to desert her allies and make peace with King Fernando, which was cemented by a double marriage between the royal families. The troublous and inglorious reign of Fernando IV. came to a

king. The post was sought by the king's uncle, Don Pedro, and his grand-uncle, Don Juan; as well as by the two queens, his grandmother and his mother.

The contest was attempted to be settled by the Cortes, in 1313, but the deputies voting equally between the rival rulers, they fell to war. Eventually they agreed to govern jointly. The two regents then engaged in a war against Granada, which began auspiciously; but falling out with each other through jealousy their end was disastrous. In a great battle fought near Granada, in 1319, Ismail, the Moorish king, won a decisive victory over the Christians, the two princes being slain. Once more there was a struggle for the guardianship of the young king, which ended in the office being shared by two members of the royal house—Don Felipe, the king's uncle, and Don Juan Manuel, a direct descendant of San Fernando. Then a third claimant for the office appeared in the person of another Don Juan, surnamed *El Tuerto*, or The Crooked—son of the prince of the same name who had been so great a disturber of the realm in the previous reigns. Fernando de la Cerda also again appeared on the scene;¹ and once more there was a general hurly-burly, till Alfonso, in 1324, summoned the Cortes at Valladolid and assumed the sovereignty,

¹ The La Cerdas, as representatives of the elder son of Alfonso X., never ceased to urge their claims to the crown. Long after they had become reconciled to the throne, the head of their house, the Duke of Medina Celi, on the accession of a new king, would put in an appearance and formally claim the title, for which offence he would be fined in a nominal sum. The farce was kept up down to the accession of Fernando VII., in 1808.

being then in his thirteenth year. Juan *el Tuerto* continuing to disturb the kingdom, he was got rid of at last by assassination. Juan Manuel, who made for himself a name in letters as the author of a collection of tales called *El Conde Lucanor* and as a munificent patron of learning, and was also conspicuous as a soldier, winning many battles over the Moors, remained for some time longer in open rebellion, but was reconciled to the king at last and died in his service.

Alfonso's campaign against the Moors in Granada is almost the only distinctive episode of his reign. He was one of the most warlike of the kings, and his victories, though hardly earned and barren of results, were honourable to his character as a soldier and contributed no little to the final deliverance. The fortress of Gibraltar, whose importance seems scarcely to have been realised in these times, had been taken from the Moors, in 1309, by Alonso *el Bueno*. It was recovered by Mahommed IV., the King of Granada, to the great scandal of Christian Spain—the commander of the force sent to its relief diverting the money which should have paid his soldiers to his own uses. Alfonso XI. thereupon set out with a large army to attempt the recovery of the lost fortress, whose value seems to have been now, for the first time, recognised. Although he defeated the Moors in a great battle, Alfonso was compelled to retire from the siege, being recalled to the affairs of his own kingdom, which was now being exposed to the attacks of his neighbour of Navarre. Having beaten the Navarrese, Alfonso then turned his arms

against Portugal, ravaging the southern provinces of that kingdom, while the Portuguese king was doing the same to Alfonso's northern province of Galicia. The Pope at last having intervened to make peace between the two Christian kings, Alfonso resumed his more legitimate work of fighting the enemies of the faith. The Moors, having been reinforced by a large body of Africans sent by the Emperor of Morocco, thought fit to violate the truce which had been made between Castile and Granada by an invasion of the territory of the former. At this time the city of Xeres was the furthest outpost of the Christian dominion towards Granada, while Algeciras, in the bay facing Gibraltar, was regarded as the key of the Moorish position—being strongly fortified and garrisoned by a large army under Abu-Melik, son of Abu-l-Hassan, the Emperor of Morocco, with the flower of the Moorish chivalry. Abu-Melik opened the campaign by sending out a body of horse from Algeciras to ravage the country of the Christians, following up his advance guard with his whole army, and taking town after town until he had reached the suburbs of Xeres. In a skirmish which took place near Alcalá de los Gazules, Abu-Melik was surprised and died of exhaustion—or, as the chronicler says, of fear—which inflamed the wrath of the Moorish Emperor, his father, and made him more than ever resolved to clear the land of the Christians. In a great battle at sea, Alfonso's fleet was destroyed and the Castilian admiral slain, by a superior Moorish armament. The Emperor of Morocco himself in person, with a vast army, laid

siege to Tarifa, a frontier town, which had been in possession of the Castilians since 1290. King Alfonso summoned all his principal noblemen and prelates to a solemn council at Seville, in 1340, and seated in state, with his crown on one side and his sword on the other, made a speech to the assembly, in which he laid before his estates very candidly the whole situation, asking their advice as to what he should do, "for he was but one man, and without all of them could do no more than one man could do." And some of them, the king being absent, said that Abu-l-Hassan had a very great force of men, and that it was certain the King of Granada would aid him with all his power; and that those who were with the King of Castile were not so many as the fourth part of the Moors; and that they should take care not to put their lord the king into a peril so great; for were he beaten, so great was the host of the Moors, and so strong, so cruel, and so stubborn was the King Abu-l-Hassan, that in a very little time a very great portion of the Christians' land would be subdued; therefore, it was better to make some composition with the King Abu-l-Hassan and give him up that town of Tarifa; and if they could so arrange with the Moors, it was better than fighting with such a multitude of people. The manlier counsel, however, prevailed, which was for giving succour to Tarifa, inviting the Kings of Aragon and of Portugal to render their aid to preserve the town from the infidels. The King of Portugal responded to the appeal in a manner worthy of his reputation as a loyal and faithful knight, coming in person to Seville. The King of Aragon sent his

ships, under his admiral, to cruise off the coast. The allied army, under the two kings, encountered the Moorish host on the banks of the Salado, a little river near Tarifa; and here was fought, on the 28th of October, 1340, one of the most important battles which ever took place between the Christians and the Moors, in which the latter were defeated with enormous loss. Cannon are said to have been used in this battle, for the first time in Europe. One of the sons of the Moorish Emperor was slain, and his whole *harem* captured. Abu-l-Hassan himself might have been taken had the Aragonese admiral done his duty; but though the fleet was maintained, as the Castilian chronicler avers, with the moneys of Castile, the Aragonese not only would not stir out of his ship, but refused to let any of his crew give aid to the Christians.

The fame of this great victory, which finished the work began at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, was blazed throughout Christendom, to the great increase of King Alfonso's glory. Great numbers of Christians from all parts of Europe came to swell Alfonso's host, somewhat to the inconvenience of his quartermasters and his commissariat; for, as usual, but insufficient provision had been made for the support of the army, so that the victory could not be followed up. King Alfonso sent news of this triumph of the true faith to Pope Benedict, at Avignon, together with some living trophies of the day—a train of Moorish captives, with the flags taken in the battle, and the horse he had himself bestriden, with the pennant which had been borne before him—asking

the Holy Father for some aid towards his maintenance. To the last point there seems to have been no response, though great rejoicings were made and thanksgivings offered for the signal triumph which the Cross had won over the Crescent.

The next enterprise which engaged King Alfonso was the capture of Algeciras, which had served the invading Moors for a landing-place ever since the days of Tarik. Being situated within a day's journey of the opposite port of Ceuta, it was of enormous value to the enemy in Africa, as the Spanish end of the bridge across the Straits. The Moors being still masters at sea, the Africans could land at their pleasure in aid of their fellow-religionists. King Alfonso seems to have had some difficulty in persuading his estates of the advisability of attacking the enemy at Algeciras, so formidable were the defences of that place, which was furnished with all the newest engines of war. At last, in 1342, the king was enabled to gather an army to encompass Algeciras on the land side. The King of Aragon withdrawing his fleet caused much inconvenience, for the Moors were enabled to draw supplies from the other side of the water. The siege, if it can be so called, lasted for over twenty months, and is one of the most memorable in the annals of Spain. The besiegers seem to have been exposed to privations and hardships quite as great as those suffered by the besieged. The defence was as obstinate as the attack was valiant, and so great a noise did the fighting make throughout Christendom that numerous gallant knights from all parts of Europe came to Alfonso's

camp, to be exercised in the art and mystery of battle.¹

Even the restless Don Juan Manuel laid aside for a time his schemes of sedition for the more attractive pursuit of Moor-baiting. Among other distinguished gentlemen who came from foreign parts to help the Christian enterprise, the ancient chronicler especially records "el Conde de Arbi et el Conde de Solusber" (the Earls of Derby and Salisbury), men of high class in the kingdom of England (Edward III. was then the English king), who came to the Moorish war "for the salvation of their souls and to see and know King Alfonso." The two Earls being in Spain, and hearing of the great fight to be fought, took horse and made such great haste to reach the camp as that they left all their companions behind. Of the Earl of Derby it is said that he was of the royal family of England,² while the Earl of Salisbury had lost an eye in one of the many battles he had fought. There came also some nobles from France, such as the Comte de Foix and his brother Roger Bernal, "Viscomte de Castiel-

¹ Chaucer's "verray perfight gentil knight" is distinguished for that—

"In Gernade atte siege hadde he be
Of Algesir."

² This must be Henry, nephew of Thomas of Lancaster beheaded in the Barons' war of 1312, who was son of Edmund, brother to King Edward I. Both the English earls were men of great experience in war. Among the other allies of Alfonso in his wars with the Moors was the good Lord James Douglas, who being on his way to the Holy Land with the heart of Robert Bruce, stopped to do some fighting in Spain. It was in the battle of Teba, in 1328, that Lord James Douglas threw the silver casquet in which he wore the Bruce's heart into the thickest of the fray, saying: "Pass first in fight, as thou wast wont to do, and Douglas will follow thee!"

bon," with several companies of Gascons, to whom the king assigned quarters apart from the Englishmen, seeing that their two nations were then at war. Presently came also the King of Navarre with a small following, but a welcome supply of meal, barley, wine, and bacon. Of some of these foreign auxiliaries the chronicler gives no good report, being especially severe on the Comte de Foix and his brother, who being with difficulty persuaded to head a party which was sent against the walls under cover of a shield—"for up to that time they had essayed no feat of arms since their arrival before Algeciras"—bore themselves so tamely as to give the Moors an occasion for triumph and cause much scandal in the camp. The Comte de Foix, it is complained, was fonder of giving private counsel to the king than of fighting; while his brother would set them laughing by his silly boasts, "without shame and ever to his own enhancement." At last the Comte de Foix declared he would serve no longer unless he was paid, to which the king consented, fearing to lose his contingent of Gascons, assigning two hundred *maravedis* a month for his mess and fifty to his brother. The Comte de Foix and the Viscomte abode but a small time in the camp, departing without beat of drum on some pretext that they had to look after their vassals at home. The King of Navarre also went away on a plea of sickness. The Christians suffered very severely in the last months of the siege from want of food, and though generally successful in their combats in the open field, seem to have been unable to achieve anything against the walls owing to the superiority of

the Moorish archers and engineers. At sea it was with great difficulty that the Genoese were persuaded to remain with their hired ships, which were not strong enough to intercept the passage of reinforcements across the Straits.

At last Algeciras was starved into surrender, Abu-l-Hassan ordering the place to be given up, which was done on March 24, 1344, to the great joy and relief of the Spaniards. A truce of ten years was made between Castile and Granada, which was broken by Alfonso on the pretence that the Moorish king had violated his promise to do him homage. A Castilian army invested Gibraltar, but a plague broke out in the Christian camp of which the king died in 1350, leaving as his heir his only legitimate son Pedro, of whom, if one of his historians is to be credited, his dying father said that he "grieved very bitterly to leave such an inheritor as lord of the kingdom."

The transactions in the neighbouring state of Aragon during this period now demand our attention. King Jayme the Conqueror left as heir to his greatly extended kingdom the favourite of his many sons, Pedro, whose mother was the Hungarian princess, Yolande. Pedro III. was married to Constance, the daughter and heiress of Manfred, the Norman king of Sicily, out of which connection flowed great and troublous issues for Aragon and for Europe—paving the way as it did for the entrance of a Spanish state within the Italian system and the development of the Aragonese dominion by foreign conquest and annexation. Pedro's first years as king were spent in bringing his turbulent barons into obedience and

in settling the quarrels regarding the succession which had broken out during his father's time. How he came to extend the power of Aragon beyond the sea is an episode which, however romantic and notable, belongs rather to the history of Europe than to the story of the Spanish nation. Aragon, having no Moors to subdue within her bounds, being now bordered by Christian states on every side, with Murcia, a province of Castile, as a buffer between her and the sole remaining Mahommedan state of Granada, could expand no otherwise than by those maritime adventures for which her Catalans had always a strong taste. An opportunity was shortly afforded for the entrance of Aragon into the quarrel between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines of Italy, the outcome of which was the conquest of Naples and of Sicily by Charles of Anjou, brother to the King of France, who was aided and abetted by the Pope. Sicily was occupied by the French in 1266. The people of the island, groaning under the tyranny of their conquerors, appealed to Pedro, King of Aragon, for protection, regarding him as their liege lord in virtue of his being the husband of Constance, the daughter of their late king Manfred. Pedro prepared to assert his rights in spite of the fulminations of Rome and the threats of France. Then occurred in 1282 that rising against the French, accompanied by the wholesale massacre known in history as the Sicilian Vespers. The way was thus cleared for the King of Aragon, who got ready a great armament at Barcelona and set sail for Sicily. In order to disguise the real object of the expedition from the Pope, he pre-

tended that it was directed against the Barbary states. Landing on the Sicilian coast Pedro was enthusiastically received and proclaimed King of Sicily. The siege of Messina, then closely invested by the French, was raised, and in a naval fight the fleet of Aragon was victorious over that of France. Charles had to fly from his newly-acquired kingdom, in spite of the support of the Pope, who excommunicated the Aragonese and proclaimed a crusade against King Pedro. The King of France retaliated on Pedro by invading Catalonia at the head of a large army, and taking Gerona and some other strong places—being joined in his enterprise by King Pedro's brother Jayme, the King of Majorca. The invaders were ultimately repelled by land, and the French fleet shattered off the coast by the Aragonese under their famous admiral, Roger de Lauria.

King Pedro III. died in 1285, soon after these events, and was succeeded in Aragon by his eldest son, Alfonso—the crown of Sicily being left to his second son, Jayme. Alfonso was engaged in putting down his uncle, the King of Majorca, when his father died, and he gave great offence to his nobles by not coming back at once to have himself duly proclaimed by the Cortes, before assuming the functions of king in the Balearic Islands. His short reign of five years was chiefly remarkable for an extraordinary development of the power of the great nobles, who insisted upon appointing not only all the king's ministers but his domestic servants, and at whose instance the office of the great Justiciary was elevated into supreme importance. Alfonso was compelled to submit to

these encroachments on his authority for fear of losing the support of the nobles in the war with France and Rome. In his negotiations with his foreign enemies regarding Sicily Alfonso had the assistance of Edward I. of England, whose daughter Eleanor was promised to him for a wife. An interview took place between the two monarchs and the French pretender to Sicily at Conflans, with a view to adjusting all difficulties with the Pope; but the Pope was obstinate, and nothing came of it except that Sicily was confirmed in the possession of Jayme, the King of Aragon's brother.

King Alfonso III. died suddenly soon after, in 1291, and leaving no issue, the double crown of Aragon and Sicily went to Jayme, the second of that name. At the instance of the Pope and the French king Jayme was persuaded to give up his kingdom of Sicily to Charles of Anjou, now King of Naples, receiving in exchange the hand of Charles's daughter and restoration to the favour of Rome. This base bargain, one of the terms of which was that Jayme should use all the forces of Aragon to coerce the people of Sicily who had been so faithful to him, was carried out to the letter. The Sicilians refused to submit to the yoke of Charles of Anjou, and chose for their king Don Fadrique, Jayme's brother. Jayme then collected a large force, with which he passed over into Italy. In the war which ensued between the two brothers the Sicilians bravely maintained their independence; and though the Aragonese were victorious at sea they could gain no footing in the island. Jayme at length abandoned the unnatural

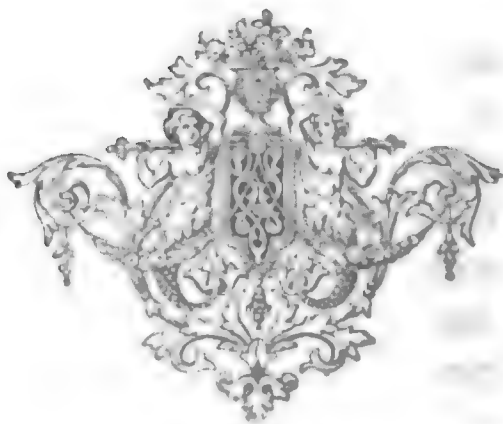
and disgraceful contest, and left the King of Naples to fight his own battles with the Sicilians, upon the pretence that he was wanted at home. Nor in his domestic affairs was he any happier. He joined with the Castilian malcontents in taking up the claim of the La Cerdas, with a view to acquiring Murcia for himself. Afterwards he was reconciled with Fernando IV., the Castilian king, who gave his daughter to be wife to Jayme's eldest son. But the strange behaviour of this young prince very nearly led to a breach between the two crowns. He protested violently against being married to any one, and declared that he would rather give up his right to the crown and enter a cloister. He was dragged almost by force to the altar, and ran away from his bride after the ceremony. It does not appear that his aversion to the marriage state, which gave great scandal to both the courts, arose from any other cause than an unconquerable propensity to the lowest forms of vice on the part of this graceless prince; who, according to his own wishes, was formally deprived of his rights, which were bestowed on his next brother, Alfonso. There is no other event worthy of mention in King Jayme's reign, except that he acquired, at the instance of the Pope and by way of recompence for Sicily, the sovereignty of the islands of Sardinia and Corsica.

This possession involved the next king, Alfonso IV., in much trouble. Instigated by the Genoese, who were jealous rivals of the Catalans in commerce, the Sardinians rose against their new masters. A desultory war between Aragon and the Genoese at

sea continued to rage during all this reign, which was marked by nothing of more importance than a quarrel in the king's family—his heir, Prince Pedro, falling out with his step-mother, who was Leonora, sister to Alfonso XI. of Castile.

Pedro IV. succeeded on his father's death in 1336. His reign was notable for nothing else than a long-continued struggle between the sovereign and the great nobles. The quarrels respecting their several powers were complicated by a dispute between the Aragonese and the Catalonian deputies about the place where the king should be crowned—not the first as it was not the last of the many jealousies between Saragossa and Barcelona. A question also now arose in regard to the succession. Pedro had only a daughter by his Queen Maria of Navarre, and he wished to secure the throne to her, in exclusion of his collateral male heirs. Pedro had contrived to add the clergy to the number of his enemies, by crowning himself instead of receiving the crown from the hands of the Pope's delegate. At a convocation of the estates at Saragossa there was a furious scene of disorder, the hall being filled by the confederate barons and their retainers, who were opposed to the king, and Pedro narrowly escaped with his life. A civil war then devastated the kingdom, which ended after various changes of fortune in the triumph of Pedro, the people suddenly turning round from the side of the nobles, and in consideration of ancient rights being confirmed rallying to the king's party. Pedro, who was as perfidious and cruel as his namesake and contemporary of Castile, lived to reign for more than fifty years, in per-

petual strife either with his subjects, his kinsmen, or his neighbours. His foreign wars were conducted with equal recklessness and unwisdom. He was involved in a struggle with the Genoese for the possession of Sardinia. He tried to regain the island of Sicily, which had passed out of the dominion of Aragon, and he even sent an expedition to the Morea, where a colony of Aragonese was established, to secure the country for himself. But these outside transactions of Aragon have little to do with our story. They rather retarded than assisted the development of Spain. Pedro III. ended his tumultuous and chequered career in 1387.





VIII.

REIGN OF PEDRO THE CRUEL—THE GREAT CIVIL WAR—ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN SPAIN.

(1350–1369.)

WITH Alfonso XI. ended the warrior kings of Castile. Thenceforward, for a hundred years and more, the history of Spain is one of political development rather than increment by conquest from the outside enemy. Under Alfonso's successors, until Isabel the Catholic took up and ended the crusade, the war with the Moors, who were now concentrated within the narrow bounds of the territory of Granada, was suspended, or only fitfully and intermittently waged, in desultory frays and frontier skirmishes. The great design which had never wholly been lost sight of during six centuries and a half—the recovery of the Spanish soil from the Mahommedans—ceased to occupy the attention of the Kings of Castile, who now began to enter into the general field of European policy, as those of Aragon had done some two generations before.

Pedro I., who on his accession to the throne was only in his sixteenth year, was not long in justifying

the gloomy forebodings of his dying father, and in giving proof of the temper which has earned for him his evil name. His first business was to pursue his father's mistress Leonora de Guzman and her eldest son Enrique, whom Alfonso had been with difficulty dissuaded from making his heir. Leonora fled for refuge to her own city of Medina Sidonia. Thence she was drawn, by the treacherous assurances of Albuquerque the king's minister, to Seville, which Pedro had made his capital. Here she was imprisoned, and after being transferred from one fortress to another, was put to death by order of the queen-mother, her rival. Her son Enrique narrowly escaped falling into the same trap. This was the first of a long series of murders, perpetrated in cold blood and with circumstances of perfidy and brutality such as shocked even the hardened sentiment of the Castilians, accustomed as they were to see human life held in light estimation. The *adelantado* of Castile, an officer of the highest rank, was the next of Pedro's victims. He was brought into the presence chamber and there butchered before the king—his body being thrown out of the palace window. The Cortes suggesting that Pedro should take a wife from the royal house of France, the king, who had already become enamoured of the beautiful Maria de Padilla—whose love was the one bright spot in all his life—made choice of Blanche of Bourbon, niece to the French King John. Pedro went to meet his bride at Valladolid, where the marriage was celebrated with much splendour; but left her after two days to return to his mistress Maria de Padilla, in spite of the remonstrances of his

mother and aunt. Poor Blanche, of whom an idle story is told in one of the chronicles that she was bewitched by a certain Jew magician her enemy, who turned her girdle into a great and terrible serpent when the king went to visit her, never had any more of her graceless husband's company. She was shortly afterwards shut up in the fortress of Arévalo where no one was allowed to see her—to the scandal of the whole realm and the great indignation of her people in France. The favourite Albuquerque now fell into disgrace, being replaced by a member of the family of Padilla. To indulge a passing fancy for a beautiful widow, Juana de Castro, Pedro's next freak was to insist upon marrying her—silencing the scruples of the bishops of Avila and Salamanca by declaring that his marriage with Blanche of Bourbon was invalid, and that as king he could marry whom he pleased. Out of the great fear which we are told they had of him the bishops did as they were ordered, and the wedding with Doña de Castro took place publicly at Cuellar, the lady being proclaimed as Queen Juana. After a short time she was abandoned for ever, Pedro mocking her with the trick he had played upon her.

Up to this time Pedro was playing with his half-brothers, the sons of Leonora de Guzman, like a cat with mice—pretending to entrust them with important missions, but laying his schemes for catching them in some act of treachery. The brothers, on their part, were not unequal to the contest. Being despatched to Portugal to inveigle Albuquerque from his retreat in that kingdom, they formed a secret league

with the disgraced favourite in their own interest. Don Fadrique was Master of the Order of Santiago, by virtue of which office he held many strong castles, of which the king vainly tried to possess himself. A desultory civil war now raged throughout the kingdom provoked by Pedro's freaks of tyranny, at the head of which, though not openly in arms, were Don Enrique and his brothers. On the pretence that Queen Blanche was not safe in her prison of Arévalo Pedro ordered her to be taken to the Alcázar of Toledo. On Blanche's arrival in that city she was the object of an extraordinary demonstration on the part of the citizens. They rose in a body against her guards and formed themselves into a league for her protection, joining hands with the malcontent nobles, and sending for Don Fadrique, Fernando de Castro (the brother of Pedro's victim Juana), and Albuquerque to help them with their companies. Even the Queen-mother Maria, who had hitherto sided with her son, took part with the leaguers. Many important cities sent their adhesion to the cause of the insurgents, which was actively favoured by the Infantes of Aragon. The main object of this rising, though it was probably not the sole one, was to compel Pedro to acknowledge his lawful wife Blanche of Bourbon, whom he had treated so foully. Finding his opponents too powerful for him, Pedro resorted to his usual shifts of lying and dissembling, until he had got supplies from his Cortes at Burgos, on the promise of living with Queen Blanche. Then he managed to obtain an entrance into Toledo, the citizens being persuaded that he desired to fulfil his duty to Queen

Blanche ; when his first act was to send her away under a strong guard to a safer prison at Sigüenza.

Once more master of Toledo Pedro began a general slaughter of all those who had lately opposed his will, including the principal citizens and the followers of Don Enrique and Don Fadrique. Afterwards the king went to Toro the chief seat of the leaguers, which through the treachery or the weakness of the townsmen was given up to him, and there, in the presence of the queen, his mother, and of the wife of Don Enrique, he commanded a number of gentlemen to be butchered one after another, so that the queen, at the sight of the blood, fell into a dead faint with her ladies. On recovering, seeing the mutilated corpses round her, she began to cry out loudly, cursing her son the king and declaring that this deed would shame him for ever. And then she got leave to go to her father in Portugal, and so parted mother and son. Many of the barons whom Pedro could not seize, fled into Aragon and joined the king of that country in a war against Castile, which endured for many years.

Don Enrique, the king's eldest half-brother, had fled to France, and thenceforward was at open war with Pedro. But Don Fadrique, another brother, the Master of Santiago, had made his submission to the tyrant and was apparently in his good graces. Having returned to Seville from an expedition against the king's enemies in Murcia, Don Fadrique went to pay his respects to the king, whom he found playing at backgammon in his private chamber in the Alcázar, and was well received. His assassination by the king's

guards in the very presence of the king is a sample of Pedro's way of ridding himself of those whom he feared. Suspecting nothing, the Master went to the apartments of Maria de Padilla, who being, as the chroniclers all agree, tender-hearted and of a good disposition and knowing what was the fate to which he was destined, put on so sad a look that all could guess that something evil was impending. Other hints Don Fadrique received, but either would not or could not profit by them. Going up to where the king lay with other gentlemen of the Court, he found Pedro within shut doors, who presently, appearing at a wicket, called out to his guards to "seize the Master"; then to his archers, "Kill the Master of Santiago!" Then they set upon Don Fadrique, who tried to defend himself, but could not draw his sword, so they slew him with blows on the head. His squires and attendants, who were waiting outside, were also taken and slain. One of them flying for his life sought shelter in the room where Maria de Padilla was with her daughters, and catching hold of the lady Beatrice, tried to interpose her between himself and his assassins. But the king caused Doña Beatrice to be taken from his arms, and himself struck the man with a poniard, and left him to be butchered by one of his guards. Then the king returned to where the Master was lying, and finding that he was still breathing, drew his dagger and gave it to a servant, and made him deal the death-stroke.

Many other individual murders did Pedro order, of those who had opposed his will, especially in the matter of Queen Blanche, throughout the towns

which had been most disobedient. He sent an emissary to Biscay to kill Don Tello, another of his half-brothers, whom he even followed in person in a ship, when Don Tello took a fishing-boat and escaped to St. Jean de Luz, in the district of Bayonne, which was then English territory.

An attempt was made in succeeding ages to clear the memory of Pedro the Cruel—to prove at least that though he robbed and murdered the nobles he spared the people, that he was a lover of justice and a defender of popular rights. Philip II., who can hardly be said to be altogether a competent witness of what constituted a just and clement monarch, complimented Pedro with the name of *El Justiciero*. The balladists and the dramatists, including Calderon, have also taken a favourable view of Pedro's character. He might have been given to blood-letting on too light occasion, but he was the mildest-mannered man, when all was said, who would see no murder done by others. Allowing that Pedro de Ayala, his chief chronicler—who was however an eye-witness of most of the deeds he records—was not entirely without prejudice as being afterwards a servant of Enrique of Trastamara, it is impossible to clear Pedro's memory of a load of iniquity, of base perfidy, meanness, and wanton and inhuman brutality, greater than belongs to any other monarch in modern history, except Ivan the Fourth of Russia. Unfortunately for the theory which seeks to whitewash this monster, who seems to have shed blood for the animal gratification it gave him, every part of his history is consistent with his taste for cruelty. He

was as devoid of generosity as of pity, as reckless of the truth as of life, as greedy of gain as of blood—a false knight, a perjured husband, a brutal son—not even loyal to the love which was the one bright gleam in his dark history—the love for the hapless Maria de Padilla, of whom there is none to speak a word of ill. He has been likened to our Richard III., but the comparison is most unjust to the Plantagenet, who never killed but on provocation and out of deep policy.¹ Some of Pedro's actions are indeed scarcely consistent with a belief in his sanity. Returning from his fruitless chase of Don Tello to Bilbao, he sent for Don Juan, his cousin, who claimed the lordship of Biscay in virtue of his wife, and had him butchered out of sheer wantonness—setting his servants to take away Don Juan's dagger as in a joke, and the chamberlain to embrace him so that he might not approach the king, while an archer struck Juan on the head with a mace. Then the corpse was cast out of the window, while the king cried out aloud to the Biscayans, "There take your Lord of Biscay whom you asked for!" He then caused to be murdered his own aunt Doña Leonora, of Aragon, mother of the above Don Juan, for nothing but because Aragon would not make peace with him—being compelled to get Moors to do the job, as no Castilian could be induced to undertake it, says King Pedro IV. of Aragon in his memoirs. A certain priest coming before him to say that St. Domingo had ap-

¹ Richard III. was a direct descendant of King Pedro, being the great-grandson of Edmund of York, who married Isabel, Pedro's daughter.

peared to him in a dream and counselled him to tell the king that he would meet his death at the hands of his brother Enrique, Pedro insisted that the priest must have been prompted by Don Enrique himself, and so ordered the poor dreamer to be burnt alive. The murder of the Archbishop of Santiago, when the king himself was at the lowest ebb of his fortunes and his subjects at the height of their disgust and rage at his tyrannies, was an item of almost inconceivable brutality in this tale of horrors. For no other motive apparently than because the Archbishop held some important castles which Pedro desired for himself, he caused the prelate to be treacherously slain at the door of his cathedral. But the climax of Pedro's iniquities—a crime of incredible meanness and brutishness, for which there is no parallel in the annals of Moordom itself—was his betrayal and murder of the Moorish king, Abu Said, of Granada, who came to implore Pedro's help against his rival Mahommed-ibn-Yussuf. Having his richest jewels with him (among which was the famous ruby now the chief gem of the English regal crown), the Red King, as he was called, took his way as a suppliant to the court of Pedro at Seville, attended by three hundred courtiers and two hundred footmen. The king received the Moor with fair words, and ordered him and his suite to be lodged handsomely. Then learning of the rich jewels which they possessed, Pedro sent a party of armed men, who seized the persons of the Red King and his attendants, and relieved them of their jewels and money. The King of Granada was despoiled even of his raiment, and

then, meanly clad, was led out into the plain adjoining the city and mounted upon an ass, and with him thirty-six of his Moors, who were then severally done to death, on the pretence of having betrayed King Pedro in his war with Aragon. Abu Said, when he received the first blow and recognised his doom, cried out to Pedro in his Arabic, "Oh, what a scurvy chivalry is this thou hast done!"

In truth, in all the history of the transactions between Christian and Moor there is to be found no deed so foul as this, which has left an indelible stain on Spanish knighthood. But there was no crime from which the tyrant recoiled. The innocent Blanche of Bourbon, whose young life he had already blighted and abused with every conceivable outrage, was among his victims. Jealous of the sympathy she had won from his subjects, Pedro resolved upon her murder. The governor of the castle of Medina Sidonia, in which the queen was imprisoned, was directed to "give her herbs so that she should die." But the governor, Don Iñigo Ortiz, to his great honour, refused to do the king's will, and paid with his life for his loyalty. Another agent was found of a more pliable conscience, who either by poison or by steel rid the young queen of her life, she being then but twenty-five years old, and as beautiful as she was devout. But neither age nor sex had any power to stay the tyrant's hand when he was in the mood for killing. Shortly after the death of Queen Blanche, Maria de Padilla herself died, who alone of all human beings seems to have had any power over Pedro's heart. Of her, whom the king declared to be his

true and lawful wife before the Cortes of Seville, recognising her children as his only heirs, it must be said that all tongues report well. She alone of all Pedro's numerous mistresses is without reproach—a gentle and pious lady whom all men regarded, whom the king himself treated, as his real wife. In his offences against the sex, the *Justiciero* was no more burdened by scruples of delicacy than in his murders. One lady, Urraca Osorio, for refusing his addresses, was burnt alive in the market-place of Seville. Another disfigured herself in order to escape his attentions.

A kind of stupor seems to have possessed the people at these reckless doings of their king, which was brought to a climax by the murder of Queen Blanche. The nobles fled for their lives to Aragon to take part with the Count of Trastamara, though they loved him little more than they loved his brother. The towns fell away from Pedro one after another; even the communes whom the king favoured being revolted by the mad deeds, which threatened not only to dismember the state and destroy all law and liberty, but to bring down the wrath of foreign nations upon Spain. The King of France was furious at the outrage offered to a member of his royal house in the person of Blanche. Although Charles V. could not openly espouse the cause of Enrique, being occupied at home in looking after the English, he permitted his soldiers to serve in the expedition against Castile which was organised in Aragon under the celebrated Constable Bertrand du Guesclin and other French leaders. After various

turns of fortune in the civil war which followed, Pedro—who had hitherto been successful, less because the cause was his than because it was a national one against Aragon—was driven by the allies from place to place until all Castile was lost, and the cities of Burgos and Toledo had recognised his brother Enrique as king. In vain did King Pedro, who now had lost his only son Alfonso and had procured his eldest daughter Beatrice, by Maria de Padilla, to be acknowledged his heiress, seek for help from Portugal, sending Beatrice there with a large marriage portion to be wife to the Portuguese heir-apparent, Fernando. He himself, compelled to quit Seville by a rising of the city—the last which had clung to him—took refuge in Portugal. But the Portuguese would have none of him, his daughter, or his treasure—returning the two latter with an uncivil message that neither were wanted, Castile having proclaimed Enrique as her king. It was with difficulty that Pedro obtained leave from his uncle, the King of Portugal, to pass through his territory into Galicia, which some of the nobles still held for him. Stopping at Santiago to murder the Archbishop (who had been one of the first to invite him to the province) in the manner already related, Pedro took ship at Coruña, to sail for Bayonne—there to entreat the help of Edward, Prince of Wales, who was Governor of Aquitaine for his father, King Edward III.

Then followed a remarkable change of fortune for Pedro, and a romantic episode in the story of Spain, the subject of some of the most stirring chapters in the chronicle of Froissart. The Black Prince, England

being then at truce with France, having heard of the entrance of the redoubtable Du Guesclin and the hereditary enemies of his country into the quarrel on the side of Enrique, naturally embraced with ardour the cause of Pedro. He could not be expected to be a very severe judge of Pedro as a ruler. He had probably never heard of all his misdeeds. He knew him only as the legitimate King of Spain, who had been driven out of his land by his bastard brother with the help of the French free lances. The adventure was in every way most tempting to a warrior of Prince Edward's temperament and renown in arms. The swords of his good knights were rusting for want of use ; and it was more than ten years since Poitiers was fought. The King of Spain bestowed on him the lordship of Biscay (having sent secret orders to the Biscayans not to admit the foreigner), besides half a million of golden florins for the support of his army, and the great ruby he had feloniously taken from the person of the Red King for the prince himself. Doubtless the prospect of "Castles in Spain" to be won by the sword was not without its influence on the English and Gascon knights, who formed the Court of the Black Prince. Don Enrique had already been most liberal of his donations on the other side. To Bertrand du Guesclin, who by virtue of his great renown in arms was chosen captain of the free companies, was assigned Don Enrique's own Countship of Trastamara, with the town of Molina and other valuable fiefs. To Sir Hugh de Calverley, an Englishman who found himself by some strange chance on that side, was given the lordship of Carrion ; to

every man-at-arms of note, some of whom were of distinguished lineage and rank, including a Marshal of France, some town or castle, so that from this time men began to speak of *chateaux en Espagne*, to express the goods of fortune in expectancy.

The Black Prince crossed the Pyrenees by the pass of Roncesvalles in February, 1367, halting at Logroño, where he expected to find the supplies which had been promised by King Pedro. But he was disappointed, as have been all who relied upon Spanish succour, which comes, according to the national proverb, "either late or never." The English army suffered greatly from want of food, but were encouraged by their leaders to hope that they would be able to furnish themselves at the expense of the enemy. On the 2nd of April the two armies met in battle array near the village of Navarrete, within a few miles of the spot where Wellington beat the French under Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Jourdan, on the 21st of June, 1813. The forces were most unequal, for while the Prince of Wales had under him no more than 30,000 men, hungry and footsore (Mariana says 20,000), the Count of Trastamara had 80,000 French, Castilians, and Aragonese. The Englishmen, though few in number, were highly trained and exercised in war. "There was not in the Prince's army," says Chandos Herald, in his metrical story of the fight, "one who was not as hardy and as bold as a lion; nor might men compare with them. Oliver or Roland." The leaders on each side were men of the highest renown in war, the Black Prince being regarded as the greatest warrior of the age, the "mirror of

chivalry," who by his valour in arms, no less than by his prudence, wisdom, and good generalship, had earned an extraordinary reputation throughout Europe. With him were his brother, John of Gaunt the Duke of Lancaster, Sir John Chandos, the Constable of Guienne (who acted as chief of the staff to the Black Prince), Sir Oliver de Clisson, the Count of Armagnac, and many other captains of note, English and Gascon. On the side of Don Enrique were Bertrand du Guesclin, the Captal de Buch, Count Gaston de Foix, and the Marshal d'Andreghen, with Enrique's two brothers, Tello and Sancho.¹ Finding themselves exceeded in number by more than two to one, the adherents of Don Enrique disregarded the prudent advice of Du Guesclin, which was to draw the English farther into the interior so that they might perish of famine, and attacked the Prince of Wales with great fury. The Spaniards under Don Tello were the first to attack and the first to fly. The Aragonese slingers and cross-bowmen caused much destruction in the English ranks, and the French companies made a stout fight. By midday, however, the Black Prince had gained a great victory—the enemy losing, according to Froissart, 17,500 men, including many chiefs of note, French and Spanish. Bertrand du Guesclin himself with the Captal de Buch, Don Sancho (the Count of Trastamara's brother), the Marshal d'Andreghen, the Master of Santiago, and a great number of the principal nobles of Castile and of Aragon, were

¹ Sir Hugh Calverley, like a good liegeman, preferred his duty to his Prince to his countship of Carrion, and went over with four hundred lances to join the English before the battle.

taken prisoners ; some of whom fell into the power of King Pedro and were at once put to death. Don Enrique himself with difficulty escaped with a few followers into Aragon, not deeming himself safe till he had reached Avignon, where he sought shelter with the Pope Urban V. The Pope however would not see him, "for they all," the Spanish chronicler says, "feared to anger the Prince of Wales, so powerful did they hold him then."

The first act of King Pedro, after the battle was over, was to demand his captives of the Black Prince, so that he might put them to death—offering to pay him a ransom for them. But the English Prince refused, saying that for all the money in the world he would not give up his prisoners taken in lawful war, though if the king named any who had been properly sentenced to death before the battle, he would deliver them up. King Pedro replied, that if he had known this was to be he would rather have lost his kingdom, for now he had lost his treasure and given his help to the Prince for nothing. To which the Prince retorted angrily in this manner: "Sir cousin, to me it appears that you have now a method of recovering your kingdom more forcible than you had when you possessed it ; and hast ruled it such wise that you had to lose it. And I counsel you to cease from compassing these deaths, and to search for some way of gaining the good will of the lords, the cavaliers, and gentlemen, the cities and towns of your kingdom ; for should you govern otherwise, as you did before, you stand in great peril of forfeiting your kingdom and your person, and of

arriving at such a pass that neither my lord and father, the King of England, nor I, shall be able to serve you." King Pedro departed in great wrath at his scheme of vengeance being thus frustrated, and thenceforth there seems to have been no good will between him and the Black Prince, especially as the king tried to evade all his pledges respecting the moneys to be paid to the Prince's troops, and the castles to be bestowed on Sir John Chandos and other of the leaders of the army which had restored to him his throne. The Prince of Wales went no farther with his host than Burgos—some say to Valladolid—whence he turned back home to Bordeaux, to die of the distemper which he had caught in Navarre, as a consequence of his privations and hardships in the campaign.

It is pleasant to turn from this ill-conditioned king, his barbarities and perjuries, to an episode of true chivalry, illustrative of the relations between the Black Prince and his honourable enemy. According to the usages of war Bertrand du Guesclin was a prisoner at ransom—the sum to be fixed by his conqueror; but the Prince sent him a complimentary message averring that so great was the value of this illustrious knight, and so signal had been his services to his country, that it were better to retain him in captivity, during the prospect of war between France and England, than receive any sum of money for his deliverance. Du Guesclin replied, acknowledging the Prince's courtesy in holding him at so high a price, and declaring that since it was so, he was more honoured in his confinement than he

would be in his deliverance. Upon this the Prince returned an answer that Bertrand was at liberty to ransom himself, and in regard to the amount of ransom, it might be such as the prisoner himself chose to fix, for however small it was he would demand no more ; for Sir Bertrand should understand that he was not detained for any fear of him the English had. Then when all supposed that the Constable would name some small sum for his ransom so that he might gain his freedom at once, Bertrand replied, that though a poor knight, without gold or money, he would name a hundred thousand gold francs for himself, and give good security for the payment. At which they all marvelled, the Prince at Sir Bertrand's greatness of heart, and they at the confidence the prisoner had in his king and fellow nobles. So Bertrand was released and the ransom was duly paid—to the glory of chivalry and the exaltation of the honour of both these illustrious knights.

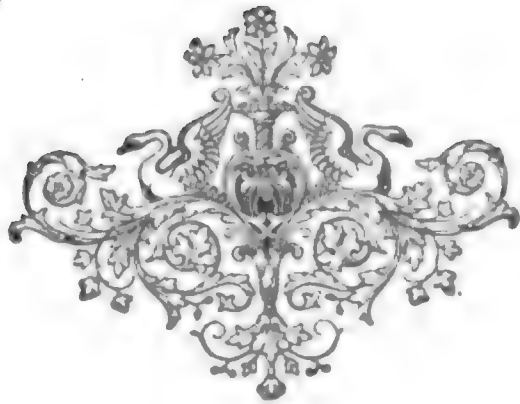
Pedro recovered his kingdom as quickly as he had lost it, but disgusting his allies by his perfidy and his cruelty, they left him to fight his own battles in future. Enrique, when he heard of the Black Prince's departure, once more entered the field against his rival, and aided by supplies of money from the Pope and the King of France, invaded the Castilian territory—the troops sent against him secretly conniving at his enterprise. He was joined by all his old supporters, and quickly made himself master of Burgos and some of the principal towns of the North. Once more we are told that the communes stood by Pedro,

in spite of his flagrant misdeeds, while the barons and the gentry were for Enrique ; but it is probable that this was less through affection than fear. In order to recapture Cordova, which city had declared for his brother, Pedro was compelled to seek the aid of the Moorish King of Granada, who sent a large force to his assistance. The enterprise failed, through lack of confidence in each other on the part of the allies. Toledo still remained loyal to the king, and it was while he was engaged in collecting a force for its relief that Pedro met his doom. Bertrand du Guesclin had now returned from France with six hundred lances, and was once more in the service of Enrique. Pedro was shut up with a scanty following in the castle of Montiel in La Mancha. Here one of his knights opened a secret correspondence with the French leader, offering him, on behalf of his master, a large bribe in land and money if Du Guesclin would help Pedro to escape. The proposal was communicated by Du Guesclin to Enrique, at whose suggestion a plot was arranged by which Pedro was to be drawn into Du Guesclin's tent, on pretext of arranging the terms of a treaty. The transaction can hardly be regarded as otherwise than disgraceful to the memory of Du Guesclin, whatever may have been Pedro's faults and whatever the temptation to Enrique. Nor does the famous French knight come out any better in the scene that followed upon his treachery, whichever version of the story is to be believed. Pedro accompanied by some of his knights went out of his castle of Montiel at night, relying upon the assurances of safety given him by Du Guesclin ; and

dismounting from his palfrey entered the tent of the Breton knight. While waiting for Du Guesclin there entered, doubtless by a preconcerted scheme, his brother Enrique, fully armed. At first, it is said, Enrique did not recognise Pedro. One of the Frenchmen calling out, "Look, this is your enemy!"—still Enrique doubted, until Pedro cried, "I am, I am!" Then Enrique knew him and struck him with his dagger in the face, and they fell to the ground together in a close embrace. Then Enrique stabbed his brother several times in the body till he died. Froissart gives another, and more particular and picturesque account of the scene, making the two brothers fling scandal each on the other's mother, after which they grappled, and Pedro being the stronger got Enrique down upon a couch, and drawing his poniard would have killed him if the Vicomte de Rocaberti had not seized the king by the leg and turned him over, so that Enrique got uppermost, who then drew a long dagger and plunged it into Pedro's body—the bystanders helping him to the mortal stroke. Two English gentlemen who were with Pedro, Sir Ralph Holmes, called the Green Squire, and James Rowland, in defending Pedro were also slain—the Spaniards making their jokes upon their king's body, and leaving it for three days unburied. A third account, in the ballads, which we would fain not believe as it is the most discreditable to Du Guesclin, makes the Constable himself interfere in the struggle, turning Pedro over so that Enrique might kill him, while he stood aside and said, "*Ni quito rey ni pongo rey, pero ayudo á mi señor*" (I neither make king nor mar king, but I aid my

master)—the first part of which saying has passed into a common proverb.

Thus miserably perished by a shameful fratricide—a fate not unfitting the man whose hands were red with the blood of his own kin—Pedro, who is branded of all posterity as *The Cruel*.





IX.

THE DYNASTY OF TRASTAMARA — ENRIQUE II. — JUAN I.—ENRIQUE III.—AFFAIRS OF ARAGON.

(1369-1412.)

UPON the death of Pedro the Cruel Enrique was freed from all native competitors for the crown of Castile, though being of illegitimate birth he had no just claim to the throne. The lawful heirs were undoubtedly the three daughters of Pedro who had been legitimised by the Cortes—one of whom, Costanza, was married to John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, and another, Isabel, to Edmund, Duke of York, his brother. After them came Fernando, the King of Portugal, who was a grandson of Beatrice, the daughter of Sancho IV. But the Castilians were not likely to choose a stranger, above all a Portuguese, for their king, however little they loved Enrique, and hereditary rights were of small value in those disjointed times unless backed up by superior force. By the aid chiefly of his French mercenaries, a large number of whom he had retained in his pay, Enrique—who was not wanting in energy of character though otherwise almost as cruel and perfidious as his predecessor—

managed to secure the adhesion of the principal cities of Castile, though Galicia and a great part of Leon declared for the King of Portugal. In the war which ensued with Portugal, backed up by Granada and by the ever-changeable Pedro IV. of Aragon, who claimed some frontier towns as payment for his services in the late civil war, Enrique obtained some advantages, recovering the towns on his western border and driving back the Portuguese on Lisbon. The important fortress and seaport of Algeciras, however, which had cost his father so much trouble to take, was recovered by the Moors, who took advantage, as usual, of the dissensions among the Castilians to extend their conquests, regaining much ground in Andalusia which had been lost in the previous reigns.

Despairing at last of securing the succession for himself, and his fleet being destroyed at sea by the Castilians, King Fernando of Portugal retired from the field in favour of a new competitor, the English Duke of Lancaster, who claimed to be King of Castile in virtue of his wife Costanza. At this time Enrique was in close alliance with France, and it was perhaps as much to divert him from intervening in the French interest in Gascony as with any serious idea of obtaining Castile for himself that the Duke of Lancaster prepared to assert his pretensions in person. Enrique had sent a force to besiege Bayonne, then in the English possession, and, moreover, had joined his ships to the French in ravaging the English coasts, harrying various seaports in the Channel, and desolating the "Isla Duyc" (the Isle of Wight). It does not appear that the Duke of Lancaster was much in

earnest in his claims ; for though he assumed the title of King of Castile and of Leon, and bore their arms on his shield, and signed deeds in that name still extant, under the date 1372, the preparations he made for the invasion of Spain were found to be required for the defence of the English dominion in Guienne. In 1375 a truce was made between France and England, to which the King of Castile was a party. In the next year died the Black Prince, the hope and strong arm of the English and the terror of their enemies. Enrique, now secure on his throne, retained peaceful possession of it till his death in 1379—occupying himself in his last years in confirming his dynasty by marriage with the neighbouring families of Portugal and Aragon. It had been his intention, says his chronicler, had he lived, to have equipped a great armada, with which he would have recovered the mastery of the Straits from the Moors, after which he would have invaded the Moorish kingdom by land with three great armies, one under himself and one under each of his two sons, Juan and Alfonso, and so made an end of the Moors. But death prevented the execution of this great enterprise, for which Enrique never found time in his life, having lost during his turbulent reign more ground than he gained for the Christian kingdom.

Juan I., who succeeded his father, came to the throne under happier auspices than most of his predecessors had done—there being none to contest his right, and the nobles, worn out and impoverished by the long civil wars, being at rest. King Juan renewed the alliance his father had made with the French, and

aided them in their wars against England, vexing the English greatly by sea, and sending his galleys even up the Thames, where never till then had an enemy's ship been seen. As a consequence of this unfriendly disposition to the English, the claims of the Duke of Lancaster to the crown of Castile were revived. A treaty was made between the English and Portugal by which the latter power agreed to co-operate on behalf of the Duke of Lancaster. Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, the Duke's brother (who was himself married to the youngest daughter of the late King Pedro), landed at Lisbon with a thousand men-at-arms and as many archers. Discord, however, soon broke out between the King of Portugal and his allies, whose behaviour, according to the native authorities, seems to have been of the rudest. King Fernando was persuaded to patch up a peace with King Juan, giving his daughter in marriage to the Castilian monarch. Among other conditions of the treaty was one that the English force under the Earl of Cambridge should be sent home in King Juan's ships at the expense of Castile. Another condition, significant of the jealousy between the two kingdoms, was that the King of Castile should have no share in the administration of Portugal in right of his wife. Fernando dying soon after without sons King Juan, oblivious of his engagements, proceeded to take possession of Portugal in his own name. He was at first supported by the queen-mother and by some of the nobles, but the people would have no Spaniard for their king, and declared for Don Joam (Juan) the Master of Avis—the illegitimate son of their king, Pedro I., by the celebrated Inez de Castro. He was

at first proclaimed Protector of the kingdom, and vigorously repelled an invasion by the Castilian king. Succeeding in recovering most of the fortified places from Juan, whose incapacity in the field was as conspicuous as his imbecility and faithlessness in the affairs of state, the Master of Avis was made king by the voice of the Cortes assembled at Coimbra. Under the title of Joam II. he became the second founder of the Portuguese Monarchy. While engaged in assembling a great army to conquer Portugal the Castilian king received an urgent message from his ally, King Charles VI. of France, saying that he was preparing to pass over with all his force to the island of England, and praying for ships and men to aid him in that enterprise. Juan made answer that as soon as he had recovered the kingdom of Portugal he would come to the help of France. But the destinies did not favour any such conjunction. The Castilians found plenty of employment in endeavouring to possess themselves of Portugal. Marching into the country at the head of an army of thirty-four thousand men, among whom were two thousand French knights of the highest quality, the King of Castile encountered the Portuguese—only ten thousand strong, with a few English knights and archers—who were strongly posted under the direction of some skilful men-at-arms among their foreign allies near the village of Aljubarrota, a little way within the Portuguese frontier. The battle which ensued, on the 14th of August, 1385, is the most glorious in the records of Portuguese chivalry, and may be said to have established the independence of Portugal for ever. The Castilians were utterly

defeated, their French allies, who had borne the burden of the fighting, suffering most severely. Froissart suggests that the Spaniards kept aloof out of pique, because of their king's partiality for the foreigners. Thus said the Castilians of the French: "They have obtained the honour of the van, and hold us so cheap they will not invite us to make a part. They are now drawing themselves up separately. Well, we will do the same on our part, and, by God, let them combat and fight by themselves. Have they not boasted that they are sufficient to vanquish the Portuguese? Be it so then; we are contented." The Spanish historians favour this version of the story, as the least unpalatable to the national self-love while undoubtedly true to the national character. On the other side it is admitted that the handful of English knights, by whose advice the army had been placed in a strong position, had contributed greatly to the Portuguese victory—the small body of archers having performed their accustomed function with signal effect on the mailed horsemen of the enemy. King Juan, who had been too weak to mount a horse, was borne on a litter by the squires of his body, who when they saw their people retreating set the monarch on a mule, much lamenting, and led him away from the field. Eventually he reached the shores of the Tagus, and got away in a boat to Lisbon, where he embarked in a ship for Seville.

Thus ended an expedition almost the most discreditable to the king which had ever disgraced the annals of Castile, from which Juan emerged with damage so great to his honour and estate as to

make us wonder how his dynasty remained unshaken. The Portuguese now proceeded to carry the war into Spain. To strengthen himself on the throne the King of Portugal sent messengers to the Duke of Lancaster to report to him the victory of Aljubarrota, inviting him to reassert his claims to the crown of Castile. The aspiring Lancaster, who had never given up his pretensions, encouraged by Pope Urban VI. to this great enterprise, landed at Coruña with his wife and daughters, and a select body of fifteen hundred English knights with as many archers. At Santiago he was solemnly crowned King of Castile and Leon. Meeting the King of Portugal on the frontier, he entered into a league for mutual support, giving his eldest daughter, Philippa, in marriage to King Joam, from which auspicious union sprang that celebrated family of brothers who in the next generation raised Portugal to the height of her glory and greatness. On the other side, the King of France and the anti-Pope Clement VII. declared for King Juan of Castile—the former contributing two thousand lances, with money for their support, a hundred thousand francs in gold, under the Duke of Bourbon, his uncle, while Clement sent his blessings and his consolations. The war was renewed by the invasion of Castile. A few towns were captured. Then a pestilence broke out in the allied camp, which carried off great numbers of the English and the Portuguese, so that they were compelled to retire into Portugal. By this time (1387) his own growing infirmities and the losses he had sustained in the campaign, together with the small encouragement he had met with in Castile and the

condition of affairs in England, made the Duke of Lancaster, whose political aspirations were always tempered by a large amount of practical discretion, anxious to close an enterprise which seemed to promise small profit or honour. Accordingly he listened to one of those proposals for accommodation through marriage which were so frequent in that age and so much in unison with his own humour, which ever ran to advancement by politic wiving. King Juan offered to take the Duke of Lancaster's daughter, Catherine, for a wife to Enrique, his eldest son, then under age. Such a union, though the bride was three years older than the bridegroom, was all the more desirable for King Juan, seeing that it would confirm the dubious royal title in the next generation, by joining the dynasty of Trastamara to the legitimate line of Castile—Catherine being the grand-daughter of Pedro the Cruel. The conditions of the match were that the Duke of Lancaster and his wife should resign their claims to the Castilian crown ; that the Duchess should receive certain towns in fief, besides a fixed revenue ; and her husband six hundred thousand francs in gold for the expenses of the war.

Thus was settled a troublesome dispute to the advantage of both parties, the King of Castile obtaining peace and a renewed assurance of his dynasty, while John of Gaunt, who seldom came off the worse of his many matrimonial bargains, got one daughter settled as Queen of Portugal and the other as bride to the heir-apparent of Castile. From both resulted issues most fortunate for Spain and for Portugal. This controversy being happily closed, King Juan, being weary

of the troubles of state, wished to abdicate in favour of his son Enrique—retaining only a certain portion of his domain, including Seville and Cordova, and the kingdom of Murcia. But the great council which was summoned at Guadalajara to discuss this matter strongly dissuaded the king from his purpose, citing the many evils which had accrued to the kingdom from the frequent partitions of territory by the old kings; whereupon Juan spoke no more of the project. Shortly afterwards the king ended his short, inglorious reign, in 1390, by a curious accident, in which the Moors, who had remained unmolested for some years, are for the first time mentioned, and in a manner which shows that there was settled peace between the two races. The king being at Alcalá de Henares, there arrived there fifty Christian knights—descendants of those who had lived in Moorish territory since the conquest—called *Farfanes*, with their wives and families, who had been permitted to return to the land of the Christians by favour of the Moorish king. King Juan going out to receive them, his horse stumbled in a ploughed field and threw him, and by the fall he died. His son Enrique, the third of that name, succeeded him in 1390, being then just over eleven years of age. As usual, the question of a regency was the first to disturb the public peace. The late king had named in his will twelve persons, six of whom were either prelates or nobles, and the other six representatives of as many of the large cities, to be of the regency. Such an arrangement could result in nothing but wrangling and confusion. The unruly and ambitious Pedro de Tenorio, Arch-

bishop of Toledo, sought to be sole tutor to the king, and made war with those who opposed him. At last the Cortes of Burgos decided, in 1392, that the regents should rule alternately in two batches of six each. In this year took place the great tribulation of the Jews, who were harried and robbed in all the great cities, on grounds identical with those which have furnished every anti-Semitic crusade from first to last—namely, that the Jews were over-rich and their way of life a scandal to Christendom.

Enrique put an end to the dissensions respecting the regency by assuming the reins of government himself in 1393, when barely fourteen years of age—his first act of sovereignty being to revoke before the Cortes at Madrid all that had been done by his tutors. During all this time an intermittent war was carried on with Portugal, waged with a ferocity which neither treaties nor family alliances seem to have had the power to abate. As for the hereditary feud with the Moors, a strange, romantic episode of this time shows that the feeling of enmity against the infidel usurpers of the soil had already degenerated into individual bursts of fanaticism, in which religious zeal had more part than patriotism or policy. The Master of the military order of Alcántara, on his own account—out of love, as he averred, for Jesus Christ—sent to the Moorish King of Granada two of his squires to tell him that the faith of Jesus was holy and good and the faith of Mahommed false and a lie; and should the King of Granada assert the contrary he, the Master, would do combat with him, giving him the odds of two to one; that is to say, with one hundred Chris-

tians he would fight with two hundred Moors. Blind to all sense of courtesy, the King of Granada, instead of accepting this fair proposal for settling the religious controversy, clapped the two squires in prison and used them dishonourably. Whereupon the Master writes to King Enrique to say that he had determined to start at once for the kingdom of Granada and carry his challenge forward. Enrique and his counsellors, when they heard what the Master of Alcántara had done, agreed that this business did not belong to the king's service, for he had made a treaty with the King of Granada, which treaty would be broken if the Master, a vassal, were to go with his company to execute his threat. Moreover, the king was aware that the Master had no more than three hundred lances under him, with which to do battle with the King of Granada. Therefore, messengers were sent to the Master of Alcántara to turn him from his purpose. But the royal commands had no effect upon the zealous Master, who, while professing respect for the king his lord, declared that this was a work of faith—that it would be a great dishonour to turn the Cross back nor carry it forward as he had begun to do. And he would not be stopped on the road, even though the knights and the officers of the city of Cordova tried to block his way over the bridge, for the people rose and murmured so loudly, saying that the Master was going on the service of God and for the faith of Jesus, that they had to let him pass with his three hundred knights, besides a few hundred footmen. In vain did other two nobles whom he met on the road point out to the Master,

not only that there was peace with Granada, but that the force with him was wholly inadequate to fight with the Moors, who were very numerous and powerful, and had given great trouble in former wars, slaying many Christians and doing much damage to the land. But the Master was a man who believed in all his imaginations—who inquired of the stars and of omens, and kept a hermit, who had told him he would prevail and conquer all Moor-dom; and his men on foot were simple folk, who heeded naught but said: "*We go in the Faith of Jesus Christ.*"

Crossing the frontier into the territory of Granada the Master and his small company encountered an overwhelming force of Moors, who hemmed in the deluded Christians, and slew them, every mounted man and most of the footmen, making prisoners of the rest, except a few who escaped across the border. On the King of Granada complaining of this breach of treaty, King Enrique was able to satisfy him that it was committed contrary to his will and in defiance of his authority; and so the matter ended.

In the conduct of his domestic affairs Enrique seems to have been more successful than his immediate predecessors, being credited with the passing of many good laws for the benefit of his people, and attending to their just administration, in a spirit of benevolence out of character with the age. He was no great warrior any more than his father had been, and lost some frontier towns to the Portuguese, while, as we have seen, he discouraged those forays into Moorish territory which, in spite of treaties, had

been a habitual exercise to Castilian manhood out of employment. The king himself was of a weakly constitution, and lived only to his twenty-eighth year—leaving, on his death in 1407, one son by his English wife Catherine, who succeeded him as Juan II.

The affairs of Aragon during these last reigns in Castile were of little moment in themselves, nor much concerned with the making of the country. Pedro IV. outlived his namesake of Castile, his competitor in perfidy, greed, and bloodthirstiness, as well as the two first kings of the house of Trastamara. He was succeeded by his son Juan I., whose chief trouble during his short reign was on account of the over-gay disposition of his French wife Violante, who was a patroness of all those frivolities, the off-shoot of a decadent chivalry—the Courts of Love, with their appendages, the troubadours, the *jongleurs*, the professors of *Lo Gai Saber* (the Gay Science), which had been imported from Provence. The queen's fondship for these diversions, which were as little to the taste of the solid and sombre men of Aragon as abhorrent to the shrewd and practical Catalans, gave much offence and caused much scandal to the people. The states remonstrated with the king on these indulgences of his Court, and insisted on the foreign professors of the arts of love and of song, the fiddlers and the dancers, the *trouvères* and the *jongleurs*, being expelled from the country. King Juan resented, at first, this interference with his wife's amusements, but was compelled to give way—purchasing peace for himself and immunity for his own pleasures, which were those of the field, at the expense of the softer delights

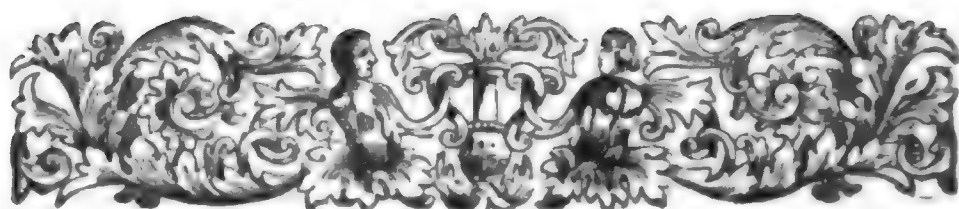
of his ladies, who were left to lament the loss of their troubadours, minstrels, and dancing-masters.

Dying early of a fall from horseback while hunting, Juan was succeeded by his brother Martin, to the exclusion of his daughters, one of whom, through her husband, the Count de Foix, laid claim to the throne. The Aragonese, however, though they had not formally adopted the Salic law, would have no woman to rule them, especially one married to a foreigner ; and the Count de Foix could gain no adherents. Martin was in Sicily helping to recover the island for his son, who, in right of his wife, was king of that island, when he succeeded to the throne of Aragon. His reign was distinguished by nothing worthy of record in internal affairs. His ambition, like that of his immediate predecessors, was confined to extending his dominion over the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, both of which gave him ample occupation—to the disgust of his native subjects, who grudged the money which was spent on foreign expeditions. The dispute about the possession of the two islands was embittered about this time by the quarrel between the rival Popes of Rome and of Avignon. The Aragonese having acknowledged Benedict, the anti-Pope, who was Pedro de Luna, their countryman—the legitimate claimant to the chair of St. Peter, Boniface, took his revenge by setting up a pretender to Sicily and Sardinia, and inciting a party among the islanders to resist the Aragonese dominion. After one of the battles which ensued between the Aragonese and the insurgent Sardinians, the king, who was also heir to the throne of Aragon, died of a fever through over-

exertion. His death led to a long series of troubles in Aragon, Martin having no other son to inherit the kingdom. A civil war, which began before King Martin died in 1410, raged for two years after his death. The chief rivals were the Count of Urgel, who was directly descended in the male line from Alfonso IV. of Aragon, and the Infante Fernando of Castile, the brother of Enrique III. of that kingdom, who claimed through his mother Leonora, the eldest daughter of Pedro IV. of Aragon. Don Fernando, the Castilian claimant, had the worse title. He was not even the elder son of Leonora, so that if that were his only claim his brother Enrique III. of Castile, and next after him his nephew Juan II., had clearly the better right. But this would have been to recognise the King of Castile himself, as King of Aragon ; and neither country was as yet ripe for that union. The Infante Fernando was a man of character and ability superior to his rival, and was undoubtedly preferred by the people of Aragon, even though he was assisted by money and troops from Castile. After much desultory fighting, in the course of which the country suffered greatly from the disorders committed by the partisans of the rival leaders, the two principal competitors joined in a pitched battle in which Fernando was victorious. At length the three states, Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, agreed to meet in a general assembly to decide upon the choice of a king. The meeting was held at Alcañiz in 1412. The deputies from Valencia not being present, owing to their being equally divided between the two parties, Aragon and Catalonia proceeded to the election. Nine

arbitrators were chosen, three for each state, in whom was vested the right of electing a king. Out of these, six voted for Fernando and three for the Count of Urgel. Thus Fernando, of the blood royal of Castile, was elected to the throne of Aragon. The unsuccessful competitor, the Count of Urgel, made some attempt to dispute King Fernando's right, obtaining aid from the English Duke of Clarence. But his troops were defeated in the field and himself taken prisoner—declared by the Cortes to be a rebel and a traitor, and retained in prison during the remainder of his life. Thus the throne of Aragon passed, with tolerable ease, into the hands of a prince of the house of Castile—a transaction which heralded, as doubtless it prepared, the subsequent auspicious union of the two crowns.





X.

THE REIGN OF JUAN II.—THE AGE OF CHIVALRY.

(1407-1454)

THE long reign of Juan II., though marked by no extraordinary incidents at home or abroad, and by little or no progress in the great work of freeing the land from the Moors, was not without importance in the making of Spain. It was a period of transition in the national history—the middle age between the rough, heroic struggle for existence and the more courtly times which succeeded, when the battle with the Moor was over. With the feeling that their dominion was safe was quickened in the people the germ of that broader life now slowly tending to its full accomplishment. To fight the Moors was no longer the first duty of the good Spaniard. The infidels were suffered to remain in peace in their shrunken domain. Nay, their land was no longer the chosen field of adventure even for the soldiers of the faith. Cavaliers of spirit preferred to seek glory on foreign ground, and traversed Europe in search of fighting. At home the kingly power, though almost for the first time clearly recognised and firmly established, was beginning to be subject to limitations



A KNIGHT ON HORSEBACK (GALA ATTIRE).

—not rising, as heretofore, only from the turbulence of a class but from the growth of something like a popular opinion. A taste for luxury and splendour was spreading through the country, as the cities increased in wealth and importance. The nobles, without relinquishing their claims to independence each within his own domains, were grown more orderly, if not more honest, seeking their diversion in the practice of the fantastic rites and the ordinances of chivalry. King Juan himself, a man of feeble character, impatient of the cares of state, was an encourager of letters and of learning. He was a patron of poets and a poet himself. Under his auspices literature and art became established at Court, and admitted to be pursuits not unworthy of princes. “He was very free and gracious,” says the chronicler, “and gave himself much to the reading of philosophy and poetry. He was skilled in matters of the Church, fairly learned in Latin, and a great respecter of such as had knowledge. He was a lover of music ; he played, sang, and made verses, and he danced well.” A king so accomplished in the humanities had not been seen in Spain since Alfonso the Sage. Juan had even a taste for the new art of painting, then first imported from Italy, and is fairly entitled to the glory of being the earliest of the Spanish kings who sought distinction by their patronage of artists. In this reign was the true beginning of Castilian literature. Don Enrique de Villena may claim to be, if not the founder of Castilian poetry, the first who gave it form and regular structure. His friend and kinsman, the celebrated Marquess of Santillana—the first of that noble race of Mendoza who

won such high distinction in war, in statesmanship, and in letters—was a still better poet and a man of wider culture and sympathies, not the least of whose services to literature is that he gave permanent life to that most characteristic product of the national genius—the proverbs, in which the force and beauty of the ancient language of Castile are so admirably preserved. After him Juan de Mena and many others, learning art and refinement from Italian models, gave shape and grace to Spanish verse. These softer pursuits, in harmony with the spirit of the king, now beginning to be adopted by the people, mark the character of this reign as the first in which the Castilians raised their thoughts above what had hitherto been the engrossing occupations of war and conquest.

During the early years of his minority Juan II. had the good fortune to have his affairs directed by his uncle, the able and loyal Don Fernando, and by Catherine, his mother, of English descent, who were co-regents of the kingdom. The ambitious nobles were held in check with a firm hand, and a war with Granada, carried on with vigour, was closed with some increase of territory. In 1410 Don Fernando, as we have related in the last chapter, was elected King of Aragon—leaving the administration of Castile to be conducted by a council of regency, under the queen-mother, Catherine. He continued to give his advice on the government till his death in 1416, which was followed two years afterwards by that of Catherine. Juan was now left alone in his sovereignty. Nor was it long before the young king displayed that tendency to lean upon a stronger nature, which was his chief charac-

teristic. He was one of those monarchs who, like our Edward II., could not govern but through a favourite. The man to win that dangerous name, who exercised that ungrateful office with singular constancy on the one part and tenacity on the other, was the famous Alvaro de Luna, whose career forms the one principal and all overshadowing episode of this reign—the story of his life being indeed the chronicle of Juan II. Alvaro, who had no good right to his proud name of De Luna, was the bastard son of the head of that illustrious Aragonese family, some of whom had settled in Castile. One of his uncles was Pedro de Luna, elected Pope by the schismatics at Avignon in 1394; another was Archbishop of Toledo, the Primate of Castile and most powerful ecclesiastic in Spain. A lady of this race had been a queen of Sicily in the generation before, while many of its members had intermarried with the Mendozas, the Ponces de Leon, and the highest families of Castile and of Aragon. Alvaro began his career at Court as a page in the service of Queen Catherine, where he was chosen as a playmate for the young King Juan, who became so fond of him that he could not bear to be out of his sight, day or night. The young Alvaro, who was of the same age as his master, was distinguished from his earliest years not only for the beauty and grace of his person, but his many accomplishments, his lively disposition, and his excellence in all manly and courtly games and exercises, whether wrestling, dancing, singing, fencing, or other youthful pastime. He was the best also at hunting the wild boar or the bear, for he was very daring and active, a great horseman, and

strong in the arm. So well trained had been his body from a tender age that, as his fond biographer avers, there was none to equal him in agility or strength, though he was not big or lofty of stature. "But though his limbs were graceful and delicate, he was very well made, all sinew and bone, so that he did everything well, and became every garb he wore, and endowed with a very good air both the clothes he wore and the beasts he bestrode, as well as everything to which he put his hands. And because he was so graceful and well-mannered, and of a beautiful and gentle disposition, and of a very sweet discourse, the duennas and the damsels of the queen, and all the other great ladies, bestowed on him great favour for what he did and said, more than on any one of all the others." And therefore great envy grew among the young nobles and courtiers at young Alvaro's sudden advancement, and they did not rest till they had parted the king from his favourite playfellow—first sending him to Aragon in the suite of Doña Maria, the king's sister, who went to wed the Prince Alfonso, heir to that kingdom, and afterwards on various pretexts keeping them separate, until they both arrived at manhood, when Alvaro secured his place firmly by the side of the king in spite of his enemies.

The struggle between him and the nobles continued during all this reign, and make up the whole record of Juan II. The first to disturb the peace of the realm, under pretence of ousting the favourite from Court, was the Infante Enrique of Aragon, the king's cousin—a turbulent and ambitious prince, who for several

years was a thorn in the side of Don Alvaro. With the connivance of Lopez de Avalos, the Constable of Castile, who like all the other grandees was jealous of Don Alvaro's sudden elevation and extraordinary influence, Don Enrique seized upon the person of the young king at Tordesillas, and carried him away a prisoner to Avila. It was only by the prudence and coolness of Don Alvaro, who temporised with Enrique, that the king was preserved from a worse fate, perhaps from a violent death. The audacious rebel so far prevailed over the king's weakness as to procure his consent to the summoning of the Cortes at Avila, before whom Juan was induced to declare that he approved of Enrique's strong measures, whose zeal in the royal cause had freed him from his enemies. Taking advantage of the festivities held in celebration of Enrique's marriage with Juan's sister Catalina, the king, under the pretext of hunting, escaped from his captors, accompanied by Don Alvaro and some of his adherents. The triumph of the favourite was now complete. The Archbishop of Toledo and the greater part of the nobles, who dreaded the influence of the Infante Enrique more than they disliked their lesser rival, rallied to the king's side. Juan showed his gratitude to his deliverer by loading him with the dignities and estates of the disgraced nobles. Don Alvaro was advanced to the high rank of Constable of Castile, which office was made one of greater power and emolument so that its holder became the second person in the kingdom, the commander of the king's army, the head of the executive, and the dispenser of the royal bounties and honours. The new

Constable, who knew his master's taste for shows and festivities, celebrated his appointment by a series of entertainments more splendid and gorgeous than had ever been witnessed in Castile, so as to cause great wonder and admiration among the people. Banquets, jousts, and plays, were held in public, in which the king and all his Court took much joy and pleasure. There were exhibited before the amazed eyes of the sober Castilians all the knights and squires of the Constable's household, among whom, we are told, were many sons of counts and other great people, most sumptuously dressed and harnessed—all with coats of silk, bordered with excellent new devices, rich girdles, collars, and chains, set with jewels of great price, and sumptuous trappings for the horses and hackneys, so that the whole Court shone and glowed with splendour. And if the chronicler is to be believed, who writes with a tenderness of the great Constable which reaches to the pathetic, there were other and more substantial causes for the popular rejoicing, for the cities and towns of the realm were governed with much justice, and all the people rested in peace and contentment; the roads were safe, malefactors restrained, and the king's commandments observed with great reverence.

So passed several years, during which the Constable was at the height of the king's favour and at the top of his power—years which were probably as happy for the king as for his people, who found themselves both vigorously ruled without the trouble of asserting their freedom. There is reason to believe that never had the kingdom enjoyed so long a period of rest or the people so good a time, for it is clear that Don Alvaro

took pains to win their favour as his best support against the malice of the envious nobles. The Cortes, however, began to murmur at the costliness of the king's affection for his minion. They complained that the exchequer suffered from the sovereign's excessive prodigality, and he was restrained from granting any new pensions or land for twenty-five years. Taking advantage of the discontent aroused by the favours extended to Don Alvaro and resenting the munificence with which these were dispensed by the latter among his own kinsmen and followers, the enemies of the favourite began to rear their heads again. A league against Don Alvaro was formed, at the head of which were the kings of Aragon and Navarre, whose pretence for joining it was to obtain the release of their brother, the Infante Enrique, who had been kept in duress since the day had gone against him some years before. In 1427 the enemies of Don Alvaro were powerful enough to procure his removal from Court for eighteen months. The king was weak and, in spite of himself, was forced to yield to the demand. The Constable was prudent, and bowed to the storm—retiring to his castle of Ayllon. In a few months he so managed, through his influence over the king, which was sedulously kept alive during his absence by the courtiers who were mostly his own creatures, that he was recalled, to take his place once more at the head of affairs with greater power than ever. The re-entry of the Constable into the Court is described in the chronicle with a minuteness which bespeaks the eye-witness and an amplitude of effusion which betrays the too partial retainer. With

an imposing train of cavaliers, all accoutred in their bravest apparel, on which the artificers, not only of the country but of foreign parts, had been employed for many days—for the Constable was one who took delight in the preparation of pageants as well as of all things pertaining to chivalry—Don Alvaro himself simply though richly accoutred, with a chosen band of pages mounted on horses of rare quality, such as their master knew how to select—some of them carrying lances and riding jennet-wise, others on war-horses all covered with embroidered trappings, with trumpets blowing before them—the Constable went forth to the Court—the king meeting him half-way, at the head of the most distinguished nobles and prelates, among whom were all the principal dignitaries of the kingdom, accompanied, for the greater triumph of Don Alvaro, by his chief enemy—the Infante Enrique and the King of Navarre. Who shall describe, says the enthusiastic chronicler, the great pleasure which all the ladies and damsels of the Queen took in seeing the Constable again, to do honour to whom so many illustrious persons had condescended?

With some of those who were then reconciled to him the truce was but a short one, for presently the kings of Aragon and Navarre were in the field again in great force, whom the Constable marched forth to oppose with all the array of Castile. But the Pope's legate intervened just when they were on the point of battle, and afterwards Queen Maria of Aragon attempted to intercede between her husband and her brother. They not being able to agree on the terms of

peace, the war continued, and the Constable gained much honour by taking some frontier places from the Aragonese and doing them much damage. On the other side, in Estremadura, the restless Don Enrique was once more in arms, giving trouble by seizing on the outlying towns and ravaging the country. Against him the Constable, who seems to have been everywhere and occupied in everything, was sent from the borders of Aragon, speedily reducing the rebels and driving them before him to take refuge in Portugal.

Ever indefatigable in the service of his king the Constable, during a brief intermission of rebellion, sought for honour in a more legitimate field. The truce with Granada being ended, he led a great host into the Moorish territory, sending a cartel, according to the fashion of the then prevailing chivalry, to Mahommed-ibn-Azar, the Moorish king, to announce his coming and call him forth to the field. The Moor showing some reluctance to despatch the requisite number of his cavaliers to meet the Christian challenge, the Constable consoled himself by burning several towns and villages within the Moorish frontier, advancing into the *vega* close up to the walls of Granada, and compelling the Moors to come out and fight him—which they did at last, to their great detriment. But just in as great a measure as Don Alvaro's glory increased did the envy of the great lords grow more and more intense, and their hatred of the general favourite become more bitter. Even in the royal camp before Granada was a conspiracy hatched against the Constable's life, which led to the

break-up of the expedition, and prepared the way for the still greater enhancement of Don Alvaro's power. He now touched the highest point of all his greatness, and was in the full meridian of his glory. No subject in Spain, noble or commoner, layman or ecclesiastic, had ever reached to so high a dignity. He was not only Constable of the kingdom but Master of Santiago, the richest and most powerful of the military orders. His brother was advanced to the Archbishopric of Toledo. He himself had the Dukedom of Truxillo, besides various countships. He was lord of seventy towns and castles, not including those pertaining to the Order of Santiago. He maintained a retinue of three thousand lances, with a great household full of the youth of good families. By his two marriages he was allied with the noblest blood of Castile. His revenues were on a scale corresponding to the greatness of his rank and the number of his offices. He was as liberal of largess as greedy of emolument; and got and gave with equal magnificence. And though he served himself generously, he was not less profuse to his numerous dependants. In the midst of it all, he was without reproach as a loyal servant of the king and no less steady in his attachment to those principles of honour embodied in that institution of chivalry which had in that age reached its highest development. It is no wonder that a man of this character, who seems to have been as sedulous in the performance of his public duties as eager in the pursuit of pleasure or of fame, should have raised up both devoted friends and bitter enemies. The first were never tired of

reciting his acts of goodness, as the second were unwearied of ill-doing to his prejudice.

An episode which occurred about this time, in 1439, known in history as *El Seguro de Tordesillas* (The Pledge, or Pact, of Tordesillas), serves to illustrate, in a striking manner, the spirit of the age, with its mingled faithlessness, mutual mistrust, untruthfulness, and exaggerated sense of honour. The nobles had combined with the King of Navarre and the Prince Enrique, heir of Castile, in one of their numerous attempts to shake the power of the favourite, Alvaro de Luna. After much negotiation, and many passages of arms, and interchange of demands and promises, lightly made and gaily broken, it was agreed between the two parties that a discussion should be held, in some neutral place, of all the matters in dispute. But not being able to trust each other to observe any kind of honourable truce, or to fix upon any town which would be equally safe for the partisans of the king and of the nobles, it was decided to appoint an umpire, who should have absolute power to control the discussion, to arrange the place of meeting, and to fix on the number of those who should attend on each side; and should be invested with the responsibility of keeping the peace between the partisans, ensuring their safety while engaged in the deliberations and becoming security for the observance of such compact as might be made. The man chosen by common consent for this high and most onerous office was Don Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, Conde de Haro, of an ancient Castilian family—of moderate wealth and power, esteemed among all men for his

honesty, loyalty, and patriotism, which had won him the name of *The Good Count*. The town selected for the meeting, which the Count of Haro undertook to garrison with a chosen body of his own retainers, was Tordesillas. Thither, under his safe conduct, came the King Juan, with his Constable, and a select band of retainers, on one side ; and the King of Navarre, Prince Enrique, and the discontented chiefs, on the other, their numbers being equal ; and deliberated under the protection of the Good Count, agreeing, after much discussion, to certain articles of accommodation, which they were bound over by the umpire faithfully to observe ; which pact they did religiously keep for the unwonted space of two years—as long as the authority of the Count of Haro lasted. Afterwards they fell to quarrel and war again as before.

The country, under the firm and vigorous rule of Don Alvaro de Luna, enjoyed a long period of peace and prosperity ; and if we are to judge of the Constable's character by the success of his policy, we must allow him to be a man gifted in a very extraordinary degree with all the qualities, moral and intellectual, essential to greatness. At last the day came for him to experience the universal lot decreed to those who trust in princes. A new combination of his enemies was formed, headed as usual by his implacable foe, the Infante Enrique—whose life the Constable had more than once spared—sufficiently powerful to drive him from the Court. The king, who was now beginning to waver in his attachment to his old favourite, and perhaps had cause for jealousy, on his own account, in Don Alvaro's ever-increasing

popularity, agreed to summon a Cortes at Valladolid to consider the demands of the confederates, who were joined by the king's only son, Prince Enrique. All measures for a peaceful accommodation between the malcontents and the Constable having proved ineffectual, both parties prepared for war. To the honour of Don Alvaro it should be said that, rather than plunge the country in a civil war, he offered to resign his places and retire into Portugal. King Juan, however, who could not bring himself to dispense with his old councillor, dissuaded him from this purpose. Finding the confederates—whose ranks were now reinforced by his queen as well as his son—too strong to be openly resisted, King Juan attempted to temporise, undertaking to banish the Constable from Court for six years. Again the weak and vacillating monarch returned to his favourite, after many changes of fortune winning a decisive battle over the confederate nobles at Olmedo, in which the arch-disturber of the public peace, the Infante Enrique, came by his death. But his victory only seemed to re-kindle the king's own jealousy of his favourite, who had offended his master by forcing on him a second marriage with a princess of Portugal. King Juan now sought for an opportunity to rid himself of Don Alvaro, going about the design with a mixture of timidity and treacherousness which serves to show not only his meanness of character but the extraordinary power still wielded by the favourite. Don Alvaro, who was probably not unaware of his master's intentions, took no measures for his own security. Being at Burgos, apart from the great body of his

followers, he found his house suddenly surrounded by two hundred men-at-arms, to whom, after a show of resistance, he surrendered himself, on a pledge that his life and liberty should be respected. By the king's command he was brought before a court, hurriedly summoned, who, after a show of trial, condemned him to death. Don Alvaro was removed to Valladolid, where the sentence was carried out. King Juan's fear and remorse were extreme, and to the last he hesitated in his purpose—even sending messages to those who guarded the Constable's person ordering a respite, which are said to have been intercepted by the queen, who, chosen by Don Alvaro himself for that dignity, was now his bitterest enemy. In the last scene of his life the Constable behaved with a manly grace and decency such as moved even his persecutors to pity. A great scaffold was set up in the public square of Valladolid, of proportions and a splendour such as had never been seen in Castile, so as to give due emphasis to so extraordinary an act as the execution of this powerful and famous lord. The Constable was set upon a mule and led through the streets, strongly guarded—the king's herald going before him and declaring his crime and punishment. Mounting to the scaffold, Don Alvaro spoke to the bystanders, declaring that he deserved his death for all his sins but that he had ever been true to his king, and then laid his head on the block—the executioner plunging his knife into his throat, according to the barbarous custom of the time, before cutting off his head. A great wail, we are told, arose from the multitude who had assembled to witness

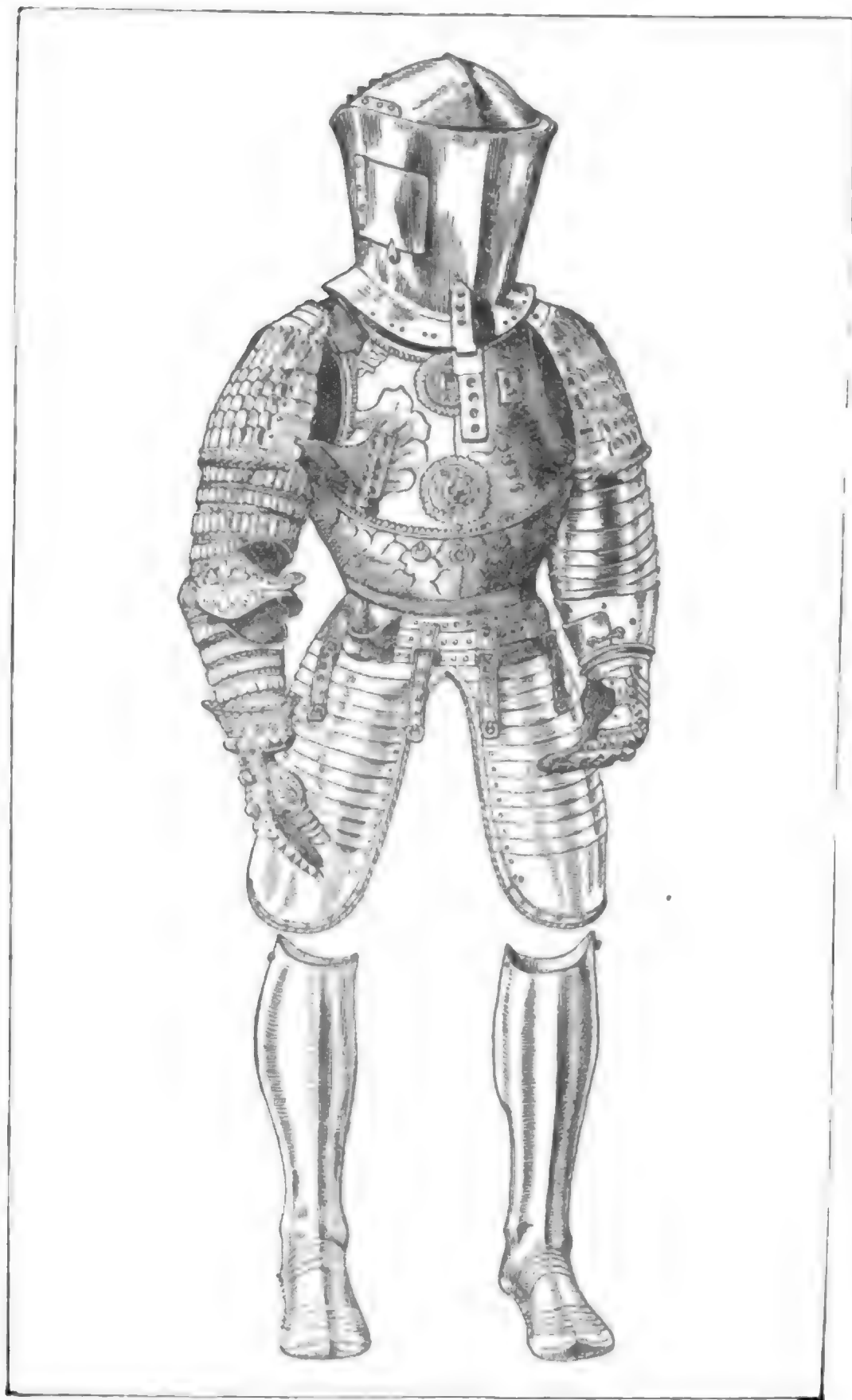
this strange and solemn tragedy, when they saw the deed done, men and women weeping as they who had lost a father or some one whom they much loved.

Whatever might have been Don Alvaro's errors or his crimes—and they had need to be great to equal his noble qualities and his services to his ungrateful king—he bears a name which deserves to be ranked among those of statesmen of the very highest class who have held power in any country of Europe. There can be little doubt that his rule, extending over a period of nearly thirty-five years, was beneficial to his country. The people at least had reason to regret an administrator who, whatever might have been his personal vices, was just, vigorous, and enlightened—who maintained order and peace in Castile as (if we may judge from the unanimous testimony of the native historians) they had never been maintained before. Some of the features of the great Constable's character, as well as the manner of his death, seem to recall a conspicuous personage in English history, whose fate and fortune were such as to liken him to the Castilian. Sir Walter Raleigh never rose so high, and was, perhaps, of harder fibre and broader nature; but the same superabundant vitality, the same soaring spirit and unquenchable appetite for greatness, the same superb infirmities and noble defects, the same splendid contempt for the smaller moralities, distinguished the English and the Castilian adventurers. As to the king, who deserted and betrayed an old servant, who never failed in his duty to his sovereign, who was the chief and indeed the only distinction of his reign—he lived

but a year after Don Alvaro's execution, leaving a name which has become a by-word in history for imbecility and faithlessness. By posterity he is chiefly remembered as the father of the good queen Isabel. On his death-bed he is said to have lamented his ill-spent life, regretting that "he had not been born the son of a mechanic instead of King of Castile."

Among the characteristics of the age of Juan II. was a singular growth of the spirit of chivalry—of chivalry as embodied in the order and institution of that name, having honour and a fantastic reverence for womanhood for its bases. Imported from abroad, this was an exotic which took root and flourished with extraordinary luxuriance in the congenial soil of Spain, a hundred years after it had waned in other parts of Western Europe. The first great impetus which was given to chivalry, as an accomplishment worthy of cultivation by men aspiring to the honourable profession of arms, was in the wars of Pedro the Cruel against his brother Enrique of Trastamara. Then for the first time were seen on Spanish ground the two great rival bodies of knights, the choicest in the world, the English and the French, each under a leader of the highest renown for proficiency in the art and practice of romantic and cultured fighting. The Black Prince on one side and Bertrand du Guesclin on the other were patterns of knighthood, obeying a law of conduct while pursuing their warlike game which must have greatly impressed the Spanish mind, hitherto intent on the more practical aim of battle, which was to kill your enemy for the sake of his land. In the collision between the highly trained and

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ARMOUR OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

splendidly accoutred foreign cavaliers, who came to fight out their own quarrels in Spain, who were less concerned with the comparative merits of Pedro and Enrique than with their own reputations as gallant knights, the Spaniards had a spectacle such as never before had been afforded them on so grand a scale. It is no wonder that a taste grew up for an institution so fascinating in itself and so agreeable to the national humour—that its fantastic and romantic side had a special attraction for the noble souls thirsting for distinction and not finding employment enough, through the decline of the religious sentiment, in fighting their legitimate enemy, the Moor.

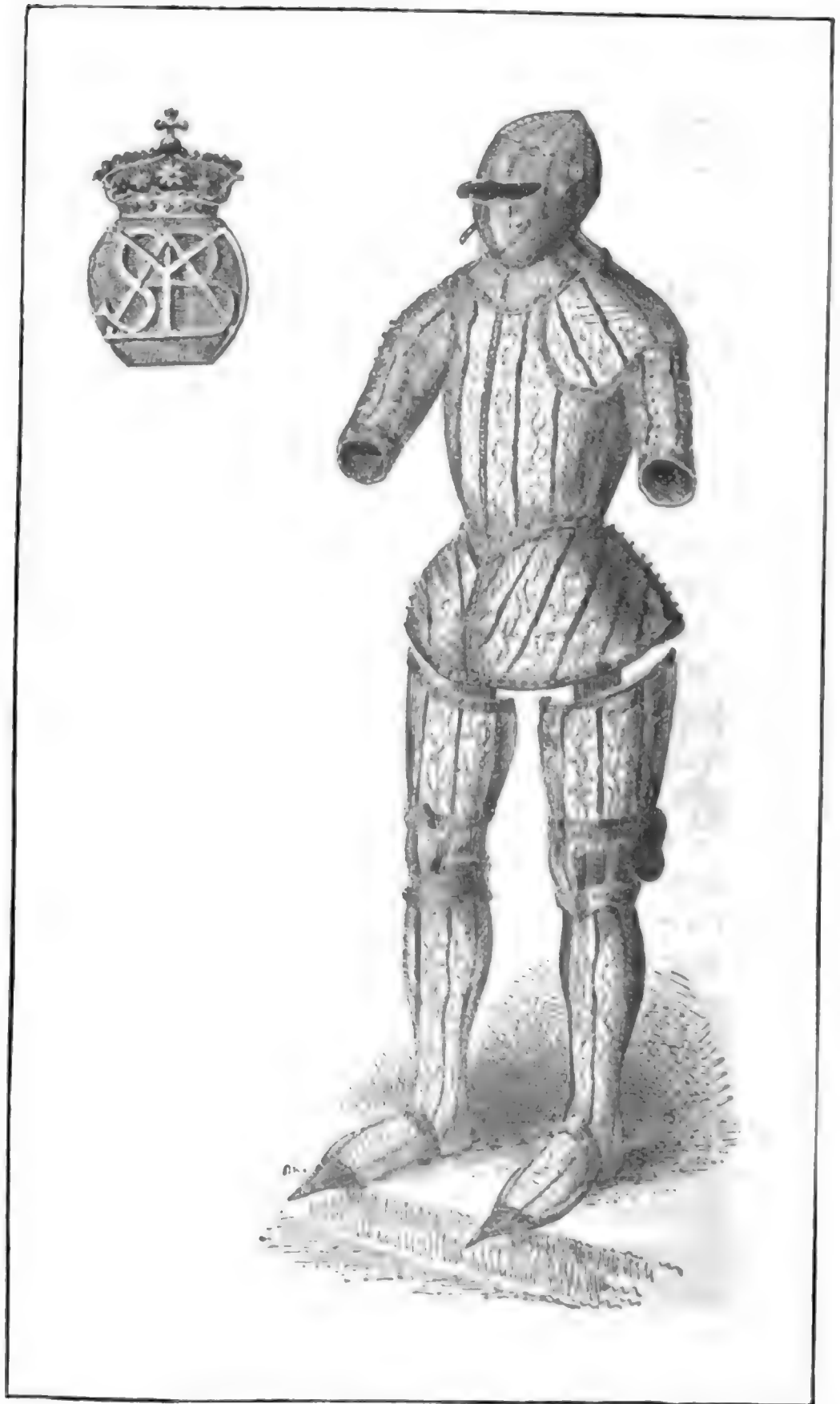
The reign of Juan II. was particularly favourable to the development of chivalry. The king himself was much given to take his pleasure in the innocent game of jousting, and his favourite, Don Alvaro, often appeared in the lists as an *aventurero* or a *mantenedor*,¹ earning much distinction for skill and dexterity with lance and shield. But the most striking illustration of the extent to which the practice of chivalry, as a system of honour regulated by fixed laws and ordinances, was carried in the Fifteenth century is afforded by the strange story of the *Paso Honroso*, or Honourable Passage of Arms, held in the year 1434, before the king and of his whole Court, at the bridge of Orbigo, near the city of Leon. One Suero de Quiñones, a knight of illustrious birth, who had borne round his neck for a considerable time a collar

¹ The *mantenedor* was the defender who undertook to meet all comers on any occasion. The *aventurero* was the challenger, his opponent.



ARMOUR AND HELMETS, FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

of iron, in token of being vassal to his lady love—pleading that it was just and reasonable that they who were in captivity should seek deliverance—formally petitioned the king that he might be allowed, with nine of his friends, to joust with any who came against them, for a period of thirty days—pledging himself and them to break three hundred lances, having achieved which feat he was to be freed from his self-imposed penance. The king having given his license, and the conditions of the tournament which were twenty-two in number and most minute and precise, being settled, the Cortes formally voted the money required to defray the cost of the ceremony—advice of which was sent round to all the courts of Christendom, with an invitation to all knights of spirit to compete. No fewer than sixty-eight knights responded to the appeal, coming some of them from Germany, Italy, Brittany, and Portugal. These were the *aventureros*, or challengers, against whom Suero de Quiñones and his nine companions had to keep the field. After a series of tiltings, in which seven hundred and twenty-seven courses in all were run, one knight from Aragon being killed and many severely wounded, among the latter Suero de Quiñones himself, it was solemnly decided by the judges that he had fulfilled his vow, and the King of Arms was ordered to remove the iron collar from his neck—all which great and shining deeds, which raised the character of Spanish chivalry to the highest pitch and moved the envy of surrounding nations, are set forth minutely and in becoming order in a chronicle expressly devoted to the *Honourable Passage of Arms*.



ARMOUR OF ISABEL THE CATHOLIC.



XI.

REIGN OF ENRIQUE IV.—CIVIL WAR AND DISORDER —MARRIAGE OF FERNANDO AND ISABEL— UNION OF CASTILE AND ARAGON.

(1454-1474.)

JUAN II. on his death in 1454 left three children—one son, Enrique, by his first wife Maria of Aragon, and a son and a daughter much younger, Alfonso and Isabel, by Isabel of Portugal, the grand-daughter of King Joam and his Queen Philippa. Enrique IV., who from his early prodigalities earned the name of *The Liberal*, to be exchanged soon afterwards for the title unflattering to his manhood by which he is better known in history, ascended the throne of Castile under favourable auspices. The old king had kept himself aloof from his people. The new sovereign had, in his physical endowments, all the semblance of one who promised to be popular. He was of large stature and stout of limb, with an aspect, says the chronicler, ferocious and like unto a lion, whose gaze struck terror in those at whom he looked. He had red hair and a long beard, seldom

trimmed, large blue eyes, wide apart, and a very fair skin. The possessor of these graces, however, quickly proved himself to be, with all his brave shows, but an indifferent valiant. With all the weakness of his father he had few of his more amiable qualities, and did more during his reign to degrade the office of king than any monarch of his house. His first acts were gracious and princely. He confirmed all his father's servants in their offices, and pardoned and released his enemies. He made peace with his Christian neighbours. But to prove that he was not deficient in that taste for war which was looked for in every King of Castile he summoned his Cortes at Cuellar, to whom he made a speech—dwelling on the evils to which a nation was exposed which preferred idleness and luxury to the wholesome exercise of battle, and pointing out that war with the Moors was the necessary and legitimate employment of a Christian people, for the Moors were not only usurpers of their soil but enemies of their faith, whom it was right and proper to destroy, and that there were three reasons why they should presently engage in a crusade—the first, seeing they had a just cause; the second, for they had a clear right; and the third, because such a design was holy and approved by God. The Cortes lending a favourable ear to the king's proposition which, in default of any other internal occupation such as civil war or an attack upon a neighbouring state, was always popular, and in fact a work which had never been wholly lost sight of, though greatly neglected, during the last hundred years, Enrique gathered a large

army together, and with great pomp and warlike apparatus proceeded to take the field against the Moors of Granada. Entering the *vega* at the head of a large army, the king rather disappointed the expectations raised of his martial prowess—especially by an order given to his cavaliers that they were not to engage in single skirmishes with the enemy, for the Moors, he said, in this kind of war, were more dexterous than the Christians, so that the number of Christians who died was greater than that of Moors. Therefore he commanded that they were only to make a succession of forays, so as to cause the enemy great hunger and failure of victuals, and then he could have them in a ring and take them. And so counselling, the king bade them remove the royal camp to a safe place. Such an issue of the great crusading enterprise, the object of which was finally to sweep the Moors out of Spain and recover the land for the true Faith, was naturally most distasteful to the great lords and the knights who had been summoned to the expedition, and no less so to the people on the border, who complained of the sacrifices to which they had been exposed in feeding and lodging so large an army—averring that the war had been made against them and not against the infidels. The murmuring rose to the height of a conspiracy against the king's person, with the object of preventing him from disbanding the army. This was the beginning of the Castilians' discontentment with their new king, him of the large stature and the lion's aspect. For three or four years in succession did Enrique lead an army into the plains of Granada, but only to plunder

and burn, retiring when the Moors appeared in force, or when some great Christian leader had been slain, in one of the numerous petty skirmishes in which the agility, lighter equipment, and good horsemanship of the enemy gave them an advantage.

In his domestic affairs the king was no happier than in war. He had married a princess of Portugal, but his conduct towards her and her manner of resenting it, led to much scandal and to a long series of troubles, during which the worst days of Castilian civil war were revived. In the matter of favourites Enrique was even weaker than his father had been, with a worse taste. They were chosen for qualities less than respectable, and changed as shamelessly. His first favourite was Juan de Pacheco, whom he advanced to the Marquisate of Villena, and endowed with immense estates. He was wantonly displaced in favour of Beltran de La Cueva, whose relations with the queen made his influence over her husband still more odious to the people. The public contempt and disgust for the royal pair was carried to the height when, at a great tournament held near Madrid in the presence of the Court and of the English ambassador, Beltran de La Cueva appeared as one of the defenders in a passage of arms, maintaining the supreme beauty of his mistress, the queen—a feat which made the king so glad that he erected a monastery in its celebration.

Incensed by Enrique's follies and by the conduct of his upstart minions, the nobles—on this occasion representing the people—who had been equally disgusted and irritated by the king's disregard of their

rights, by his arbitrary invasions of their ancient privileges, by his petty exactions, and the numerous disorders which were caused by the relaxation of authority—set about once more to conspire for their monarch's dethronement. The crowning act of the national disgrace, in their eyes, was Enrique's requiring the Cortes to swear allegiance to a daughter born of the queen, who from her reputed paternity was nicknamed *La Beltraneja*, as heir to the throne. The confederate nobles, assembling at Burgos, protested against this act, declaring the child to be illegitimate ; maintaining the right of Prince Alfonso, the king's half-brother, to be his successor ; drawing up a catalogue of the public abuses which they required to be amended ; insisting upon the dismissal of Beltran de La Cueva, the favourite ; and entering into a solemn compact not to lay down their arms until their wrongs had been redressed. The king made submission so far as to promise compliance with these demands. He delivered his brother Alfonso into the hands of the confederates, agreeing to recognise him as heir to the crown on condition of his marrying his daughter, Juana—*La Beltraneja*. He promised to appoint a commission to inquire into the state of the kingdom and provide a redress for the popular grievances, and he undertook to dismiss Don Beltran from his employments. But these concessions, and especially the facility with which they were made, only served to augment the public distrust of King Enrique. The confederates openly defied his power, and declared their intention of setting up his brother Alfonso as king in his stead.

Alfonso was even proclaimed King of Castile and Leon at Valladolid.

How low the authority of Enrique had fallen, and how strong was the feeling against him, is proved by an extraordinary scene which was now (1465) enacted near Avila. In the open plain near the city there was erected on an eminence so that all might see, a scaffold on which was placed a chair of state, and on this an effigy of King Enrique, clothed in black and adorned with all the emblems of sovereignty—a crown on his head, a sceptre in his hand, and a sword by his side. Then from the midst of the distinguished assemblage, composed of the highest dignitaries of the kingdom, a herald stood up, and reciting the chief matters of complaint against the king, declared him to be deprived of his four principal functions: the first, of his royal dignity, when the Archbishop of Toledo rose and took the crown off the effigy; the second, of the administration of justice, when the Count of Plasencia removed the sword; the third, of the government of the realm, at which the Count of Benavente snatched the sceptre away; the fourth, of the throne and title of king, whereupon Don Lopez de Zuñiga, uttering foul and furious words, flung the effigy from its throne, which was kicked about the plain amidst the mingled curses and acclamations of the bystanders. Then Prince Alfonso, a youth of tender age, was raised to the royal seat, and all the prelates and nobles, taking it on their shoulders, cried aloud—“*Castilla! Castilla! por el Rey Don Alfonso!*” amidst the blare of trumpets and the beating of drums. Considering the almost

superstitious reverence in which the person of the king was held in Castile, even by those who rebelled against him, this was a monstrous and unparalleled outrage, of which the terrified chronicler, though half-approving, cannot speak but in interjections of pity and horror.

By some historians Alfonso is recognised as actually King of Castile, during his short life-time. There were thus two kings at least in the land, the great cities of Toledo, Seville, Cordova, and Burgos, together with nearly all the districts of the south, joining with the enemies of Enrique. The country was in the greatest confusion. Both sides flew to arms, the cause of Enrique being the stronger in Asturias, and his party being recruited, in spite of his unworthiness and timidity in the field, by those who still adhered to the ancient Castilian standards of loyalty, and those who were jealous or fearful of the growing power of the confederate nobles. The Marquess of Villena, the chief of the insurgents, entered into a traitorous correspondence with Enrique with the object, apparently, not so much of bringing the dispute to an end as of keeping it alive, by preserving an equilibrium between the rival forces for his own ambitious ends. An indecisive battle ensued between the two parties at Olmedo, in which the turbulent Archbishop of Toledo (there is always an Archbishop of Toledo on these occasions) was in the forefront of the fight, receiving a lance thrust in the arm. A papal legate who came on the field to intervene was dismissed with jeers and threats of personal violence. He was told, in contumelious words, that

feuds to settle took that opportunity for waging war with each other. The great houses of Guzman and of Ponce de Leon, each claiming to be supreme in Andalusia, fought desperately, with armies rivaling those of kings, while the Moors looked on with wonder and hope, expecting a consummation as blissful for them as when the vices of the Goths led to the subversion of Spain.

From his own personal perplexities Enrique was for a time relieved by the sudden death of his brother and rival, Alfonso, in July, 1468, under circumstances, as usual, suggestive of poison—one very suspicious circumstance being that three days before the prince expired his death was announced throughout the kingdom—"a thing of great marvel," says the chronicler, in innocence or in irony. Alfonso was the Marcellus of his age and country, the worthy brother of the Princess Isabel, who, had he survived—he was only fifteen when he died—would have changed the whole current of Spanish history. His death brought his sister Isabel to the front as the legitimate successor to the crown. The confederate nobles turned towards her as their only hope. Isabel, however, though only sixteen years of age, behaved with a prudence and magnanimity which gave auspicious presage of her future career. Up to the date of the battle of Olmedo she had sided with the king—at least, had continued to dwell in his family—a trial she had endured not so much out of love for her half-brother as for the sake of his protection and as a refuge from the numerous suitors whom her personal charms and brilliant expectations had brought to her feet. She then found

an opportunity of seeking shelter with Alfonso and his adherents. Upon his death she betook herself to a monastery at Avila. There she was visited by the Archbishop of Toledo who, in the name of the confederates, offered her the crown. Isabel, however, with equal sagacity and nobility of heart, refused to accept that perilous and onerous dignity, desiring to intercede between the king and the nobles. There being no other member of the royal family in whose name the confederates could hope to gain the people, they gave a reluctant consent to come to terms with Enrique. The conditions of the peace were, that a general amnesty should be proclaimed; that the Queen Juana, whose conduct had given rise to so much scandal, should be divorced from her husband and sent back to Portugal; that Isabel should be recognised as heir to the crowns of Castile and Leon, with the principality of Asturias for her present estate; that the Cortes should be summoned to give a legal sanction to her title, and for the amendment of the flagrant abuses of the government; lastly, that Isabel should be free to marry whom she pleased, provided her choice was confirmed by her brother. A meeting took place between Enrique and his sister near the spot marked by the mystic sculptured monsters, supposed to be of præ-Roman origin, called the *Toros de Guisando*, on the 9th of September, 1468, which was made the occasion of a solemn function—the nobles present tendering their homage to Enrique as king, and kissing the hand of Isabel as their future queen.

Thus happily, for a time at least, was concluded the long and most disastrous quarrel between Enrique and

his subjects, in a manner more fortunate for the king than he had any right or claim to expect.

The next trouble was how to dispose of Isabel's hand, which was solved by that princess in a manner very characteristic of her good sense and firmness of character. Among her wooers were scions of most of the royal houses of Europe, including the Duke of Clarence, brother to King Edward IV. of England, and the Duke of Guienne who held the same relation to King Louis XI. of France. A Prince of Aragon also, as to the fabled casquets of Belmont, "came to his election presently"—in the person of Fernando, son of Juan II. of that country. Isabel had shrewdly sent a trusty agent to inspect the French and the Aragonese pretenders, who came back with a report that the Duke of Guienne was an effeminate man, with limbs so emaciated as to be almost deformed, and rheumy eyes which unfitted him for the exercises of chivalry. Prince Fernando, on the other hand, was declared to be a very proper man, of a comely visage and figure, and a spirit equal to anything. Isabel fixed her choice upon her kinsman of Aragon; and never in the annals of courtly marriage was a match so happy and so entirely blessed. Fernando, now in his eighteenth year, had every qualification to fit him to be Isabel's husband, while being heir to Aragon their marriage would bring peace and unity to the two countries which between them made up Spain. Such a union had been longed for by the wisest and coolest heads in both countries, but hitherto it had been defeated, more than once, when to all seeming it had been ripe for accomplishment, by old jealousies and

national prejudices, kept alive by interested courtiers on either side.

Nor was it without some delays and after much negotiation and disputing that the well-assorted couple were made one. The chief of the late insurgent nobles, the Marquess of Villena, saw in this alliance the ruin of all his hopes of future distinction. Isabel, by this marriage, would have in her service a strong arm, able to keep down all the enemies of the Crown. Moreover, Aragon had claims over the greater part of the estate of Villena, which were likely to be vigorously enforced when the countries were united. The great family of the Mendozas, for other reasons equally selfish, were averse to the marriage. An intrigue was entered into with Portugal by the malcontent nobles, into which the worthless King Enrique was drawn—the bait to him being a marriage between *La Beltraneja*, whom Enrique had never ceased to claim for his own daughter, with the son and heir of King Alfonso of Portugal. This match, which would unite the two kingdoms in the next reign, was proposed by the faction of Villena as an alternative to the union with Aragon. The King of Portugal himself, who was a widower, paid his addresses to the Princess Isabella, but his suit was pressed so roughly by the king, who endeavoured to force his sister into the marriage, in violation of the compact by which he promised to respect her wishes, that the people rose in revolt. Songs insulting to Portugal and friendly to Aragon were sung in the streets. Supported by a powerful section of the nobles, by the Archbishop of Toledo,

who represented not only the higher clergy but a very formidable military force, and by the entire people, Isabel felt herself justified in taking steps to conclude her marriage with Prince Fernando, without further regard to her brother's wishes. The marriage articles were signed on the 7th of January, 1469. By these Fernando, on whom had now been bestowed by his father the title of King of Sicily, was bound strictly to respect the laws and customs of Castile; to reside within that kingdom, never leaving it without his queen's permission; to recognise her as the sole fountain of honours and benefices in Castile; and indeed to accept his consort as an equal partner with himself in all the right of sovereignty in respect of the two kingdoms. Even after this contract was signed, the terms of which illustrate in a striking manner the jealousy which still existed between Aragon and Castile, the match was on the point of being broken off by violence. The Marquess of Villena, in concert with the king, made an attempt to capture Isabel's person, which was only defeated by the vigilance of a few faithful adherents and the activity of the Archbishop of Toledo, who collected a body of horse and carried the princess off in safety to Valladolid, before the enemy could reach her. The adventures of Prince Fernando in quest of his bride were scarcely less strange and stirring. He had to run the gauntlet of King Enrique's guards and the partisans of Mendoza and Villena, before he could pass the frontier, and was compelled to disguise himself, incurring much peril and discomfort, including shortness of money,

before he could arrive at any place in the power of Isabel's adherents. However, his courage and address, which were worthy of a knight of romance, were at last crowned with all the success due to so gallant an enterprise. After finding shelter for a while in a faithful town of Leon, Fernando was brought to Valladolid and introduced to his mistress. The rest of the business, which for its romantic interest as well as for all the important issues which hung thereby has occupied so large a space in history, may be here passed over briefly. The marriage of Fernando and Isabel, that union so auspicious for Castile and Aragon, was solemnised on the 19th of October, 1469, amidst a scene of popular enthusiasm which made amends for the lack of more courtly ceremonies. The King Enrique was dutifully informed by his sister of the step she had taken, and returned a churlish answer that he would "take counsel with his ministers."

The counsel he followed was such as might be expected from a man of his worthless character, smarting under a rebuff so public and humiliating. His first step was to convoke the Cortes in order to get his supposed daughter, Juana (the hapless Beltraneja), once more recognised as his heir, to the exclusion of Isabel—his compact with whom at Toros de Guisando he declared had been broken by her disobedience in marrying contrary to his wishes. The Cortes declining to come together for such a purpose, the king, at the instigation of the Marquess of Villena, who now chose to be called by his new dignity of Master of Santiago, offered Juana to the

Duke of Guienne, with a view to cement his alliance with France. At a meeting between the representatives of the two countries, Juana was formally affianced to the Duke in October, 1470. But once more Enrique's plans for the assertion of his much doubted paternity were doomed to be disappointed. The Duke of Guienne died suddenly, "of herbs," administered, it is suggested, by his brother Louis XI., to which astute monarch the prospect of his relative's aggrandisement by the Spanish marriage was probably less attractive than it was to Enrique. The prospects of Isabel and Fernando were still somewhat gloomy, owing to the frightful state of anarchy in which the country was plunged, which seemed to promise a total dissolution of the social order. A picture of the universal demoralisation is given in some satirical verses which were now in the mouths of the people, called *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*, in which, with mystic phrases made purposely obscure, but probably clearer to those of that time than they are to us, the vices of the Court, the clergy, and the higher orders are lashed with a fierce and bitter sarcasm. A prophet, under the guise of a shepherd named *Gil Arribato*, addresses *Mingo Revulgo* (a personification of "the people"), asking him why he is so gloomy and depressed. *Mingo Revulgo* answers that it is by reason of his misfortunes ; that he has a shepherd who deserts his flock, who goes after his own pleasures and lusts. Meanwhile the four dogs which should guard the flock, Justice, Fortitude, Prudence, and Temperance, are destroyed, so that the wolves are come in to the sheep and are devour-

ing them. Then the prophet retorts that the evil is not wholly the shepherd's fault, but proceeds from the vices of the people, suggesting that if Faith, Hope, and Charity were to reign, they would not suffer the ills they have. Such is the general purport of these celebrated couplets, which seem to have had a vogue far in excess of their poetical merit, though they abound in picturesque and forcible passages, because they expressed, as without doubt they may be taken to do, the popular opinion respecting the evils and disorders of this miserable period. There is little doubt that some of the stanzas, purposely veiled in obscurity, are intended to presage the coming of a better time, when, under the new kings, Isabel and Fernando, justice and truth will prevail, and the people have a purer and stronger government.

Meanwhile the last years of Enrique were spent in a continuous series of intrigues to keep out his sister from her inheritance, which he was doing his best to spoil by his mingled rapacity, profligacy, and feebleness. In an age of general depravity, Castile had sunk to the lowest point of wretchedness ; and when Enrique terminated his inglorious life, in 1474, the relief to the nation was hailed with universal joy. With him ended the line of Trastamara, which had reigned in Castile for a hundred years.

Before we take up the story of Isabel it is necessary, to the due understanding of her husband's position, that we should return to the affairs of Aragon.

Fernando I., the Castilian prince, who had been elected as King of Aragon in 1411, had but a brief

reign, which was disturbed by the efforts of the Count of Urgel to regain possession of the kingdom. Under his successor, Alfonso V., a prince of great capacity and boundless ambition, Aragon greatly increased her importance in Europe by foreign annexations. Throughout the greater part of his reign Alfonso was engaged in wars and intrigues for the extension of his dominion in Italy and in the islands of the Mediterranean, the details of which, scarcely belonging to our history, may be briefly given. In Sardinia and Corsica, the Aragonese had been for some time in possession of the supreme authority, which was perpetually disturbed by risings among the native population, and by the enterprises of the Genoese Republic, now nearing the height of its greatness. Under Alfonso V., vigorous attempts were made to re-establish the Aragonese authority, which was for a season diverted into a more promising quarter. Joanna, Queen of Naples, weary of her husband and his nation, had expelled the French from her dominions. Fearing the vengeance of France, she placed herself under the protection of Aragon, offering to adopt Alfonso as her heir, on condition of his supporting her on the throne. In spite of the advice of his council, who then, as always, were averse to foreign conquest, which called away their sovereign from his native affairs and laid heavy burdens on the exchequer, Alfonso accepted this proposal, and thus became involved in a war with both France and Genoa, during which he had sufficient opportunity to judge of the fickleness of the Neapolitans. Received as a conqueror on his arrival with a powerful fleet at

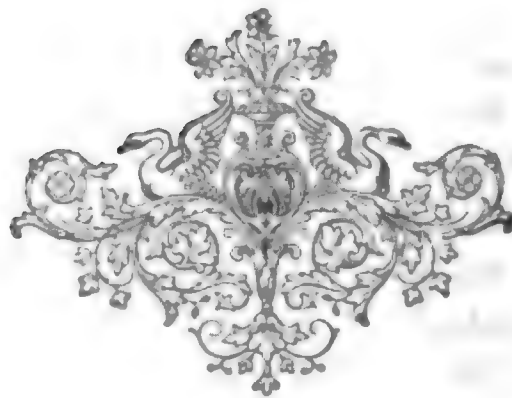
Naples, it was not long before the capricious queen made an attempt to take his life, first by poison, next by the dagger. He was then assailed by the combined forces of the Neapolitans and the French, and found himself besieged in a narrow quarter of the city. Reinforced by troops from Spain, Alfonso was enabled to recover Naples and drive the French from the walls. Called back to attend to his own affairs in Aragon, once more the tide of fortune turned against Alfonso at Naples—the French, with their allies, regaining possession of the kingdom. A few years afterwards, Queen Joanna once more justified the character of her sex, by quarrelling with the French, turning out the Duke of Anjou, and seeking the aid of Alfonso. Pope Martin also, who had a few years before excommunicated the King of Aragon, turned round and espoused his cause, upon some quarrel with the French. In 1432, Alfonso set sail with a powerful armament, with which he landed in Sicily. Two years afterwards, Queen Joanna being dead, Alfonso landed at Gaeta, to claim his promised kingdom of Naples. But a new combination of states, more powerful than the old, was formed against Aragon, France having secured the alliance not only of the Genoese, but of their rivals, the Venetians and the Florentines, together with the new Pope and the Duke of Milan. A great naval battle was fought off the Neapolitan coast, which proved most disastrous to Aragon—her ships being destroyed or captured, and the king himself, with his two brothers, Juan and Enrique, being taken prisoners. This was the severest blow ever inflicted on the mari-

time power of Aragon, which transferred the command of the inland sea from them to their jealous commercial rivals, the Genoese and the Venetians.

Alfonso himself, through the chivalrous generosity of his captor, the Duke of Milan, was almost immediately released, without ransom, only to renew, on his return to Aragon, his designs upon Naples. In 1438 he was once more before Naples, in opposition to his old competitor, the Duke of Anjou, gaining victories by sea and land, and in the end obtaining possession of the city, after a great battle in which the French, Genoese, and Papal troops were defeated. Finally Alfonso succeeded in winning over Pope Eugenius, and on condition of holding the kingdom of the Two Sicilies as a fief of the Holy See was confirmed in his Italian dominion. Dying soon afterwards, in 1458, the King of Aragon, who did little for his own country, left his Spanish dominions, together with Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic Islands, to his brother Juan, who was then King of Navarre, and Naples to his bastard son, Fernando, whom he had induced the Pope to declare legitimate.

With Juan II., who is chiefly known in history as the father of the prince under whom Aragon was made one with Castile, this history has little to do. He was, like all his house, a restless and turbulent monarch, ever busy with designs of conquest, who, while King of Navarre, was engaged in an unnatural contest with his own son Carlos. As King of Aragon, he was involved in a dangerous quarrel with a portion of his own subjects, the Catalans, who, instigated by Louis XI. of France, broke out into rebellion, at one

time setting up a republic, at another offering themselves as vassals to the King of Castile, and finally giving themselves to the Infante of Portugal, who had some claim, on the maternal side, to the crown of Aragon. In the tangled series of wars and intestinal troubles which followed, in which Louis XI. followed his usual tortuous policy, first playing with one side and then with the other as it suited his interest, which was to gain possession of Roussillon and some coveted frontier forts as Perpignan, King Juan was greatly assisted by his second wife, the daughter of the Admiral of Castile, and by her son, Fernando. Dying in 1479, Juan II. was succeeded in Aragon, Sicily, and Sardinia, by Fernando, who was already consort of Isabel, the Queen of Castile and Leon.





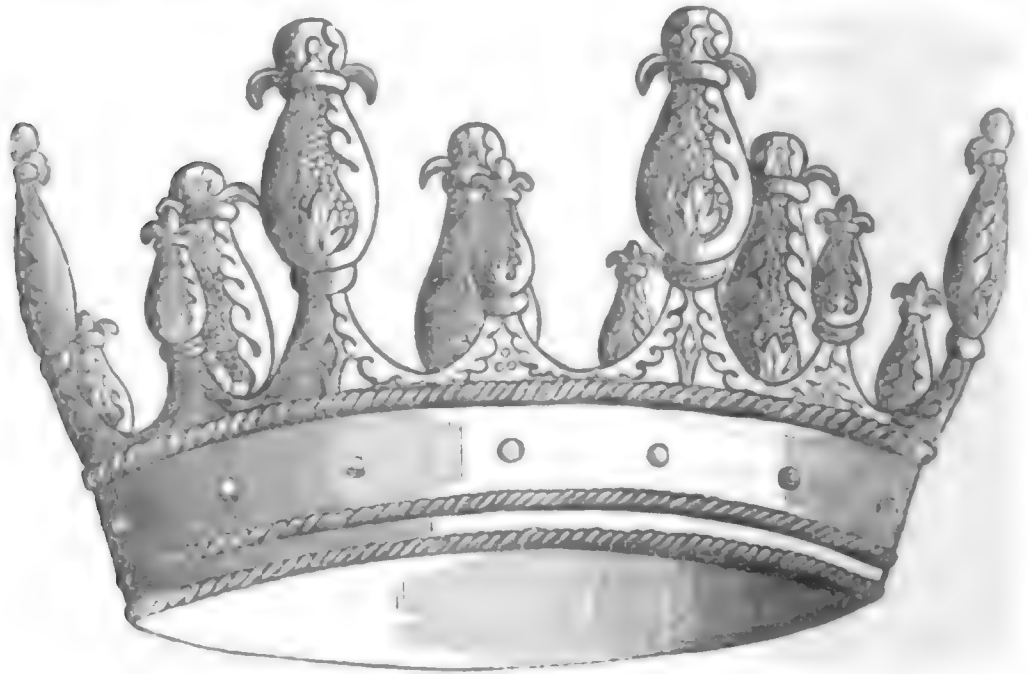
XII.

REIGN OF ISABEL AND FERNANDO—UNION OF CASTILE AND ARAGON—PEACE AND ORDER IN SPAIN—THE INQUISITION—WAR WITH THE MOORS AND CAPTURE OF GRANADA—THE END.

(1474-1492.)

WITH the accession of Isabel to the throne of Castile there began a new era for Spain. She was proclaimed at Segovia by an assembly of the great nobles, the clergy, and the principal dignitaries of state, amidst the acclamations of all classes of the people, on the 15th of December, 1474—being the second of her line to whom the designation of *reina proprietaria* belongs. The jealous Castilians from the first took care to separate her title from that of her husband, for though the union was popular in both countries it was not until many years afterwards that Aragon and Castile were made one. Fernando, who was still only prince of Aragon—his father the king, being alive—was not present when his consort received the homage of her subjects. He seems to have made, through his relatives and personal adherents, a

somewhat ungracious attempt to claim the exclusive sovereignty as its lawful inheritor, being the male representative of the house of Trastamara. But the question being submitted to the arbitration of the two archbishops of Toledo and Seville they decided that, according to the law of Castile which, unlike that of Aragon, did not exclude females from the throne, Isabel was the sole rightful heir of the kingdom, and



CROWN OF ISABEL THE CATHOLIC.

that Fernando's authority was only such as he derived from his wife. This decision being given, a contract in the terms of the marriage settlement was made, which Fernando, to his honour, ever afterwards loyally observed, the subsequent happiness which ensued to the two countries through this marriage being greatly due to the judicious and politic fidelity with which that prince interpreted the duties of his double position.

The young couple, on whom devolved the arduous task of lifting the much distracted country out of the misery and disorder into which it had been plunged by years of misrule, were not unworthy of each other, in graces of person as in gifts of mind. Isabel was now in her twenty-fourth year ; in form and aspect fitted to command universal love and homage—tall of stature, with the fair skin, ruddy hair, and blue eyes, which marked her northern descent,¹ with regular features, and a serene and open countenance. Her charm of manner and benignity of disposition were equal to her beauty of person, making up a queen such as to her delighted people seemed expressly bestowed by Heaven for the relief of an afflicted realm. The chroniclers are too much enamoured of her to speak with due composure of her merits. By her contemporaries and by posterity she has had the rare good fortune to be equally praised. She was Shakespeare's "queen of earthly queens"—by Francis Bacon pronounced "an honour to her sex and the corner-stone of the greatness of Spain." She was the embodiment of all that poets and painters have feigned or imagined of grace and majesty—the flower of womanhood—in virtue as excelling as in wisdom, and truly a creature of rare mould, in form, heart, and mind, who came as near to be the type of the perfect sovereign as any king or queen who ever reigned. Fernando, whatever he may have become afterwards when he lost his partner and his good genius, was in early manhood not unworthy to

¹ Isabel was descended from the Plantagenets on both sides, her father being the grandson, and her mother the great-grand-daughter, of John of Gaunt.

be the mate of Isabel. He was a year younger than his wife and somewhat less in stature—a prince of excellent endowments, physical and mental, such as made him not unequal to his good fortune and his dignity—of “a blood and judgment well commingled,”—sober, astute, active, and cool-headed. The first days of their joint government were not without the usual troubles of a new reign in Castile. Although the great body of the nobles and the clergy, with probably the mass of the people, who longed for nothing so much as repose and security, had accepted Isabel as their queen with warmth and gladness, there were still some malcontents who could not brook the new order which seemed unpropitious to their designs and unfavourable to their interests. At their head was the young Marquess of Villena, son of the arch-rebel of the late reign, whose vast estates made him the most powerful subject in Castile. He and his faction were joined by the old Archbishop of Toledo, once a zealous adherent of Isabel, but now—through jealousy of his brother of Seville, the Cardinal Mendoza, who had quickly risen into the place of the queen’s chief adviser—turned into a bitter enemy. These traitors proposed to Alfonso V., King of Portugal, a scheme for marrying his niece Juana (*La Beltraneja*), and thus securing to himself her title to the inheritance of Castile. Alfonso, a man of ardent and warlike character, better fitted for a knight-errant than a king, who had acquired the name of “the African” by his sterile victories over the Moors of Barbary, permitted himself to be drawn into this wild adventure. Crossing the frontier with

a powerful army, Alfonso met his destined bride, now thirteen years of age, at Plasencia. After being solemnly affianced to her the pair were proclaimed, in all form, King and Queen of Castile. Isabel and Fernando seem to have been taken by surprise by the Portuguese invasion, and had some difficulty in finding the necessary supplies with which to raise an army. Aided, however, by the patriotic devotion of the people, and especially by the clergy, who did not hesitate (to the disgust of the zealous churchmen of a subsequent age), to sacrifice one half of their plate for the national cause, the royal pair, mainly through Isabel's personal exertions, were able to collect a sufficient force with which to encounter the King of Portugal. The two armies met on a plain near the city of Toro, and after a battle, in which the international hatreds fed by three centuries of incessant hostility had full vent, the Portuguese were utterly defeated. The disgrace of Aljubarrota was amply avenged. The King of Portugal narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, and was forced to retire into Portugal, leaving Isabel and Fernando undisturbed in their dominion. The unlucky *Beltraneja*, the innocent cause of so many evils, was parted from her would-be husband by a bull from the Pope, and remitted to a convent ; while the Marquess of Villena and the Archbishop of Toledo were forced to seek for pardon at a heavy sacrifice of money and estate.

In the measures subsequently taken for the pacification of the kingdom Isabel took an active personal share. While her husband was engaged in securing the frontier of Aragon on the side of Navarre and in

winning over the wily Louis XI.—“ever strong upon the stronger side”—to his cause, Isabel led an army into Estremadura, reducing the strongholds of the insurgent nobles and confirming her authority. At length, in 1479, a treaty of peace was made with Portugal, by which Alfonso relinquished his claim on Juana, gave up her pretensions to the throne, and agreed to take the infant daughter of Isabel and Fernando, then in her cradle, for a wife to his son and heir, Don Juan. The poor *Beltraneja*, tossed about from husband to husband, who had witnessed her hopes of being settled in life so often frustrated, finally disposed of herself and ended her troubles by becoming a nun.

The death of the old King of Aragon in 1479 raised Fernando to the throne of that kingdom, and thus were the two countries united at last, after a separation of nearly eight hundred years. There was still a corner of Spain, extending over the border, which for a few years longer retained a nominal independence, chiefly through its geographical position which made it neither all Spanish nor wholly French. But Navarre also fell to the mingled force and address of Fernando; and thus was laid the last stone to the fabric which, in the next century, towered to such a height in Europe.

The first care of Isabel and Fernando, after they were fairly established in their sovereignty, was to redress that social order which by the crimes and weaknesses of their predecessors had been so seriously damaged. The strong hand and the cool head required to deal with the enormous evils which had

sprung from the almost total decay of the executive authority, during the last two feeble reigns, were fortunately found in Isabel and her consort. Aided by her wise and sagacious counsellor, the Cardinal Mendoza, the queen—on whom devolved the principal share of the work of internal administration—went about her reforms with a vigour, promptitude, and courage, such as must have amazed that careless and profligate age, when the people had almost ceased to believe in kings and judges. The greatest and most sweeping of Isabel's reforms was the establishment, or rather the re-institution, of that tremendous engine of law, the *Santa Hermandad* or Holy Brotherhood. By an adroit stroke of policy the Holy Brotherhood, hitherto an instrument in the hands of the enemies of order, which was practically never used except against the crown, was turned into a very potent weapon in support of the executive. Originally a kind of vigilance committee, of irregular and uncertain action, which overrode and set aside the formal operation of justice, the Holy Brotherhood, to which every household had to contribute, whose affairs were regulated by a central body chosen from the principal citizens throughout the kingdom, was erected into a most formidable tribunal, which had its own officers, and executed its own sentences, by the most simple and summary of processes. In a few years, in spite of the great nobles, who viewed with alarm this dangerous encroachment on their prerogatives, the Holy Brotherhood succeeded in restoring an unwonted degree of order and security throughout the country. The personal influence of Isabel

was no less conspicuous in the measures taken to curb the insolence and rapacity of the grandees, who had possessed themselves by force or trickery of fortresses belonging to the crown, under pretence of their being included in their estates, from which they had been accustomed to wage war on each other or against the king. In the province of Galicia alone, we are told, more than fifty castles—the abodes of petty brigand knights, who lived by spoiling their neighbours—were razed to the ground. Highway robbers, taken in the red hand, were executed on the spot, being shot to death by arrows, their bodies exposed on the road tied to stakes.¹ For the first time, perhaps, in the annals of Spain, the roads were made safe to unarmed travellers. The people, freed from their old oppressors, blessed God, we are told, for “a deliverance from an evil worse than captivity.” Nor were Isabel’s labours confined to the improvement of the process of justice. The higher tribunals were re-organised, their proceedings simplified, the judges made more independent. New laws were passed for securing the liberty of the subject, for the punishment of corrupt or unjust magistrates, and for securing a cheap and speedy trial for offenders. For the better maintenance of the law in its dignity and popularity the sovereigns themselves were accustomed to preside on the judgment bench,

¹ The readers of “Don Quixote” will remember Sancho Panza’s terror of the Holy Brotherhood when engaged with his master in his knight-errandries. The severity of the law, however, had been much relaxed before the time of Cervantes—the Emperor Charles V., out of his great clemency, decreeing that the malefactor should be strangled before being pierced by arrows.

after the ancient custom of the Castilian kings. At the great Cortes held at Toledo, 1480, which confirmed these and many other salutary measures, it was ruled that the king should take his seat in the Council one day in every week. Freed from civil war, rapine, and bloodshed, the people might well believe that the Golden Age had returned. The change in the condition of the country was nothing short of a revolution, perhaps the most thorough and wholesome which had ever been made in the life of a nation. Not without warrant does Fernando de Pulgar, an eye-witness of these reforms and secretary to the "Catholic Kings," write that "whereas the kingdom had been filled with robbers and malefactors of every kind, who committed the most devilish outrages, in open contempt of the law, there was now such terror impressed on the hearts of all that none dared lift his hand against another, or even assail him with reproachful or discourteous language. The knight and the squire, who had formerly oppressed the labouring man, were intimidated by the fear of that justice which was certain to be executed on all ; the roads were swept of robbers ; the castles, the strongholds of violence, were thrown down ; and the whole nation, restored to tranquillity and order, looked for no other redress than that afforded by the operation of the law." The reform of the judicature was accompanied by a new codification of the laws, which, taking for their basis the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X., were brought into conformity with the spirit of the age and the demands of the nation. The civil revenue and expenditure were ordered and controlled ;

the various branches of the executive duly defined and their duties prescribed; the Cortes remodelled and the rights and privileges of the deputies placed on a surer footing. The power of the sovereign which had necessarily increased as the feudal system (which had never taken very firm root in Spain) fell into decay—perhaps rather as the grandees exhausted themselves in their petty civil wars—was itself regulated and restrained, and if it reached, as doubtless it did, during the reign of Isabel and Fernando to a higher point than ever, leading the way to the autocracy of Charles V. and of Philip II., it was as much through the prestige acquired from the personal character of Isabel and of her consort as by any direct assertion of a higher royal prerogative.

Unfortunately for the reputation of Isabel with posterity, the queen was not content to be the protector of the bodies of her subjects. Inspired by a zeal which, in the eyes of the native historian, constitutes her chief glory, as being the basis of her claim to the appellation of "the Catholic," Isabel, who in such matters was entirely under the power of her spiritual advisers, undertook to purge the souls of her people. Cardinal Mendoza, whose influence over the sovereigns had gained him the title of "*Tertius Rex*," does not appear, indeed, to have been the principal agent in turning Isabel's mind to the re-establishment of the Holy Inquisition, with a view to the uprooting of heresy. That honour is due to the famous Torquemada, the queen's confessor in her early days, who is said to have extorted a pledge from her that when she came to the throne she would devote herself to the

extirpation of heresy "for the glory of God and the exaltation of the Catholic faith." Isabel, we are told, on coming to the throne, resisted for a long time the importunities of her ecclesiastical advisers, who urged her to the fulfilment of her vow ; and it was not until 1478 that, at the instance of her husband (the Inquisition was already of long standing in Aragon), she was prevailed upon to ask for a bull from the Pope, to introduce the Holy Office into Castile.

There can be no greater injustice than to condemn one century by the standard to which a later has arrived, through long ages of trial and a slow process of development; nor does it become us, in times which have witnessed the deportation of a whole people from their country and homes, by the arbitrary decree of a monarch who ranks among the greatest of European princes, to be too severe on Isabel because, true to the creed in which she had been suckled, she resolved upon the forcible conversion of the Jews. To bring that ancient race within the bosom of the Church was the chief object of the Inquisition. For greater aggravation of their sin of heresy the Jews, then as now, got riches—while good Christians, "old and rank," such as Sancho Panza took his chief glory in being, remained poor. "The accursed race," to the scandal and confusion of true nobility, even dared to ally themselves by marriage with the great Christian families, and so to pollute the pure stream of blue Gothic blood. First introduced into Aragon in the early part of the Thirteenth century for the special benefit of the Albigenses, the Inquisition, contrary to what its apologists have maintained, was never to the

taste of the Spanish people. It required all the authority of the Church, then rapidly growing into its monopoly of power and absorbing all the wealth and intellect of the kingdom, to force it upon a reluctant nation. It was not until after many delays and much opposition from all the secular bodies in the state that the Holy Office was instituted. Isabel herself, who has borne with posterity an undue share of the odium of this baleful measure, gave her consent to it with reluctance, doing her best to mitigate its severities. It is significant that the Cortes, who, as Prescott notes, were sitting at the time, engaged in passing severe laws against the Jews, abstained from making any reference to the new tribunal, whose powers, as novel as they were terrible to the people, were doubtless jealously regarded by the proud Castilians. However, the priests prevailed, having on their side King Fernando, who, less from piety than from policy, was not disinclined to a measure which promised to divert a large portion of the wealth of the unbelievers into the ill-furnished national exchequer. The Inquisition was formally proclaimed on the 2nd of January, 1481, by a decree which required all persons guilty of heresy—that is, of not accepting the Catholic faith—to make public confession of their fault, on pain of being burnt at the stake. Some late defenders of the Holy Office, using an argument which would have scandalised its founders, have set up the plea that the delinquents were not burnt for defect of belief, but for sedition, or at least incivism—that they were punished, in fact, not because they were heretics but because they were traitors—that the Inquisition really took no

man's life, seeing that it handed over every one it condemned to the "secular arm." By a parity of argument one might acquit Judge Jefferies of his butcheries, for it is certain that the judge did not hang the west-country rebels with his own hands. The fact remains that, within the period dating from the promulgation of the decree to their final expulsion, in 1492, shortly after the fall of Granada, two thousand Jews were burnt alive in Andalusia, while seventeen thousand were permitted to make "reconciliation," that is to say, to save their lives by giving up all their property and submitting to lesser penalties, such as civil incapacity, or imprisonment, or banishment. The Jews, at whom the stroke was levelled, by a piece of cold-blooded barbarism from which even the persecuting Muscovite has recoiled, were not even permitted to get away—to carry their heresies and their lives elsewhere. They would like to have taken refuge with the Mahommedans of Granada, but then both their souls and their properties would have been lost to the Christian state; and confiscation of the Jewish treasure was one of the means through which Isabel and Fernando hoped to raise the fund for the still greater work of faith which was now thrust upon them—that final enterprise which was to crown and consummate their work of empire — namely, the destruction of the one remaining Moorish kingdom, and the total extirpation of the infidels from Spanish soil.

The war with Granada, now the only Moslem state in the Peninsula, where was concentrated all that was left of the once proud heritage of the

Omeyyad Khalifs, broke out not by the choice of the Catholic sovereigns but through an act of hare-brained audacity on the part of the Moorish king, Abu-l-Hassan. Fernando was slow in responding to the challenge. The Catholic kings were still occupied in the settlement of their domestic affairs—in the arrangements for the cure of heresy. It may be doubted whether Isabel, though not wanting in the martial spirit of her race, engaged in the war with any view to conquest or increase of dominion. When finally prevailed upon to consent to the expedition against Granada, it was probably less through motives of policy than of piety. As in her subsequent compact with the Genoese adventurer, one Christopher Colon, the queen was moved not so much by a desire to extend her empire as to add to the number of souls to be saved. The thought of recovering the lost soil of Spain, of revenging the disaster of Guadalete, of rounding off and completing the Christian kingdom, had as yet not entered into Isabel's mind. The Moors, though their dominions were much shrunk, had dwelt for so many years side by side with the Christians on terms not always unfriendly, that their existence seemed not incompatible with the security and integrity of the Spanish kingdom. There had been an interchange of good offices quite recently between the two powers. The kings of Granada had mostly paid tribute, and such desultory attempts as had been made to disturb their reign had not always been attended with advantage to the Christians. Though now comparatively few in number, the Moors were concentrated in a strong position. Their capital

city, now at the height of its splendour, larger and richer than any town in Spain, could itself send out, on short notice, an army of fifty thousand men, better equipped and furnished than any force which could be raised in Spain—skilled in war, and highly trained by constant exercise therein, of whom the light horsemen and archers were reckoned among the best in Europe.

The Moors themselves, though enervated by luxurious living and torn by family feuds, still retained their old capacity for war, nor had lost their martial temper. With an infatuation, engendered perhaps by his successes in the field against the feeble Enrique IV., the Moorish king, when required to pay his annual tribute in 1476, sent back a message that "the mints of Granada no longer coined gold but steel." In 1481 Abu-l-Hassan, without warning or direct provocation, marched across the frontier and took by storm the frontier fort of Zahara. This led to a reprisal, in an enterprise singularly characteristic of the Castilian temper, as showing that whether the sovereign was prepared or not, there were those within the kingdom who were ready to force his hand. A body of men, the personal retainers of the famous Marquess of Cadiz, Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, marched into the heart of the territory of Granada, and took by assault the city and fortress of Alhama. Alhama, within eight leagues of the capital, was believed to be impregnable. It was the pearl of the Moorish realm—the favourite seat of the king, renowned for wealth and luxury—the centre of a world-famous silk industry—whose loss spread grief and

terror throughout all Moordom, in proportion as the exploit, to be counted among the most brilliant feats of Spanish chivalry, filled the Christians with mingled joy and wonder. So deep was the sensation created by this disaster, that no one in Granada was permitted to speak of it on pain of death. The news of this daring stroke helped to spur on the Catholic sovereigns to that task which, at first, they seem to have entered upon with reluctance. Preparations were made in all haste for the reinforcement of the heroic captors of Alhama, who were now in turn besieged by a formidable army of Moors. The defence of the place was no less glorious to the Castilian arms than its capture had been. In vain did the besiegers bring all their overwhelming resources, in men and in engines of war, to bear upon the town. Ponce de Leon held out until—to make the romantic story complete—he was relieved by his deadly hereditary foe, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the head of the Guzmans, who, without waiting for King Fernando to join him, hastened at the head of all the power of his great house, which comprised half the manhood of Andalusia, to the aid of the beleaguered garrison. The King of Granada retired on the approach of the Christians. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, after sacking and despoiling the city, withdrew his army, leaving a small garrison to defend the fortress. Once more the Moors invested the place, bringing with them a large train of artillery, which they had been in too great a hurry to provide in the first siege.

Vigorous measures were now taken to prosecute the war on the Christian side. Isabel, who at first

had been lukewarm in the enterprise, now urged it with equal ardour and wisdom—insisting that Alhama, as the key of the enemy's frontier, must be retained at all cost, and infusing her own spirit into her people and her passionless consort. Preparations for the campaign were now made on a scale which betokened that this was to be no mere military promenade as those in the last reign, or a foray for plunder, or even a campaign for the enlargement of the border; but a war for the faith, having for its object the final extinction of the Moorish dominion.

The main army under the command of Fernando in person entered the *Vega* of Granada in July, 1482, its first aim being Loja—a city set upon the hills, which offered a vigorous resistance to the Christians. Fernando, who was no great general, handled his men so badly, getting them into a difficult position, that the Moors were enabled, with a comparatively small force, to repulse the king's army, and even to inflict upon him a defeat which might have ended in a total rout but for his personal coolness. The Castilians were forced to retire from before Loja with heavy loss, including their artillery and baggage—Fernando betaking himself for refuge to Cordova, while the Moors recovered nearly all their lost ground.

At this crisis, when the hopes of Christian Spain were at the lowest, and even the indomitable soul of Isabel was in despair, one of those chamber revolutions broke out in Granada, so common in Oriental history, and changed the whole aspect of affairs. The King Abu-l-Hassan was expelled from Granada by

a rising of the people, led by his son Abu Abdallah, or rather by the Queen Zoraya, of Castilian descent. Indignant at her husband's preference for a younger wife, Zoraya, with her clansmen of the Zegries, between whom and the Abencerrajes there raged a deadly blood feud, stirred up that revolt which led to the downfall of her race and kingdom. The romantic story of these troublous times in Granada has been elsewhere told so fully that it need not occupy us longer here. The civil war between Abu-l-Hassan and his son materially contributed to the triumph of the Christians, and precipitated the fall of Granada. The war languished for a time, through the exhaustion of both parties. The Moors, divided as they were between the partisans of the old king whose seat was at Malaga, and Abu Abdallah (better known by his Spanish nickname of *El Rey Chico*—the Little King) at Granada, even won some battles in the field. At last Abu Abdallah was defeated and made prisoner at Lucena, upon which the fickle citizens of Granada, inspired by the Abencerrajes, took back Abu-l-Hassan, his father. But Abu Abdallah being liberated, by the shrewd policy of Fernando, upon a pledge of paying up all arrears of tribute and becoming a faithful vassal of the Christian kingdom, went back to Granada, to weaken his kingdom once more by civil dissension. Weary of the calamitous civil war which was being waged in the face of the enemy, the Moorish chiefs resolved to get rid of both father and son—setting up another Abdallah, a younger brother of Abu-l-Hassan, called from his lustihood *Ez-Zagal* (the Valiant One). Ez-Zagal well justified his name

and the confidence of his countrymen, making a stout fight of it and inflicting a severe defeat on the Christians in the defiles of the Axarquia. Stirred to action by this reverse, Fernando—who would rather have turned his arms against France in prosecution of his claims on Roussillon—consented to join his queen in a great armament which was now prepared for the invasion of Granada and the final subjugation of the Moors, which included ten thousand horsemen and forty thousand foot, with the largest supply of artillery and munitions of war ever seen in Spain. Volunteers from all parts of Europe joined the army, including a contingent of Swiss—a people who had lately earned great military renown by their victories over the Duke of Burgundy—and some English knights, among whom were the Earl of Rivers and Lord Scales. Queen Isabel herself accompanied the army, with her daughter and a train of damsels, splendidly mounted on mules, by the side of whom rode the Cardinal Mendoza—lately advanced, by the death of his old rival Alfonso de Carrillo, to the Archbishopric of Toledo. The Spaniards, taught by their recent reverses, advanced leisurely into the field, taking town after town in their march, in spite of all the attempts of the gallant Ez-Zagal to arrest their progress by cutting off their detached foraging parties and laying waste the country in their rear. The iron chain round the devoted city was gradually drawn tighter on the north and west. The people of Granada still continuing to receive supplies from the coast, it was resolved to send an expedition against Malaga—then an important seaport town the chief *entrepôt* of the Moorish

foreign trade. Malaga was taken, after a brave resistance, in 1487. The war was then, for a time, suspended, to enable the sovereigns to visit Aragon, to suppress certain disorders in that kingdom, and to raise reinforcements for the army in Granada. The resources of Fernando and Isabel were at this time exposed to a double strain through their alliance with the Duke of Brittany against France. On the other hand the Christians were greatly helped by the split among the Moors, whose shrunken kingdom was now divided in two—Abu Abdallah reigning in Granada, while Ez-Zagal was supreme in Baeza. An expedition against the latter from the eastward was defeated by the vigilance and activity of the Moors; nor was it until the spring of 1489 that the main army, now swelled to nearly a hundred thousand men of all arms, resumed active operations in the field under the personal command of Fernando. The siege of Baeza, now the second city in importance of those left to Granada, which Ez-Zagal had made his capital, was pressed with vigour but for many months without success. Fernando's troops were more than once repulsed, and had the Moors been aided by their brethren from the capital, it is probable that the doom of Baeza, in which was necessarily involved that of Granada, might have been averted or at least postponed. But the *Rey Chico* made no sign, even when the Christians, foiled in all their attacks upon Ez-Zagal's stronghold, proposed to withdraw from the siege. But for Isabel's stout heart, who would not listen to those who counselled the abandonment of the war, or at least its postponement to a more

fortunate season, all the work of the campaign would now have been undone. The queen was indefatigable in her exertions, by voice and letter, to keep up the spirits of her husband and her followers, and in her efforts to arouse the national enthusiasm in favour of her enterprise, which she was now convinced was one for God's service. The operations before Baeza having begun to flag, and a pestilence breaking out in the besieger's camp, Isabel came herself to the army, attended by her ladies; "and her presence," says Peter Martyr, her faithful secretary, "seemed at once to gladden and reanimate our spirits, drooping under long-protracted vigils, dangers, and fatigue."¹ At last the Moorish garrison, worn out by the toils of war, reduced by sickness, and seeing no hope of relief, agreed to surrender. With Baeza was given up the whole of the dominion of Ez-Zagal, including the larger portion of what remained of the territory of Granada. The King Ez-Zagal himself made submission, being treated with all knightly courtesy by Fernando and his queen, and permitted to retain his title with a small estate and revenue, under vassalage to Castile.

King Abu Abdallah, having pledged himself by the treaty of Loja that he would surrender Granada whenever Baeza and the adjacent domains had capitulated, was now called upon by the Catholic king to carry out his foolish promise. But Abu Abdallah made excuses, urging that his people would not

¹ Peter Martyr (Pietro Martire) was a cultured Italian of good family who was in the train of Isabel throughout the war. His letters are the best and most authentic source of the history of these times.

let him give up the city, and were resolved upon its defence. Another campaign was necessary before the war could be brought to the end which was now in all men's minds. It is a proof of the martial quality still remaining in the Moors, that, though reduced to a mere handful of warriors, with one city and its dependencies only remaining to them of all their wide dominion, with the wound still green of all their sufferings and an open sore of civil dissension in their midst, they should have offered so formidable a front to the Christians that it required two years more of preparation—and a new army of at least fifty thousand men, before Granada was finally reduced. Fernando, whose camp was graced, as usual, by the presence of Isabel—without whom it appeared that the chivalry of Spain could not be put in motion—sat down before Granada for the last time, in April, 1491. For six months a series of perpetual skirmishes took place between the advanced posts on either side, in the course of which individual acts of prowess were performed which shed much glory on both Christian and Moorish knighthood. At last the king, Abu Abdallah, despairing of succour from any quarter, and probably fearing for his own life amidst the hostile factions in the city, made overtures for surrender. The conditions were liberal, and, if intended to be observed (which is grave matter of doubt), such as reflected credit on the generosity of the conquerors. The inhabitants of Granada, who were reckoned—with the remnants of the population which had crowded into the city from the other captured towns—at not less than a quarter of a million, were

confirmed in the possession of their places of worship, with free exercise of their religion, and guaranteed the full enjoyment of their property, with liberty to go where they pleased; those who chose Africa for residence to be furnished with the means of transport thither, with their families and household goods; those preferring to remain in Granada, to be subject to their own laws, administered by their own judges and magistrates, under the general control of the Spanish governor.

These conditions having been agreed to, Abu Abdallah rode forth from his stately palace-fortress of the Alhambra, on the 2nd of January, 1492, to meet the triumphal cavalcade of the conquerors, headed by Fernando with a brilliant train of knights and courtiers. Meanwhile the Cardinal Mendoza had been sent, with a chosen body of troops, to make a circuit of the hill on which the Alhambra stands, and enter the palace by a side gate. Soon the great silver cross, which had been carried in front of the king throughout the war, was seen to gleam from a high tower, and the banners of Castile and Aragon to wave from the *Torre de la Vela*, the loftiest pinnacle of the fortress. Then all the Christian host fell on their knees, and gave thanks to God for His great mercy vouchsafed to the armies of the Catholic kings, who had recovered the soil of Spain from the Moslem conquerors—hailing Isabel and Fernando, when they appeared in the midst of the enraptured soldiers, in terms which no Spanish sovereign had ever heard, as saviours of their country, sent from heaven for the glory of the nation and the salvation of the faith.

Thus was brought to a close the long duel between Spaniard and Moor, which had lasted for seven hundred and eighty-one years. By the fall of Granada, the defeat of the Goths was avenged. The whole land of Spain, for the first time since the death of Roderick, was restored to the native dominion. The victory, largely due to the courage and constancy of Isabel and the wisdom and prudence of her husband, made of Spain one whole and entire kingdom, redressed the balance between the Cross and Crescent in Europe, and almost consoled Christendom for the loss of Constantinople.



APPENDIX.

CALENDAR OF LEADING EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF SPAIN FROM THE MOORISH CONQUEST TO THE FALL OF GRANADA.

A.D.

- 711. Tarik, Lieutenant of Musa, Mahommedan Governor of Western Africa, lands at Algeciras, April 30th.
- Battle of Guadalete, end of July. After three days' (seven days?) fighting the Gothic army defeated by the Moors under Tarik, the Gothic king slain and his kingdom overturned.
- 712. Musa lands in Spain and completes the subjugation of the country.
- 713. Theodomir, the Goth, by treaty with the Moors, established in a semi-independent sovereignty in Murcia.
- 718. Pelayo, or Pelagius, rallies the Christians in Asturias.
- 720. (?) Battle of Covadonga. Defeat of the Moors by Pelayo.
- 737. Death of Pelayo.
- 739. Alfonso I. reigns as King of Asturias.
- 756. Cordova made capital of Moorish kingdom by Abde-rahman, founder of the Omeyyad Dynasty.
- 776. Charlemagne leads an army into Spain.
- 777. Rout of the rear-guard of the Frankish army under Roland, at Roncesvalles.
- 801. Barcelona recovered from the Moors.

A.D.

- 850. Leon founded by Ordoño I., and made capital of the kingdom.
- 885. Garcia reigns, first King of Navarre.
- 921. Battle of Val de Junquera. The Christians under Ordoño II. defeated by the Moors under Abderahman III.
- 929. Abderahman III. assumes the title of Khalif.
- 934. Battle of Simancas. Victory of Ramiro I. over the Moors.
- 982. Burgos founded and made capital of Castile.
- 996. Leon taken and sacked by Almanzor, the Moorish general.
- 1002. Death of Almanzor the Conqueror.
- 1009. Fall of the Omeyyad Dynasty in Spain.
- 1025. (?) Birth of the Cid, Rodrigo Diez de Bivar.
- 1065. Death of Fernando, first King of united Castile and Leon.
- 1071. Defeat of the Leonese by the Castilians at the battle of Carrion.
- 1080. Ecclesiastical Council of Burgos establishes the Roman Ritual in place of the Gothic.
- 1085. Toledo captured by Alfonso VI.
- 1094. Dynasty of the Almoravides begins.
- 1095. Valencia captured by the Cid.
- 1096. Battle of Alcoraz. Defeat of Moors and Castilians by Pedro I. of Aragon.
- 1099. Death of the Cid.
- 1102. Valencia retaken by the Almoravides under Yussuf.
- 1108. Battle of Uclés. Defeat of the Christians and death of Sancho, only son of Alfonso VI.
- 1118. Saragossa taken by Alfonso *El Batallador*.
- 1135. Alfonso VII. crowned Emperor of all Spain.
- 1137. Petronilla, daughter and heiress of Ramiro of Aragon, married to Raymond Berenger IV., Count of Barcelona.
- 1148. The Almohades from Africa replace the Almoravides.
- 1161. Military Order of Santiago founded.

A.D.

- 1170. Alfonso VIII. marries Eleanor, daughter of Henry II. of England.
- 1189. First Cortes met at Burgos, where deputies from the towns were present, with nobles and clergy.
- 1195. Battle of Alarcon. Christians under Alfonso VIII. defeated by the Moors.
- 1212. Great victory of Las Navas de Tolosa by the Christians under Alfonso VIII. over the Moors.
- 1228. Majorca conquered by Jayme I. of Aragon.
- 1230. Castile and Leon finally united under Fernando III.
- 1235. Cordova taken by Fernando III.
- 1239. Valencia recaptured by Jayme *El Conquistador*.
- 1240. Murcia taken by Fernando III.
- 1248. Seville taken by Fernando III.
- 1252. Death of Fernando III. (San Fernando) at Seville.
- 1258. The *Siete Partidas* promulgated by Alfonso XI.
- 1290. Tarifa taken.
- 1309. Gibraltar taken by Alonso *El Bueno*.
- 1334. Algeciras taken by Alfonso XI., after twenty months' siege.
- 1340. Battle of the Salado. Defeat of the Moors under Emperor of Morocco by Alfonso XI.
- 1367. Battle of Najera. Defeat of Enrique of Trastamara and French allies by the Black Prince.
- 1369. Death of Pedro the Cruel at Montiel.
- 1385. Battle of Aljubarrota. Victory of the Portuguese and English allies over the Castilians and French companies under Juan I.
- 1386. John of Gaunt crowned King of Castile and Leon at Santiago.
- 1387. Marriage of Catherine, daughter of John of Gaunt, with the Infante Enrique of Castile.
- 1411. Fernando, Prince of Castile, elected King of Aragon.
- 1439. El Seguro de Tordesillas.
- 1453. Execution of Don Alvaro de Luna at Valladolid.
- 1465. Mock dethronement of Enrique IV. at Avila.

A.D.

- 1469. Marriage of Isabel and Fernando, October 25th.
- 1474. Accession of Isabel to the throne of Castile and union with Aragon.
- 1476. Battle of Toro. Defeat of the Portuguese and Castilian insurgents under Alfonso V. of Portugal by King Fernando.
- 1481. The Holy Inquisition established in Castile, January 2nd.
- 1482. Capture of Alhama by Ponce de Leon.
- 1487. Malaga taken by King Fernando.
- 1491. Siege of Granada commenced, in April.
- 1492. Surrender of Granada, January 2nd.

HENRY II., King of England.

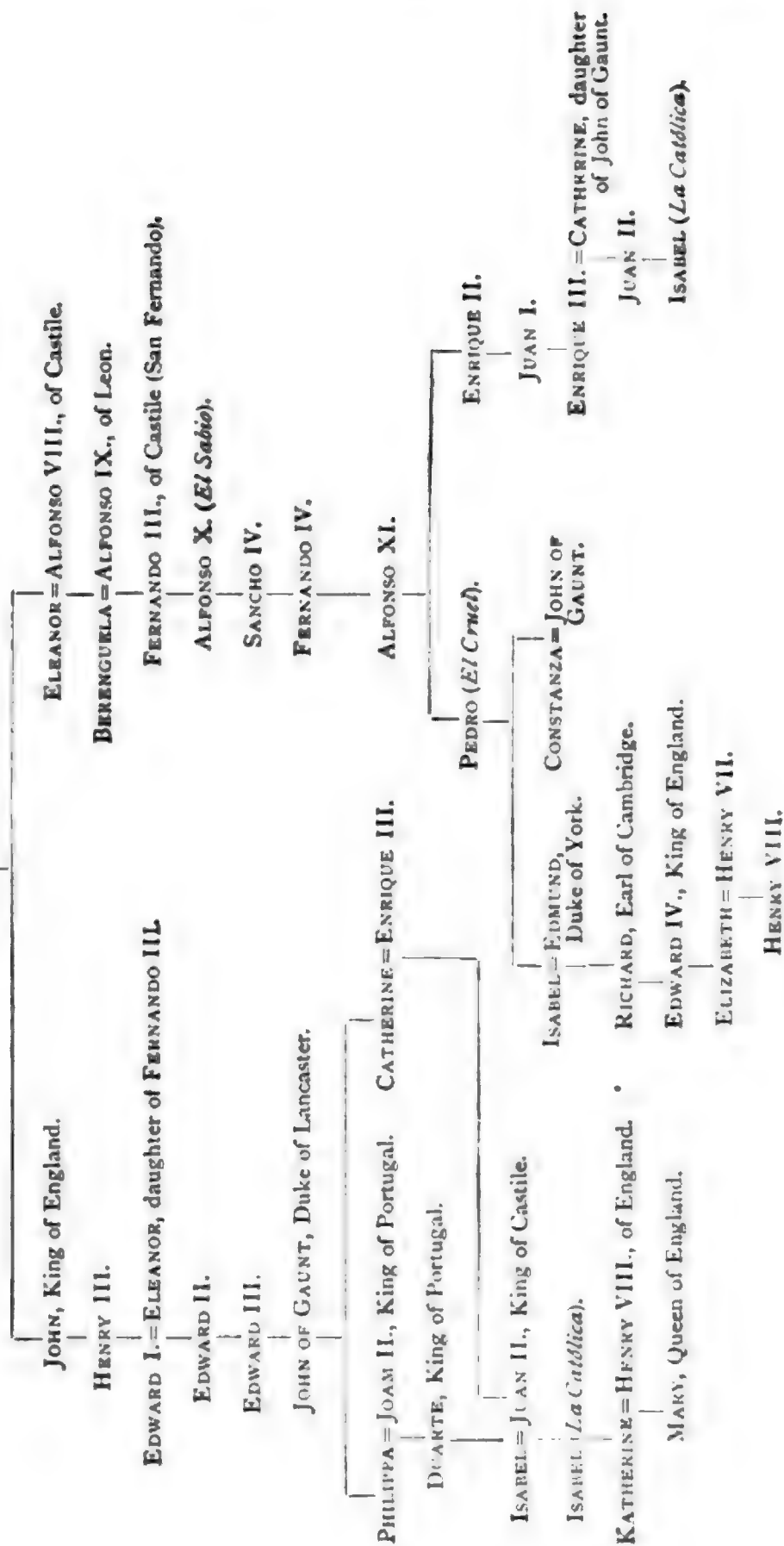


TABLE OF THE KINGS OF SPAIN FROM PELAYO TO ISABEL
AND FERNANDO.

| DATES OF
ACCESSION. | ASTURIAS AND
LEON. | CASTILE. | NAVARRE. | BARCELONA. |
|------------------------|-----------------------|---|---|--|
| A.D.
718 | Pelayo. | | | |
| 737 | Favila. | | | |
| 739 | Alfonso I. | | | |
| 757 | Fruela I. | | | |
| 768 | Aurelio. | | | |
| 774 | Mauregato. | | | |
| 788 | Bermudo I. | | | |
| 791 | Alfonso II. | | | |
| 842 | Ramiro I. | | | |
| 850 | Ordoño I. | | | |
| 866 | Alfonso III. | | | |
| 910 | Garcia. | | | |
| 914 | Ordoño II. | | | |
| 923 | Fruela II. | | | |
| 925 | Alfonso IV. | | | |
| 930 | Ramiro II. | | | |
| 950 | Ordoño III. | | | |
| | | Counts dependent on
kings of Asturias till— | Occupied by Frankish
adventurers till the first
independent Count,
Sancho Iñigo. | Occupied by Moors
till— |
| | | A.D.
932 Fernan Gonzalez.
970 Garcia Fernandez. | A.D.
873 Sancho Iñigo.
885 Garcia I.
905 Sancho I.
924 Garcia II.
970 Sancho II.
(<i>El Mayor</i>). | A.D.
858 Wifredo I.
872 Salomon.
884 Wifredo II.
912 Miro.
928 Seniofredo.
967 Borello.
993 Raymundo I. |

| LEON. | CASTILE. | NAVARRÉ. | BARCELONA. | ARAGON. |
|---|--|--|---|--|
| A.D.
955 Sancho I.
967 Ramiro III.
982 Bermudo II.
999 Alfonso V.
1027 Bermudo III.
1037 Fernando I.
1065 Alfonso VI.
1109 Urraca.
1126 Alfonso VII.
1157 Fernando II.
1188 Alfonso IX.
1230 Fernando III.
(also King of Castile). | A.D.
995 Sancho Garcés.
1021 García Sanchez.
1027 Sancho <i>el Mayor</i> .
(also King of Navarre).
1035 Fernando I.
(also King of Leon).
1065 Sancho II.
1072 Alfonso I.
(also King of Leon as Alfonso VI).
1109 Urraca
(also Queen of Leon).
1126 Alfonso II.
(Alfonso VII. of Leon).
1157 Sancho III.
1158 Alfonso III.
(better known as Alfonso VIII.).
1214 Enrique I.
1230 Fernando
(also King of Leon). | A.D.
1035 García III.
1054 Sancho III.
1076 Sancho IV.
(also King of Aragon as Sancho I.).
1092 Pedro I. (also King of Aragon).
1104 Alfonso I. (also King of Aragon).
1134 García IV.
1150 Sancho V.
1194 Sancho VI.

The succession passed to French princes till 1425, when Blanche of Navarre married Juan, son of Fernando I., King of Aragon. | A.D.
1017 Berengario
1035 Raymundo II.
1076 Raymundo III.
1082 Raymundo IV.
1131 Raymundo V., married Petronilla, daughter and heiress of Ramiro, King of Aragon.

Barcelona merged into Aragon. | The greater part of Aragon was held by the Moors till the Eleventh century, the districts in the west, possessed by the Christians, being a dependency of Navarre.

Sancho <i>el Mayor</i> left Aragon to his son

A.D.
1035 Ramiro I.
1063 Sancho I.
1094 Pedro I.
1104 Alfonso I.
(sometimes called Alfonso VII. of Castile). |

TABLE OF THE KINGS OF SPAIN FROM
PELAYO TO ISABEL AND FERNANDO
(continued).

CASTILE AND LEON.

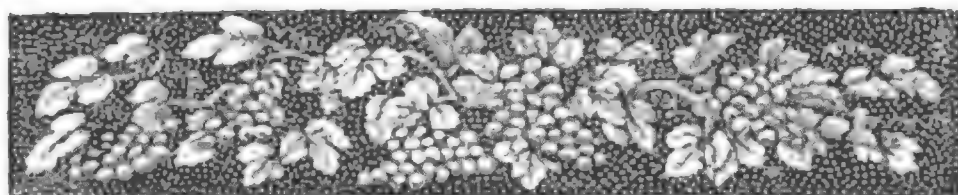
| A.D. | |
|------|---------------------------------|
| 1252 | Alfonso X. (<i>El Sabio</i>). |
| 1284 | Sancho IV. |
| 1295 | Fernando IV. |
| 1312 | Alfonso XI. |
| 1350 | Pedro I. (<i>El Cruel</i>). |
| 1369 | Enrique II. |
| 1379 | Juan I. |
| 1390 | Enrique III. |
| 1407 | Juan II. |
| 1454 | Enrique IV. |
| 1474 | Isabel I. |
| | (Castile united with Aragon.) |

ARAGON.

| A.D. | |
|------|--------------------------------------|
| 1134 | Ramiro II. |
| 1137 | Petronilla. |
| 1163 | Alfonso II. |
| 1196 | Pedro II. |
| 1213 | Jayme I. (<i>El Conquistador</i>). |
| 1276 | Pedro III. |
| 1285 | Alfonso III. |
| 1291 | Jayme II. |
| 1327 | Alfonso IV. |
| 1336 | Pedro IV. |
| 1387 | Juan I. |
| 1395 | Martin. |
| 1412 | Fernando I. |
| 1416 | Alfonso V. |
| 1458 | Juan II. |
| | (Also King of Navarre.) |
| 1479 | Fernando II. |
| | (Aragon united with Castile.) |

THE STORY OF THE CRUSADES

INDEX



THE STORY OF THE CRUSADES.

INDEX.

A

- Acre, [97](#), [99](#), [118](#), [120](#), [127-28](#),
[133](#), [135](#), [138](#), [149](#), [167](#), [172](#),
[184](#), [187](#), [196](#), [217](#), [224](#), [250](#),
[259](#), [267-68](#), [295](#), [299](#), [300](#),
[317-26](#), [330-31](#), [340](#), [344-45](#),
[348](#), [363-65](#), [369](#), [372](#), [375](#),
[381-83](#), [386-87](#), [396](#), [404](#), [406](#),
[410-11](#), [413-19](#), [424-25](#), [449](#)
- Adel (Sayf-ed-din el-Adel Abu
Bekr, Saphadin), Sultan of
Egypt, [259](#), [262](#), [264](#), [279](#),
[321](#), [338-40](#), [346](#), [368-69](#), [371](#),
[373](#), [375-76](#), [385](#)
- Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, [32](#), [46](#),
[54-5](#), [66](#), [72-5](#), [78-9](#), [87-8](#)
- Afdal (Ayubite), [178](#), [264](#), [274](#),
[368](#)
- Albara, [78](#), [113](#)
- Albert of Aix, historian of the
First Crusade, [26](#), [28](#), [57](#), [62](#),
[106](#), [135](#), [440](#)
- Albigensians, [184](#), [391](#), [431](#), [433](#)
- Aleppo, [78](#), [110](#), [113](#), [145](#), [147](#),
[149](#), [150](#), [152-53](#), [161-62](#), [164](#),
[197-99](#), [203-6](#), [217](#), [237-38](#),
[242-44](#), [257](#), [260-61](#), [264](#), [300](#),
[368](#), [413](#)
- Alexandria, [84](#), [183](#), [234-35](#), [248](#),
[381](#), [395-96](#), [423](#), [436](#)
- Alexius Comnenus, Emperor of the
East, [19](#), [21](#), [28](#), [38-9](#), [43-4](#),
[47](#), [44](#), [51-5](#), [67](#), [72](#), [83-4](#),
[104](#), [106](#), [115](#), [140](#), [143-44](#),
[156](#)
- Alice of Antioch, [189-91](#), [453](#)
- Alice of Cyprus, [383-84](#), [453-54](#)
- Amalfi, [170](#), [296](#)
- Amalric I., King of Jerusalem,
[123](#), [177-78](#), [186](#), [196](#), [227](#), [232-](#)
[36](#), [242-50](#), [272](#), [352](#), [453](#)
- Amalric II., King of Jerusalem
and Cyprus, [369](#), [373](#), [453-](#)
[54](#)
- Amalric III., King of Jerusalem,
[373](#), [453-54](#)
- Amalric de Montfort, [386-87](#)
- Anar, Vizir of Damascus, [195-96](#),
[218](#), [222-23](#)
- Anna Comnena, historian, [49](#), [52](#),
[191-92](#), [358](#)
- Antioch, [45](#), [55](#), [58](#), [63-79](#), [106](#),
[109](#), [115](#), [129](#), [143-55](#), [160](#),
[189-93](#), [214](#), [216-17](#), [229-30](#),
[242](#), [244](#), [273](#), [294-96](#), [298](#), [300](#),
[309](#), [312-13](#), [316](#), [321](#), [363](#), [368](#),
[371-72](#), [385](#), [414](#)
- Antioch, Princes of, *see* Bohemond,
Raymond, Reginald, Roger,
Tancred
- Antioch, Princesses of, *see* Alice,
Constance
- Antioch, Principality of, [113-14](#),
[125](#), [155](#), [168](#), [242](#)
- Aquitanian Crusade, the, [103-7](#)
- Arculf, [6-8](#)
- Arish (El-Arish), [110](#), [140](#), [198](#)
- Arkah, [81](#), [83](#), [115](#), [157](#)
- Armenia and the Armenians, [60-](#)
[61](#), [129](#), [148-49](#), [162](#), [64](#), [202](#),
[204-5](#), [229](#), [371](#), [375](#)

- Arnulf, Patriarch of Jerusalem, [82](#), [88](#), [94](#), [118](#), [130](#), [140](#), [193](#), [440](#)
 Arsuf, [98-9](#), [116](#), [133](#), [136-37](#), [141](#), [336](#), [353](#), [356](#), [414](#)
 Artois, Count of, *see* Robert
 Ascalon, [92](#), [95](#), [97](#), [99-100](#), [133](#), [135](#), [138](#), [140](#), [142](#), [165-66](#), [194](#), [219](#), [226-27](#), [251](#), [255](#), [267](#), [277](#), [299](#), [331](#), [336-40](#), [342](#), [346](#), [364](#), [386-88](#)
 Ascalon, Counts of Jaffa and, *see* Amalric I., Guy, Walter de Brienne, William of Montferrat
 Ascalon, County of Jaffa and, [116-17](#)
 Assassins, the, [115](#), [245-46](#), [341](#), [358](#), [406](#)
 Assizes of Jerusalem, [122-24](#), [127](#), [290](#), [363](#)
 Athareb, [161](#), [164](#), [199-200](#)
 Ayub, [230](#), [240](#), [243](#)
 Ayubites, [264](#), [365](#), [385-86](#), [388](#), [400](#), [408](#), [456](#)
- B**
- Bagdad, [5](#), [105](#), [148](#), [412-13](#)
 Baha-ed-din, historian, [263](#), [281](#), [315](#), [320](#), [331](#), [343](#), [367](#)
 Balak (Ortokid), [161-62](#), [164](#), [166](#)
 Baldwin I., King of Jerusalem, [43](#), [58-63](#), [78](#), [98](#), [109](#), [123](#), [127](#), [130-42](#), [147](#), [150-51](#), [157-59](#), [294-95](#), [353](#), [356](#), [359-60](#), [452](#)
 Baldwin II., du Bourg, King of Jerusalem, [109](#), [116](#), [130](#), [138](#), [144-45](#), [147](#), [153](#), [159-68](#), [171](#), [189](#), [199](#), [453](#)
 Baldwin III., King of Jerusalem, [117](#), [196](#), [217](#), [222-32](#), [247](#), [288](#), [290](#), [300](#), [360](#), [453](#)
 Baldwin IV., King of Jerusalem, [249-51](#), [255-57](#), [260-61](#), [265-70](#), [283](#), [364](#), [453](#)
 Baldwin V., King of Jerusalem, [121](#), [266-67](#), [271](#), [453](#)
 Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, [307](#), [322-23](#)
 Baldwin of Flanders, Emperor of Constantinople, [370-71](#)
 Baldwin of Ibelin or Ramleh, [262](#), [267-68](#), [273](#)
 Balian I. of Ibelin, [117](#), [194](#)
 Balian II. of Ibelin, [262](#), [267-68](#), [273-75](#), [277-80](#), [339](#), [441](#)
 Bania or Caesarea Philippi, [116](#), [195-96](#), [246](#)
 Barkiyarok, [144](#), [146](#)
 Beit Nuba, [337](#), [342](#)
 Belvoir, [178](#), [258](#), [361](#)
 Bernard of Clairvaux, [172](#), [174](#), [207-11](#), [220](#), [391](#)
 Bernard of St. Michael's Mount, [10-13](#), [15](#)
 Bernard de Tremelay, Master of the Temple, [177](#), [227](#)
 Bertram, Count of Tripoli, [116](#), [148](#), [157-58](#), [295](#)
 Bethlehem, [87](#), [99](#), [298](#), [347](#), [381](#)
 Bethshan, [116](#), [258](#), [261](#), [375](#), [381](#)
 Beyrout, [115-16](#), [130](#), [147](#), [156](#), [230](#), [259](#), [267](#), [277](#), [299](#), [321](#), [330](#), [344](#), [364](#), [369](#), [384](#)
 Bibars Bendocdar, Sultan of Egypt, [245](#), [413-14](#)
 Bohemond I., Prince of Antioch, [24](#), [44-5](#), [47](#), [51-3](#), [56](#), [58-9](#), [66-71](#), [75-6](#), [79-80](#), [97-9](#), [109](#), [115](#), [130](#), [133](#), [143-45](#), [294](#), [352](#), [358](#), [454](#)
 Bohemond II., Prince of Antioch, [115](#), [145](#), [149](#), [165](#), [364](#), [454](#)
 Bohemond III., Prince of Antioch, [193](#), [242](#), [254](#), [261](#), [268](#), [316](#), [368](#), [371-72](#), [454](#)
 Bohemond IV., Prince of Antioch, [371-72](#), [385](#), [454](#)
 Bohemond VI., Prince of Antioch, [409](#), [411](#), [414](#), [454](#)
 Borsac of Hamadan, [151](#)
 Borsoki, Emir of Mosul, [151](#), [165](#), [198](#)
 Bostra, [223](#), [260](#)
 Botron, [115](#), [271-72](#)
 Brienne, John de, *see* John
 Brienne, Walter de, *see* Walter
 Bulgaria and Bulgarians, [37-8](#), [46](#), [309-11](#)
 Bures, William de, *see* William

Byzantine Empire, [19](#), [115](#), [212](#), [448-49](#); *see also* Alexius, John, Isaac, Manuel, Greeks

C

Cæsarea, [83](#), [99](#), [116](#), [118](#), [129](#), [133](#), [260](#), [269](#), [333](#), [337](#), [401](#), [412](#)

Cæsarea, Lords of, *see* Eustace, Hugh, Walter

Cæsarea on the Orontes, [192](#), [217](#), [227](#)

Cæsarea Philippi, *see* Baniyas

Cairo, [233](#), [235-36](#), [344](#), [395](#)

Caliph, Caliphate, *see* Bagdad, Egypt, Fatimites

Charismians, [178](#), [388-89](#)

Charles the Great, [10](#), [11](#), [24](#), [287](#)

Charles of Anjou, [288](#), [410](#)

Clermont, Council of, [26](#), [28-33](#)

Commerce, in the Latin Colonies, [113](#), [117](#), [127-28](#), [198](#), [294-96](#), [299-300](#), [346](#), [381](#), [416](#); influence of Crusades on, [436-40](#)

Commercial legislation, [126](#), [439](#)

Comneni, the, *see* Alexius, Anna, Isaac, John, Manuel

Conrad III., of Germany, [209-19](#)

Conrad IV., of Germany, [384](#), [387](#), [409](#)

Conrad of Montferrat, King of Jerusalem, [277](#), [309](#), [317-19](#), [321](#), [323-4](#), [329-30](#), [339-41](#), [373](#)

Constance of Antioch, [165](#), [190](#), [193](#), [228](#), [454](#)

Constantinople, [38-9](#), [43-5](#), [47](#), [50](#), [193](#), [212](#), [244](#), [309-11](#), [358](#), [369](#), [371](#), [421](#), [436](#), [449-50](#)

Corbogha, Emir of Mosul, [63](#), [71](#), [75-6](#), [144](#), [200](#)

Corradin (El-Muazzam), lord of Damascus, [375-7](#), [387](#)

Courtenay, Joscelin de *see* Joscelin

Courts of Law, [125-6](#)

Crusades, the First, [26-92](#), [287](#), [328](#), [426](#), [440](#); the Aquitanian, [103-7](#); the Second, [207-21](#), [427](#); the Third, [305-48](#), [427](#), [437](#); the German, [369-70](#); the

Fourth, [370-71](#), [449](#); the Fifth, [374-79](#); of Frederick II., [379-82](#); of Theobald of Navarre and Richard of Cornwall, [386-87](#); of S. Louis, [390-404](#); of Edward I., [404-7](#); the Children's, [422](#); Results of, political, [426-29](#); ecclesiastical, [429-33](#); social, [433-36](#); commercial, [436-40](#); intellectual, [440-45](#); true character of, [446-47](#); objects of, how far attained, [447-51](#)

Cyprus, [81](#), [122](#), [178](#), [184](#), [294](#), [315](#), [341](#), [364-5](#), [369](#), [373](#), [375](#), [383-4](#), [394](#), [405](#), [409](#), [412](#), [417](#), [422-3](#), [449](#)

Cyprus, emperor of, *see* Isaac

Cyprus, kings of, *see* Amalric II., Guy, Henry, Hugh, Peter

D

Dagobert of Pisa, Patriarch of Jerusalem, [98](#), [130-32](#), [134](#), [295](#)

Damascus, [110](#), [117](#), [130](#), [134](#), [139](#), [150](#), [156](#), [176](#), [179](#), [195-96](#), [198-99](#), [204](#), [206](#), [217-19](#), [237](#), [240-41](#), [243](#), [257](#), [259-60](#), [262](#), [264](#), [300](#), [368](#), [376](#), [385](#), [387-88](#)

Damascus, atabeks and rulers of, *see* Anar, Corradin, Nur-ed-din, Tughtakin

Damietta, [236-37](#), [257](#), [337](#), [352-53](#), [374-78](#), [380](#), [394-96](#), [398-400](#)

Danishmend, *see* Ibn Danishmend

Darum, [116](#), [244](#), [259](#), [340](#), [342](#), [361](#), [363](#)

Dawud (Ayubite), Lord of Kerak, [385](#), [387](#)

Dorylæum, [57](#)

Durazzo, [24](#), [45-6](#), [50](#), [145](#), [352](#), [358](#)

E

Edessa, [60-63](#), [77-8](#), [100-10](#), [112-13](#), [115](#), [125](#), [130](#), [142](#), [144-49](#), [151](#), [160-62](#), [201-2](#),

204-7, 241, 259, 264, 280, 299, 390
 Edessa, Counts of, *see* Baldwin I., Baldwin II., Joscelin
 Edessa, County of, 112-13
 Edward I., King of England, 404-7, 414, 417
 Edward III., King of England, 420, 423
 Egypt, 110, 140, 226-27, 232-37, 243-44, 252, 257-59, 262, 300-302, 368, 372-78, 385, 394-400
 Egypt, Caliphs of, 5, 6, 18, 84-5, 232-34, 237
 Egypt, Sultans of, 368, 285, 400; *see* Adel, Bibars, Kalaün, Kamil, Khalil, Kutuz, Musa, Saladin, Saleh, Turan Shah
 Egyptians, 135, 145, 156, 226
 El-Adel, El Afdal, &c., *see* Adel, Afdal, &c.
 Eleanor of Aquitaine, 209, 219-20, 314
 Eleanor of Castile, 406-7
 Elim, or Aila, 111-12, 116-17, 139, 364
 Emesa, or Hems, 110, 112, 115, 145, 156, 198, 204, 243-44, 264, 413
 Emicho, Count, 36, 40
 • England, influence of Crusades on, 428, 431, 436
 England, Kings of, *see* Edward, Henry, Richard
 English and the Crusades, the, 20, 132, 137-38, 183, 193, 211, 220, 242, 248, 288, 298, 313-15, 318, 322, 333, 374, 376-77, 387, 396-98, 404, 427, 437; *see* also Edward I. and Richard I.
 Ernoul, historian, 267, 273-74, 303, 441
 Es-Saleh, &c., *see* Saleh, &c.
 Eugenius III., pope, 173, 207
 Euphrates, 61, 110, 112, 144, 148, 163, 197, 199, 259, 388
 Eustace Grener, Lord of Casarea, and Sidon, 118, 166, 193
 Evremar, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 134, 155

F

Fatimites, the, 5, 17-18; *see* also Egypt, Caliphs of
 Flanders, Counts of, *see* Philip, Robert, Theodoric
 Flemings and the Crusades, the, 248, 318, 370, 437. *See* also Flanders
 France, influence of the Crusades on, 427-28, 443-44; preaching of the Crusades in, 34-5, 210, 307, 370, 374
 France, Kings of, *see* Louis VI., VII., IX., Philip I., Philip Augustus, Philip III., Philip IV
 French and the Crusades, the, 29, 36-8, 45, 101, 211-19, 313, 314, 318, 322, 329, 337-38, 340-48, 370, 376-77, 386-87, 394-403; *see* also Louis VII., Louis IX., Philip Augustus
 Frederick I., emperor, 211, 251, 265, 309-13
 Frederick II., emperor, and King of Jerusalem, 289, 378-87, 391, 401, 408-9, 428, 431
 Frederick of Swabia, 313, 322
 Fulcher of Chartres, historian, 49-50, 55, 98-9, 135, 139-40, 142, 170, 440
 Fulk the Black, of Anjou, 15-16, 188
 Fulk of Anjou, King of Jerusalem, 167, 173, 176, 188-97, 290, 295, 359
 Fulk of Neuilly, 180, 370-71

G

Galilee, the Principality of, 116-18, 125, 363
 Galilee, Princes of, *see* Hugh of Falkenberg, Joscelin I., of Courtenay, Tancred, William de Bures
 Gaza, 117, 176, 255, 386, 388
 Genoese, the, 90, 98, 133, 158, 294-96, 340, 345, 364, 409-12, 414, 436

Geoffrey de Lusignan, [276](#), [319](#), [330](#)
 Geoffrey de Sergines, [399](#), [410-11](#)
 Gerard the Hospitaller, [171](#)
 Gerard de Rideford, Master of the Temple, [271-76](#), [319](#)
 Gerard of Sidon, [118](#), [226](#), [364](#)
 Germans and the Crusades, the, [37-40](#), [42](#), [102](#), [133](#), [182](#), [212-14](#), [217](#), [311-13](#), [321-22](#), [369-70](#), [381](#), [427](#), [437](#)
 Gibelin, [176](#), [178](#)
 Gilbert de Lacy, [177](#), [242](#)
 Godfrey de Bouillon, [42-4](#), [47](#), [51](#), [55](#), [58](#), [63](#), [66-7](#), [74](#), [76-7](#), [82](#), [85](#), [88-90](#), [93-103](#), [122-23](#), [133](#), [160](#), [285](#), [295](#), [301](#), [352](#), [445-46](#), [452](#)
 Greeks and the Crusaders, the, [23](#), [43](#), [67](#), [81](#), [121](#), [143](#), [145](#), [192](#), [206](#), [212](#), [214](#), [217](#), [229](#), [236-37](#), [254](#), [309-11](#), [371](#)
 Greek Empire, the, [420-21](#)
 Greek Emperors, *see* Alexius, Isaac, John, Manuel
 Gregory VII., pope, [14](#), [20](#), [23-5](#), [28](#), [42](#), [446-47](#)
 Gregory IX., pope, [380-83](#), [386](#), [428](#)
 Grener, *see* Eustace, Hugh, Walter
 Guibert of Nogent, historian, [26](#), [34-5](#), [440](#)
 Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem and Cyprus, [117](#), [256](#), [261-62](#), [266-68](#), [272-76](#), [315-19](#), [324](#), [329-30](#), [333](#), [341](#), [369](#)

H

Haifa, [116](#), [157](#), [333](#), [363](#)
 Hakim, Caliph of Egypt, [18](#)
 Hamah, [110](#), [112](#), [115](#), [198-99](#), [204](#), [243-44](#), [300](#), [388](#), [413](#)
 Harenc, [66](#), [113](#), [190](#), [228](#), [230](#), [242](#), [254](#)
 Harran, [144-45](#), [198](#), [259](#)
 Hattin, [178](#), [276-77](#), [308](#)
 Hazart, [78](#), [113](#), [193](#)
 Hebron, [116-17](#), [298](#), [387](#)
 Henfrid III., of Toron, [118](#), [255-56](#), [291](#)

Henfrid IV., of Toron, [262](#), [272](#), [329](#)
 Henry of Champagne, King of Jerusalem, [292](#), [322](#), [341-42](#), [344](#), [369](#)
 Henry I., King of Cyprus, [383-84](#), [409](#)
 Henry II., King of Cyprus, [417](#)
 Henry IV., Emperor, [23-4](#), [42](#), [210](#)
 Henry VI., Emperor, [311](#), [369](#)
 Henry I., King of England, [180](#)
 Henry II., King of England, [181](#), [189](#), [265](#), [269](#), [279](#), [283](#), [307-9](#), [328](#), [392](#), [396](#)
 Henry III., King of England, [181](#), [288](#), [391](#), [393](#), [396](#), [401](#), [407](#)
 Henry V., King of England, [421-22](#)
 Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, [180](#), [268-72](#), [277-80](#)
 Holy Sepulchre, the, *see* Sepulchre, the Holy
 Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem, knights of the, *see* Hospitallers; Masters of the, *see* Gerard, Raymond du Puy
 Hospitallers, the, [120](#), [170-71](#), [175-81](#), [227](#), [235](#), [268](#), [275](#), [333-36](#), [361](#), [377](#), [389](#), [409](#), [411](#), [413](#), [417](#)
 Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury, [322](#), [347](#), [367](#)
 Hugh I., King of Cyprus, [375](#), [383](#)
 Hugh II., King of Cyprus and Jerusalem, [409](#)
 Hugh III., King of Cyprus and Jerusalem, [405](#), [409-10](#)
 Hugh of Falkenberg, Prince of Galilee, [118](#), [138](#)
 Hugh Grener, Lord of Cæsarea, [233-34](#), [291](#)
 Hugh of Ibelin, [125](#), [235](#), [294](#)
 Hugh I., Count of Jaffa, [117](#)
 Hugh II., Count of Jaffa, [117](#), [193-95](#)
 Hugh de Payen, Master of the Temple, [170-72](#), [176](#), [180](#), [185](#)

Hugh of Vermandois, [43](#), [45](#), [56](#),
[74](#), [76](#), [103](#)
Hungary, [16](#), [37](#), [40](#), [42](#), [210](#),
[309-11](#), [374-75](#)
Huns, the, [15](#), [22](#), [41](#)

I

Ibelin, [117](#), [361](#)
Ibelin, Baldwin of, *see* Baldwin;
Balian of, *see* Balian; Hugh of,
see Hugh; John of, *see* John
Iconium, [58](#), [201-2](#), [205](#), [311-12](#);
see also Rûm
Iconium, Sultans of, *see* Kilij
Arslan, Masud
Ibn Danishmend, [99](#), [143-44](#), [146](#)
Ibn El-Athir, [150](#), [199-200](#), [203](#),
[240-41](#)
Il-Ghazi (Ortokid), Emir of
Mardin, [147](#), [151](#), [153](#), [155](#),
[160-61](#)
Imad-ed-din Zangi, *see* Zangi
Innocent III., pope, [370](#), [373-74](#)
Innocent IV., pope, [396](#), [400-1](#),
[412](#), [428](#)
Isaac Comnenus, Emperor, [309-10](#)
Isaac Comnenus of Cyprus, [315](#)
Isabella, Queen of Jerusalem,
[262](#), [272](#), [329-30](#), [341](#), [369](#),
[373](#)
Italians and the Crusades, [81](#),
[133](#), [261](#), [294-97](#), [363-64](#), [426](#),
[436-38](#); *see also* Amalfi, Geno-
ese, Pisans, Venetians

J

Jaffa, [86](#), [90](#), [100](#), [107](#), [132-33](#),
[135-38](#), [141](#), [251](#), [267](#), [295](#),
[336-39](#), [345-46](#), [369](#), [386](#), [401](#),
[414](#)
Jaffa, Counts of, *see* Hugh
Jaffa and Ascalon, Counts of, *see*
Amalric I., Guy de Lusignan,
Walter de Brienne, William of
Montferrat
Jaffa and Ascalon, County of, [116-17](#)
James of Avesnes, [318-19](#), [322](#),
[336](#)

James de Vitry, Bishop of Acre,
[174](#), [178](#), [296-97](#), [299](#), [374](#),
[378](#)
Javaly Secava, Emir of Mosul,
[146-47](#)
Jekermish, Emir of Mosul, [144-46](#)
Jerusalem, City of, [2](#), [3](#), [6](#), [9-11](#),
[17](#), [21](#), [27](#), [29](#), [85-92](#), [95](#), [98-100](#),
[118-22](#), [126](#), [129](#), [140](#),
[166](#), [170-71](#), [177](#), [224](#), [230](#),
[246](#), [261](#), [266](#), [270-72](#), [277-81](#),
[290](#), [298](#), [305](#), [336-37](#), [344](#),
[347](#), [363](#), [381](#), [384](#), [387-88](#),
[390](#), [425](#)
Jerusalem, Kingdom of, [112](#), [130](#),
[157](#), [166](#), [172](#), [193](#), [206](#), [224](#),
[247-48](#), [265-66](#), [273](#), [277](#), [282](#),
[348](#), [408](#), [418](#), *et passim*; geographical extent and divisions of, [116-18](#); officers of, [124](#); judicial organisation, [125-26](#); financial system, [127-28](#); ecclesiastical organisation, [129](#); bailiffs of, [373](#), [384](#), [387](#), [409](#), [410](#); causes of its fall, [110](#), [123-24](#), [186-87](#), [301-3](#), [448](#)
Jerusalem, Kings of, *see* Amalric, Baldwin, Conrad, Frederick, Fulk, Godfrey, Guy, Henry, Hugh, John
Jerusalem, Queens of, *see* Isabella, Mary, Melisend, Sibylla, Yolande
Jews, the, [36](#), [40](#), [128](#), [438](#)
Joanna, daughter of Henry II., [314-15](#), [338-39](#)
John de Brienne, King of Jerusalem, [373](#), [375-79](#), [381](#)
John Comnenus, emperor, [113](#), [191-92](#)
John of Ibelin, "the Old," bailiff of Jerusalem, [122](#), [373](#), [383-84](#)
John de Nesles, [370-72](#)
Joinville, Jean de, [298](#), [358](#), [394-95](#), [398-99](#), [401](#), [441](#)
Jordan, William, *see* William
Joscelin I. of Courtenay, Count of Edessa, [118](#), [144](#), [147](#), [159](#), [161-65](#), [201-2](#)
Joscelin II. of Courtenay, Count

of Edessa, [189](#), [191-92](#), [202](#),
[204-6](#), [235](#), [241](#)
Joscelin III. of Courtenay, the
Seneschal, [262](#), [267-68](#), [271](#)

K

Kafer Tab, [145](#), [162](#), [164](#)
Kalaûn, Sultan of Egypt, [414-16](#)
Kamil, Sultan of Egypt, [376-79](#),
[381](#), [385](#), [400](#), [409](#)
Kerak, [262-63](#), [273](#), [277](#), [339](#),
[361](#), [368](#), [378](#), [387](#)
Kerak and Montreal, lordship of,
[116-17](#)
Kerak and Montreal, Lords of,
see Philip of Nablûs, Reginald
of Châtillon
Kerak des Chevaliers, [115](#), [178](#),
[361-62](#)
Khalil, Sultan of Egypt, [416-17](#),
[419](#)
Khartpert, [162-65](#)
Kiliî Arslan I., Sultan of Rûm,
[39](#), [54](#), [106](#), [144](#), [146](#)
Kiliî Arslan II., Sultan of Rûm,
[230](#), [311-12](#)
Knights, *see* Hospitallers, Tem-
plars, Teutonic, Thomas of
Acre
Kutb-ed-din, Atabek of Mosul,
[238](#), [243](#)
Kutuz, Sultan of Egypt, [413](#)

L

Latin Empire of Constantinople,
[370-71](#)
Laodicea, [86](#), [97](#), [99](#), [113](#), [133](#),
[156](#), [254](#), [295](#)
Laodicea in Asia Minor, [215](#), [311](#)
Lebanon, [81](#), [111](#), [259](#)
Leo of Armenia, [312](#), [368](#), [372](#),
[375](#), [377](#), [385](#)
Leopold of Austria, [326](#), [374](#), [376](#)
Louis VI., King of France, [180](#),
[189](#), [209](#), [318](#)
Louis VII., King of France, [207](#),
[209-20](#), [265](#)
Louis IX., King of France, [187](#),
[209](#), [288](#), [386](#), [392-404](#), [410](#),
[412](#), [442](#), [446](#), [451](#)

Louis, Landgrave of Thuringia,
[318](#), [322](#)
Lulu, ruler of Aleppo, [150](#), [153](#)
Lusignan, *see* Geoffrey, Guy, and
Cyprus, Kings of
Lydda, [116-17](#), [255](#), [337](#)

M

Malek Shah, Seljuk Sultan, [19](#),
[21](#), [144](#), [197](#)
Mamluks, [195](#), [203](#), [255](#), [400](#),
[409](#), [413](#)
Manbij, [164](#), [201](#)
Mansurah, [398](#)
Manuel Comnenus, Emperor,
[193](#), [212](#), [214-15](#), [228-30](#), [235-](#)
[36](#), [244](#), [248](#), [252](#), [290](#), [365](#)
Mardin, [110](#), [112](#), [147](#), [151](#), [198](#),
[204](#), [264](#)
Markab, [115](#), [178](#), [361](#), [414](#)
Marra, [78-81](#), [113](#)
Marseilles, [296](#), [313](#), [365](#), [386](#),
[392](#), [394](#), [437](#)
Mary of Antioch, [405](#), [410](#)
Mary, Queen of Jerusalem, [373](#)
Masud, Sultan of Iconium or Rûm,
[201](#), [205](#)
Masud (Zangid), Atabek of Mosul,
[257](#), [259-60](#), [263-64](#)
Maudud of Mosul (Seljuk), [146-](#)
[51](#), [198](#)
Melisend, Queen of Jerusalem,
[167](#), [189](#), [194-95](#), [208](#), [224-26](#)
Messina, [313-4](#), [365](#)
Milo de Planci, [245](#), [250](#)
Mohammed, Seljuk Sultan, [144](#),
[146-47](#), [151](#)
Mons Ferrandus, [190-91](#)
Montferrat, *see* Conrad, William
Montreal, [117](#), [139](#), [361](#)
Montreal, lords of Kerak and, *see*
Kerak
Mosul, [144](#), [146-47](#), [151](#), [197-99](#),
[201](#), [203](#), [238](#), [243](#), [259-60](#),
[263-64](#)
Mosul, rulers of, *see* Borsoki,
Corbogha, Javaly, Jekermish,
Kutb-ed-din, Masud, Maudud
Musa (Ayubite), Sultan of Egypt,
[400](#)

N

- Nablûs, [88](#), [116](#), [118](#), [126](#), [224](#),
[246](#), [262](#), [274-75](#), [299](#), [387](#)
 Nablus, Philip of, *see* Philip
 Nazareth, [117](#), [157](#), [223](#), [246](#), [261](#),
[274-75](#), [298](#), [300](#), [347](#), [381](#)
 Nesles, John de, *see* John
 Nicaea, [16](#), [19](#), [39](#), [84](#), [214-15](#), [350](#)
 Nicholas IV., Pope, [416](#), [419-20](#)
 Nisibis, [198](#), [201](#), [259-60](#)
 Normandy, Robert of, *see* Robert
 Normans, [20](#), [22-3](#), [49](#), [211](#), [443](#);
see also Bohemond, Robert,
 Tancred
 Norwegians and the Crusades,
 the, [132-33](#), [364-65](#), [437](#)
 Nur-ed-din, Atabek of Aleppo,
[177](#), [203](#), [205-6](#), [223](#), [227-28](#),
[230-43](#), [246-48](#)

O

- Odo of Deuil, historian, [211](#), [214](#),
[216](#)
 Odo de St. Amand, Master of the
 Temple, [246](#), [256](#)
 Orontes, [65](#), [68](#), [81](#), [113](#), [197](#), [199](#),
[201](#), [264](#)
 Ortok, [21](#), [144](#), [203](#)
 Ortokids, [203](#); *see* Balak, Il-
 Ghazi, Sokman
 Ossama, [228](#), [232](#)
 Ottoman Turks, [421-22](#)

P

- Papacy and the Crusades, the, [20](#),
[24](#), [28](#), [207](#), [306](#) [7](#), [369-70](#), [374](#),
[380-83](#), [386](#), [396](#), [400-1](#), [410](#),
[419-20](#), [428-32](#)
 Pelagius, Cardinal legate, [376-78](#)
 Peter Bartholomew, [73](#), [78-80](#),
[82-4](#), [94](#)
 Peter the Hermit, [26-8](#), [35-9](#), [51](#),
[87](#), [96](#)
 Peter de Lusignan, King of Cyprus,
[423](#)
 Philip, Bishop of Beauvais, [318](#),
[330](#), [340](#)
 Philip, Duke of Burgundy, [285](#),
[334](#), [339](#) [40](#), [343](#)
 Philip, Count of Flanders, [252-54](#),
[307](#), [328](#)

- Philip I., King of France, [28](#), [145](#),
[188](#)
 Philip Augustus, King of France,
[251](#), [265](#), [269](#), [307-9](#), [313-15](#),
[324-31](#), [337](#), [339](#), [348](#), [351](#), [369](#),
[373](#), [378](#), [392](#)
 Philip III., King of France, [401](#),
[403](#)
 Philip IV., King of France, [181](#),
[184](#)
 Philip of Nablûs, [117](#), [300](#)
 Philippopolis, [43](#), [51](#), [311](#)
 Physicians, [230](#), [240](#), [246](#), [443](#)
 Piacenza, Council of, [28](#)
 Pilgrims and Pilgrimages, [2-4](#), [6-](#)
[17](#), [27](#), [85](#), [98](#), [118](#), [120](#), [171](#),
[188-89](#), [226](#), [237](#), [257](#), [298](#),
[318](#), [347](#), [423-24](#), [442](#)
 Pisans, the, [98](#), [133](#), [271](#), [294-96](#),
[340](#), [364](#), [410-11](#)
 Pons, Count of Tripoli, [116](#), [151](#),
[155](#), [158](#), [167](#), [189-91](#), [453](#)
 Popes; *see* Eugenius, Gregory,
 Innocent, Nicholas, Urban
 Portugal and the Crusades, [220](#),
[313](#), [428](#)
 Pullani, the, [294](#), [296](#), [411](#); *see*
also Syrian Franks

R

- Ralph of Caen, historian, [95](#), [440](#)
 Rakka, [198](#), [201](#), [299](#)
 Ramleh, [84](#), [117](#), [132](#), [136-38](#),
[140](#), [255](#), [337-38](#), [344](#)
 Ramleh, Baldwin of, *see* Baldwin
 Raymond of Agiles, historian, [47](#),
[57](#), [73](#), [75](#), [82-3](#), [86](#), [91](#), [95-6](#),
[440](#)
 Raymond, Prince of Antioch, [190-](#)
[93](#), [217](#), [219](#)
 Raymond du Puy, Master of the
 Hospital, [171](#), [177](#), [185](#), [227](#)
 Raymond Pilet, [77](#), [83](#), [86](#)
 Raymond of Toulouse, or St.
 Gilles, [32](#), [34](#), [45-8](#), [53-5](#), [58](#),
[66-7](#), [69](#), [72-4](#), [77](#), [79-82](#), [85](#),
[88](#), [90](#), [92](#), [93](#), [95-8](#), [104-6](#), [116](#),
[156-57](#), [352](#)
 Raymond I., Count of Tripoli,
[158](#), [191](#), [217](#)
 Raymond II., Count of Tripoli,

- 158, [229](#), [242](#), [247](#), [250-51](#), [256-57](#), [266-68](#), [270-77](#), [302-3](#)
 Red Sea, [139](#), [299-300](#), [364](#)
 Reginald of Châtillon, Prince of Antioch and Lord of Kerak, [117](#), [228-30](#), [241](#), [252](#), [257](#), [262](#), [268-69](#), [271](#), [273](#), [276-77](#), [291](#), [303](#), [303](#), [364](#)
 Reginald, Lord of Sidon, [268](#), [291](#), [339](#)
 Rhodes, Knights of St. John at, [184](#), [187](#), [422](#), [449](#)
 Richard, Earl of Cornwall, [187](#), [387](#)
 Richard I., King of England, [177](#), [180](#), [280](#), [285-86](#), [307-9](#), [313-15](#), [324-48](#), [351-53](#), [358](#), [360](#), [365](#), [367](#), [369](#), [370](#), [437-38](#), [444](#), [451](#)
 Richard Filangier, [384](#)
 Ridhwan (Seljuk) of Aleppo, [78](#), [144-47](#), [149-50](#)
 Robert, Count of Artois, [396](#), [398](#)
 Robert I., of Flanders, [21](#)
 Robert II., of Flanders, [49](#), [56](#), [58](#), [66-7](#), [72](#), [85](#), [88](#), [95](#), [103](#)
 Robert Guiscard, [20](#), [23-5](#)
 Robert, Duke of Normandy, [49-51](#), [55-8](#), [66](#), [74](#), [76](#), [85](#), [93-7](#), [103](#), [134](#)
 Roger FitzRichard, Prince of Antioch, [115](#), [135](#), [149-55](#), [359](#)
 Roger, King of Sicily, [190](#), [211](#), [214](#)
 Romances and the Crusades, [101](#), [284-85](#), [443-45](#)
 Rûm, [39](#), [144](#), [248](#); *see also* Iconium
 Rûm, Sultans of, *see* Kilij Arslan, Masud

S

 Safed, [117](#), [178](#), [277](#), [361](#), [404](#), [414](#)
 Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, [187](#), [235-37](#), [239](#), [243-45](#), [247](#), [255-64](#), [268](#), [270](#), [273](#), [275-81](#), [284](#), [292](#), [300-1](#), [303](#), [306](#), [319-26](#), [331-34](#), [338-40](#), [342](#), [344-47](#), [351](#), [364](#), [367-69](#)
 Saleh Ayub, Sultan of Egypt, [385](#), [400](#)
 Salisbury, Earl of, *see* William Longsword
 Samosata, [61-2](#), [112](#)
 Saphadin, *see* Adel (El Adel Sayf-ed-din Abu Bekr)
 Saruj, [62](#), [112](#)
 Sayf-ed-din (Zangid) of Mosul, [203](#), [238](#)
 Seljuks, [19](#), [448](#); Seljuk sultans and princes, *see* Barkiyarok, Kilij Arslan, Malek Shah, Masud, Maudud, Mohammed, Ridhwan, Tutush
 Sepphoris, [117](#), [258-59](#), [261](#), [275](#), [300](#)
 Sepulchre, the Holy, [6](#), [16](#), [18](#), [91](#), [97](#), [100](#), [120](#), [123](#), [134](#), [140](#), [196](#), [230](#), [266](#), [271-2](#), [278](#), [343](#), [347](#), [381-82](#)
 Shawir, Vizir of Egypt, [232-33](#), [235-36](#)
 Shirkuh (Ayubite), Vizir of Egypt, [233-36](#), [242](#)
 Shobek, *see* Montreal
 Sibylla, Queen of Jerusalem, [251-52](#), [256](#), [266](#), [271-72](#), [329](#)
 Sicily, [45](#), [248](#), [257](#), [308-9](#), [313-14](#), [324](#), [328](#), [369](#), [404](#), [439](#)
 Sicily, Kings of, *see* Roger, William
 Sidon, [133](#), [138-39](#), [156](#), [294](#), [321](#), [330](#), [363](#), [401-2](#)
 Sidon, Lords of, *see* Gerard, Reginald, Walter
 Sidon, Lordship of, [116-18](#)
 Sigurd, [133](#), [364-65](#)
 Simon de Montfort, [387](#)
 Sinjar, [199](#), [257](#), [260](#), [264](#)
 Sokman ibn Ortok, [21](#), [144-46](#)
 Spain and the Crusades, [180-81](#), [308](#), [377](#), [386](#), [391](#), [401](#), [411](#), [428](#)
 Stephen of Burgundy, [104-6](#), [136](#)
 Stephen of Chartres and Blois, [49](#), [50](#), [55](#), [71-2](#), [103-6](#), [136](#)
 Syrians, [126](#), [128](#), [292-94](#)
 Syrian Franks, the, [218](#), [220](#), [282-83](#), [294](#), [296-97](#), [302-3](#), [329](#), [337](#), [339](#), [341](#), [348](#), [368](#), [411](#), [448](#)

T

- Tabarie, *see* Tiberias
 Tancred, Prince of Antioch, [45](#),
[52-4](#), [56](#), [58-60](#), [85-8](#), [91-2](#),
[95-6](#), [100](#), [106](#), [117](#), [134](#), [138-](#)
[39](#), [143-49](#), [156](#), [290](#)
 Tarsus, [59-60](#), [106](#), [113](#), [143](#),
[192](#), [217](#), [229](#), [261](#), [312](#), [371](#)
 Tartars, the, [288](#), [385-86](#), [391](#),
[409](#), [412-14](#)
 Tell-basher, [78](#), [147](#), [149](#), [164](#),
[201-2](#)
 Templars, the, [120](#), [122](#), [170-74](#),
[176-87](#), [189](#), [208](#), [219](#), [227](#), [232-](#)
[33](#), [235](#), [244-46](#), [255-56](#), [268](#),
[271](#), [275](#), [287-88](#), [319](#), [326](#), [333](#),
[361](#), [370](#), [377](#), [383](#), [389](#), [396-98](#),
[410-11](#), [413](#), [416-18](#), [431](#), [438](#)
 Temple of the Lord, or Templum
 Domini, [6](#), [120-21](#), [157](#), [266](#),
[298](#), [381](#)
 Temple of Solomon, [91-2](#), [120-](#)
[21](#), [171](#)
 Temple, Knights of the, *see* Tem-
 plars
 Temple, Masters of the, *see* Ber-
 nard de Tremelay, Gerard de
 Rideford, Hugh de Payen,
 Odo de St. Amand
 Teutonic knights, [182-83](#), [294](#),
[389](#), [413](#), [429](#), [437](#)
 Theobald of Navarre, [386-87](#)
 Theodoric of Flanders, [189](#),
[227-28](#), [301](#)
 Thomas of Acre, knights of St.,
[183](#)
 Tiberias, [100](#), [117](#), [138-39](#), [149](#),
[157](#), [159](#), [198](#), [200](#), [217](#), [223](#),
[258](#), [273](#), [275-76](#), [299](#)
 Toron, [116](#), [118](#), [363](#), [370](#); *see*
 Henfrid
 Tortosa, [133](#), [178-79](#), [183](#), [298](#),
[316](#), [361](#)
 Tripoli, [99](#), [115](#), [133](#), [148](#), [229-](#)
[30](#), [242](#), [244](#), [257](#), [295-96](#), [299](#),
[309](#), [414](#)
 Tripoli, Counts of, *see* Bertram,
 Pons, Raymond, William Jordan
 Tripoli, County of, [115-16](#), [156-](#)
[58](#), [361](#)

- Tudebode, historian, [72](#), [440](#)
 Tughtakin, Atabek of Damascus,
[139](#), [145](#), [150](#), [151](#), [165-66](#), [195](#)
 Tunis, [401-4](#)
 Turan Shah (Ayubite), Sultan of
 Egypt, [400](#)
 Turcoples, [154](#), [173](#), [175](#), [178](#),
[363](#)
 Turks, *see* Seljuks, Ottomans
 Tutush (Seljuk), [21](#), [144-45](#)
 Tyre, [97](#), [118](#), [129](#), [133](#), [139](#),
[156](#), [165-68](#), [224](#), [228](#), [244](#), [259](#),
[266](#), [277](#), [295-96](#), [298-99](#), [309](#),
[317](#), [320-21](#), [323](#), [325](#), [330](#),
[340-41](#), [350](#), [364](#), [373](#), [409](#),
[412](#), [418](#)
 Tyre, William, Archbishop of, *see*
 William

U

- Urban II., pope, [26-32](#), [49](#), [207](#),
[446-47](#)

V

- Venetians, the, [100](#), [133](#), [166](#),
[294-96](#), [364](#), [371](#), [410-11](#), [414](#),
[423](#), [436-37](#), [449](#)
 Vezelay, [210](#), [313](#)
 Vitry, James de, *see* James

W

- Walter de Brienne, Count of
 Jaffa, [117](#), [388-89](#)
 Walter Grener, Lord of Cæsarea,
[118](#), [194](#)
 Walter the Penniless, [37-9](#), [51](#)
 William, Duke of Aquitaine, [104](#),
[106](#), [136](#)
 William de Bures, Prince of Gali-
 lee, [118](#), [167](#)
 William Jordan, Count of Tripoli,
[116](#), [157-58](#)
 William Longsword, Earl of Salis-
 bury, [396-98](#)
 William of Montferrat, [251-52](#),
[266](#), [329](#)
 William II., King of Sicily, [248](#),
[308-9](#)
 William of Tyre, historian, [66](#),
[125](#), [128](#), [141](#), [157](#), [170](#), [177](#),

189, 202, 218, 230-31, 235, 239,
247, 249-51, 258, 266-67, 270,
283, 291, 301-4, 363, 440-41
 Willibald, St., 8, 9, 15

Y

Yolande, Queen of Jerusalem,
379-80, 384, 409

Z

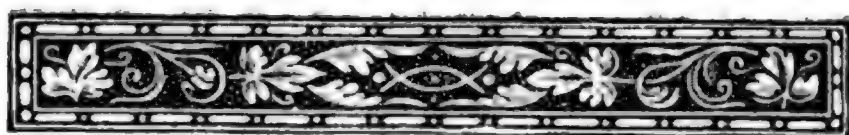
Zangi, Atabek of Mosul, 151,
191-92, 195-204, 238, 248, 280,
339

Zangid princes, 203, 238, 243,
257, 264; *see* also Kutb-ed-
 din, Masud, Nur-ed-din, Sayf-
 ed-din



THE STORY OF THE CHRISTIAN
RECOVERY OF SPAIN

INDEX



THE CHRISTIAN RECOVERY OF SPAIN.

INDEX.

A

- Abdelaziz, [3](#), [21](#)
Abd-el-Melic, [32](#), [33](#)
Abdelmumen, [109](#)
Abderahman [I.](#), [30](#), [32](#)
Abderahman [II.](#), [41](#)
Abderahman [III.](#), [47](#), [50](#)
Abelda, [40](#)
Aben Hud, [123](#)
Abu Abdallah, [295](#), [297](#), [299](#)
Abu Said, [203](#)
Abu-l-Hassan, [182](#), [183](#), [187](#), [292](#)
Africa, [8](#), [68](#), [109](#), [114](#)
Alarabi, [32](#), [33](#)
Alarcon, battle of, [111](#)
Albigenses, [125](#)
Albuquerque, [196](#), [197](#)
Alcalá de Henares, [224](#)
Alcalá de los Gazules, [181](#)
Alcántara, [225](#)
Alcañiz, [230](#)
Alcoraz, battle of, [97](#)
Alfonso [I.](#), of Leon, [28](#)
Alfonso [II.](#), of Leon, [36](#), [38](#)
Alfonso [III.](#), of Leon, [42](#)
Alfonso [IV.](#), of Leon, [47](#)
Alfonso [V.](#), of Leon, [53](#)
Alfonso [VI.](#), of Castile and Leon, [59](#), [61](#), [64](#), [68](#), [69](#), [70](#), [158](#), [169](#)
Alfonso [VII.](#), Emperor, [107](#), [108](#)
Alfonso [VIII.](#), of Castile, [111](#), [112](#), [119](#)
Alfonso [IX.](#), of Leon, [113](#), [119](#)
Alfonso [X.](#), *El Sabio*, [129](#), [139](#)
Alfonso [XI.](#), [178](#), [180](#)
Alfonso [I.](#), of Aragon, *El Batallador*, [70](#), [101](#), [105](#), [106](#)
Alfonso [II.](#), of Aragon, [115](#)
Alfonso [III.](#), of Aragon, [190](#)
Alfonso [IV.](#), of Aragon, [192](#)
Alfonso [V.](#), of Aragon, [273](#)
Alfonso, Prince of Castile, [261](#), [262](#), [265](#)
Alfonso [V.](#), of Portugal, [281](#)
Alfonsos, the, [139](#)
Alphonsine Tables, [143](#)
Algarve, [137](#), [141](#)
Algeciras, [16](#), [67](#), [181](#), [184](#), [187](#), [217](#)
Aljubarrota, [220](#)
Alhama, [292](#)
Alhama, [129](#), [136](#)
Alhambra, [300](#)
Almanzor, [11](#), [51](#), [52](#), [54](#), [99](#)
Almohades, the, [8](#), [109](#), [112](#)
Almoravides, the, [8](#), [66](#), [69](#), [105](#)
Alvar Fañez, [82](#), [89](#)
Alvaro de Luna, [236-248](#)
Andalusia, [7](#), [20](#), [29](#), [58](#), [105](#), [114](#), [117](#), [123](#)
Aquitaine, [98](#), [106](#)
Arts and crafts, [166](#), [167](#)
Aragon, [32](#), [56](#), [70](#), [96](#), [107](#), [155](#), [157](#), [189](#), [228](#), [272](#), [274](#)
Architecture, [169](#), [171](#)
Asnar, Don, [93](#)
Asturias, [22](#), [23](#), [30](#)
Aurelio, king, [30](#)
Avignon, [210](#)
Avila, [262](#)

Avis, Master of, [219](#), [220](#)
 Axarquía, [296](#)
 Ayala, Pedro de, [201](#)

B

Baeza, [123](#), [297](#), [298](#)
 Balearic Islands, [126](#)
 Barcelona, [98](#), [99](#), [124](#)
 Basques, the, [33](#), [95](#), [96](#)
 Bellido Dolfus, [61](#), [77](#)
 Beltran de la Cueva, [260](#)
 Beltraneja, la, [261](#), [268](#), [270](#), [281](#),
[283](#)
 Benedict, pope, [229](#)
 Beni Hud, [81](#)
 Berbers, the, [4](#), [17](#)
 Berengaria, queen, [113](#), [119](#)
 Bermudo I., [31](#)
 Bermudo II., [11](#), [52](#)
 Bermudo III., [56](#), [58](#)
 Bernard, Archbishop, [158](#), [169](#)
 Bernardo del Carpio, [34](#), [37](#)
 Bertrand du Guesclin, [205](#), [207](#),
[209](#), [211](#), [213](#), [214](#)
 Biscay, [202](#), [207](#)
 Blanche of Bourbon, [196](#), [204](#)
 Borello, Count, [99](#)
 Burgos, [152](#), [211](#)

C

Calatañazor, [33](#)
 Calderon, [201](#)
 Calverley, Sir Hugh de, [207](#), [209](#)
 Campeador, [76](#)
 Canga de Onis, [23](#), [27](#)
 Capta de Buch, [209](#)
 Cardena, S. Pedro de, [91](#)
 Castile, [42](#), [44](#), [47](#), [54](#), [77](#), [121](#)
 Catalonia, [98](#), [131](#)
 Catherine, Queen, [223](#), [228](#), [235](#)
 Ceuta, [184](#)
 Chandos Herald, [208](#)
 Chandos, Sir John, [209](#)
 Chanson de Roland, [34](#)
 Charles Martel, [3](#)
 Charles V., of France, [205](#)
 Charles VI., of France, [220](#)
 Charles of Anjou, [191](#)
 Charlemagne, [31](#)
 Chindaswind, [23](#)
 Christian renegades, [11](#)

Crónica, General, [143](#)
 Cid, the, [12](#), [59](#), [62](#), [63](#), [71-91](#)
 Clarence, Duke of, [231](#), [267](#)
 Clavijo, victory of, [39](#)
 Compostella, [39](#), [51](#), [52](#)
 Comunidad, the, [150](#)
 Cordova, [32](#), [50](#), [52](#), [54](#), [69](#), [124](#)
 Cortes, [43](#), [136](#), [142](#), [152](#), [258](#), [286](#),
[287](#)
 Coruña, [39](#), [222](#)
 Costanza, of Castile, [216](#), [219](#)
 Courts of Love, [228](#)
 Covadonga, [25](#), [27](#)

D

Daroca, battle of, [105](#)
 Derby, Earl of, [185](#)
 Douro, the, [42](#), [45](#), [58](#)
 Dozy, Professor, [53](#), [74](#)
 Dunham, Dr., [73](#)

E

Ebro, the, [97](#)
 Edmund, Duke of York, [216](#), [219](#)
 Edward I., of England, [140](#), [191](#)
 Edward, the Black Prince, [206](#),
[208](#), [209](#), [211](#), [218](#)
 Eleanor of Castile, [140](#)
 Eleanor of England, [111](#), [112](#)
 Empecinado, El, [73](#)
 English in Spain, [111](#), [185](#), [208](#),
[219](#)
 Enrique I., [119](#)
 Enrique II., [196](#), [203](#), [209](#), [212](#),
[214](#), [216](#), [218](#)
 Enrique III., [223](#), [225](#)
 Enrique IV., [257-272](#)
 Enrique, Infante of Aragon, [237](#),
[242](#), [245](#)
 Euric, king, [144](#)
 Ez-Zagal, king, [295](#)

F

Fadrique of Trastámara, [198](#), [199](#)
 Farfanes, the, [223](#)
 Favila, king, [27](#)
 Fernan Gonzalez, [47](#), [49](#)
 Fernando I., [58](#), [59](#)
 Fernando II., [111](#)
 Fernando III., [119](#), [120](#), [124](#),
[134](#), [136](#), [139](#), [146](#)

Fernando IV., 176, 177
 Fernando of Aragon, 231
 Fernando the Catholic, 267, 269,
 276, 277-301
 Florinda, 17
 Foix, Comte de, 185
 Fraga, 106
 French in Spain, 216, 221
 Froissart, 206, 209, 214
 Fruela I., 30
 Fruela II., 47
 Fuero Juzgo, 144, 146, 147
 Fueros, the, 150, 153

G

Galicia, 28, 285
 Galician dialect, the, 143
 Ganelon, 34, 61
 Garcia, king, 45
 Garcia of Navarre, 95
 Garci Ordoñez, 79
 Gascons, the, 207
 Gascony, 140, 217
 Genoese, the, 194, 274, 275
 George, St., of Aragon, 97
 Germany, Emperor of, 140
 Gibraltar, 17, 180, 187
 Golpejara, battle of, 59, 62, 77
 Goths, the, 56, 158
 Granada, 15, 129, 226, 242, 259,
 290
 Guadalete, battle of, 1, 16, 19
 Guadalquivir, the, 137
 Gadiana, the, 42, 67
 Guienne, Duke of, 267, 271
 Guzman, Alonso de, 175
 Guzmans, the, 265

H

Haro, Conde de, 244
 Haroun-er-Rashid, 32
 Hisham III., 92
 Holmes, Sir Ralph, 214
 Holy Brotherhood, the, 284
 Holy Inquisition, 288, 289
 Huelgas, Las, 140

I

Iñez de Castro, 219
 Iñigo of Navarre, 11
 Innocent III., pope, 114

Isabel, princess, of Castile, 216
 Isabel, queen, the Catholic, 265,
 269, 277-301
 Isabel, Queen of Portugal, 258
 Isidro, San, 116
 Ismail, King of Granada, 179
 Italian wars, 157

J

Jaen, 134
 Jayme I., *El Conquistador*, 125-
 134
 Jayme II., 191
 Jews, the, 4, 225
 Joam II. of Portugal, 220
 Joanna, Queen of Naples, 273
 John of Gaunt, 209, 216, 217,
 219, 222, 223
 Juan I., 218, 224
 Juan II., 232, 234, 251
 Juan I. of Aragon, 228
 Juan II. of Aragon, 275
 Juan, Infante, 173, 174
 Juan, Don, *el Tuerto*, 179
 Juan Manuel, Don, 180, 185
 Justicia, the, 155
 Justiciero, the, 201

K

Khalif, the, 19, 92

L

La Cerdas, the, 141, 173, 174,
 175, 179
 Laras, the, 111, 119, 141, 176
 Latin language, the, 162
 Learning and letters, 162, 163,
 165
 Leon, city of, 45, 50, 52, 58, 233
 Leon, cath-dral of, 171
 Leonora, Doña, of Aragon, 202
 Leonora de Guzman, 196
 Lisbon, 219
 Loja, 299
 Louis XI. of France, 276, 283
 Lucanor, Conde de, 180

M

Madrid, 113
 Mahommedans, the, 4, 19, 52, 68,
 166

Malaga, 296
 Maria de Padilla, 196, 200, 204
 Mariana, 28, 39
 Marsilio, king, 33
 Martin, pope, 279
 Martin, King of Aragon, 229
 Masdeu, 73
 Mauregato, king, 30
 Medina Sidonia, Duke of, 293
 Mena, Juan de, 235
 Mendoza, Cardinal, 281, 284, 287
 Mendozas, 268
 Mingo Revulgo, 271
 Miramolin, 115
 Mochtadir, 81
 Montfort, Simon de, 125, 140
 Montiel, 213
 Moors, the, 8, 10, 12, 51, 171, 232, 291, 299
 Morocco, 8, 67, 69, 116
 Morocco, Emperor of, 142
 Motamid, 79
 Moutamin, 82
 Mozarabes, the, 105, 158
 Mudejars, the, 167
 Murcia, 20, 129, 131, 173
 Muret, siege of, 125
 Musa, 3, 7

N

Najera, battle of, 208
 Naples, 274, 275
 Navarre, 43, 56, 93, 167, 183
 Navas de Tolosa, battle of, 14, 114, 117
 Normans, the, 38, 51
 Nuño Fernandez, 94

O

Olmedo, battle of, 246
 Omeyyad Khalifs, the, 51, 54, 92
 Oppas, Bishop, 16, 25
 Ordoño I., 40
 Ordoño II., 45
 Ourique, battle of, 108
 Oviedo, 38

P

Pampeluna, 32
 Paso, Honroso, el, 253
 Pedro the Cruel, 187, 195, 214

Pedro I. of Aragon, 97
 Pedro II. of Aragon, 124
 Pedro III. of Aragon 187, 193
 Pelayo, 21, 23, 25
 Peter Martyr, 298
 Petronilla, 100
 Philip II., 74, 201
 Philip IV. of France, 142
 Philippa, princess, 222
 Poem of the Cid, 80
 Ponce de Leon, 265
 Pope, the, 103
 Portugal, 58, 59, 69, 108, 206, 217, 219
 Pulgar, Fernando de, 286

Q

Quixote, Don, 27

R

Ramiro I., 38
 Ramiro II., 47
 Ramiro III., 51
 Ramiro I. of Aragon, 96
 Raymond Berenger, 84
 Raymond, Count of Burgundy, 108
 Raymundos, the, 100
 Recared, king, 158
 Recceswinth, king, 6
 Ricos Hombres, 157
 Rivers, Lord, 296
 Roderick, king, 3, 18
 Rodrigo, Archbishop of Toledo, 27, 39, 114, 115
 Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, 292, 293
 Roger de Lauria, 190
 Roland, 33, 35, 37
 Rome, 158, 160
 Roncesvalles, 33, 35, 208
 Rowlands, James, 214

S

Salado, battle of the, 183
 Salamanca, 40
 Salisbury, Earl of, 185
 Sancho I., 49, 59
 Sancho II., *El Mayor*, 56, 58, 95
 Sancho III., 111
 Sancho IV., *El Bravo*, 173, 175

Sancho Iñigo, 43
 Sancho Panza, 166
 Santiago, 39, 73, 171, 222
 Santiago, Archbishop of, 286
 Santiago de Peñalva, 167
 Santillana, Marquis of, 234
 Saragossa, 32, 67, 105, 193
 Sardinia, 192, 194, 229
 Scales, Lord, 296
 Sebastian, bishop, 26
 Segovia, 142, 264, 277
 Sepulveda, battle of, 103
 Seville, 136, 199
 Sicily, 189, 191, 229, 274
 Sierra Morena, 114
 Siete Partidas, 143, 148, 256
 Silo, king, 38
 Simancas, battle of, 47
 Sobrarbe, Fueros de, 95, 154
 Spanish nationality, 38
 Suero de Quiñones, 253

T

Tadmir, land of, 21
 Tagus, the, 58
 Tarifa, 175, 182, 187
 Tarik, 3, 4, 16, 17, 20
 Tarragona, 105
 Tello, Don, 201
 Tenorio, Archbishop, 225
 Thames, the, 219
 Theodomir, Duke, 18, 20
 Theroulde, 34
 Toledo, 20, 61, 66, 83, 152, 198
 Tordesillas, 238, 244, 245
 Torquemada, 287
 Toro, 61, 199, 282
 Trastamara, line of, 272
 Trial by battle, 159

U

Ubeda, 123

Uclés, battle of, 101
 Urge, Count of, 230
 Urraca I., queen, 47
 Urraca II., queen, 59, 61
 Urraca III., queen, 70, 101

V

Val de Junquera, 47, 95
 Valencia, 58, 66, 69, 88, 124, 127, 128, 230
 Valladolid, 247
 Vandals, the, 17
 Villanueva, 27
 Villena, Marquess of, 260, 263, 268
 Villena, Enrique de, 234
 Violante, queen, 228
 Visigoths, the, 28
 Visigothic laws, 142-144
 Voltaire, 21

W

Wifredo, Count, 99
 Wight, Isle of, 217
 Witiza, king, 3, 6, 16

X

Xeres, 181
 Ximena, 77, 89

Y

Yahia, 66
 Yussuf, Almoravide, 67, 68

Z

Zallaca, battle of, 67
 Zamora, 52, 59, 61, 77
 Zegries and Abencerrajes, 295
 Zoraya, queen, 295
 Zumalacarreguy, 73

21

